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DEPARTMENT
OF HISTORY
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CIVILIZATION

Educational Entrepreneurs and the Politics of Schooling in Nineteenth-Century Habsburg Society

Waltraud Schütz

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization
of the European University Institute

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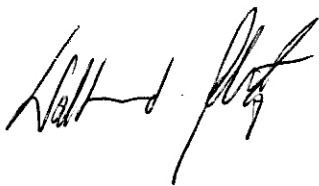
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Abstract

In the Habsburg Empire the implementation of compulsory education in 1774 marked a new era. The development and monitoring of educational measures in the following decades was in the past frequently described as a linear narrative of progress until the present day. However, it was not the desire for educational advancement but social anxieties and economic considerations which were usually the driving force for educational policies as numerous examples in this thesis document. The instilment of morality was seen as an important purpose of education. This focus on morality and a general climate of fear during the period of the Napoleonic Wars provided the basis for educational structures that were effective until the Primary School Law of 1869 and beyond. Policies enacted during this time forced for example factory owners to concern themselves with the education of their child labourers and at the same time opened spaces for men and particularly women to engage in the business of private schooling. Through the critical investigation of a broad variety of sources this thesis shows how different school types developed, from factory schools to finishing schools, and how men and women claimed spaces as experts, from moralizing pamphleteers to women educational activists. By investigating the role of educational entrepreneurs, and tracing the possibilities, limitations and practical consequences of the politics of schooling this thesis provides new insights and adds complexity to our understanding of nineteenth century Habsburg society.

Acknowledgements

Writing this section is difficult, there are not enough synonyms for gratitude.

Women's and gender historian Professor Gabriella Hauch from the University of Vienna paved my way to the European University Institute in Florence. She kindled my enthusiasm for gender historical research and gave me the courage to pursue this degree in the first place. Danke for supporting me to leave and change!

My dear friend Luna accompanied me to the interview in Florence five years ago and we nearly did not find the HEC institute (anyone who has ever been to the institute's old location in Villa Schifanoia knows why). Luna, thank you for being my lighthouse!

I gratefully acknowledge funding from the Austrian Agency for International Cooperation in Education and Research (OeAD) and the financial and infrastructural resources supplied by the European University Institute that made my PhD work possible.

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My project's sources belong to an age when there were far more 'h's around (a reference to Terry Pratchett's *The Wee Free Men*). I spent uncountable hours reading and transcribing dusty source material and creating narratives in a process of negotiating with the dead, as Margaret Atwood calls it. Without the help and advise of archivists, especially Dr. Johann Weißensteiner from the Diocesan Archive Vienna, these glimpses into the lives of so many women and men would not have happened. Thanks also to the staff of the Regional Archive Lower Austria (NÖLA), Austrian National Library (ÖNB, and their amazing online resources), Austrian State Archive (ÖStA), Vienna Library (Wienbibliothek) and the Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (WStLA).

The colourful program of Radio Ö1 structured my workdays and made the solitude of the writing process enjoyable. A constant flow of delicious Cappuccini at *Pestalozzi Uno* and *Siamo alla Frutta* kept me going. During my time in Italy I stayed in touch with friends and colleagues, many of whom visited my partner Aoife and I. Barbara, thanks for joy and laughter and for contributing to my creative progress by sleeping next to my desk while I typed away. Kathi, for tirelessly listening to my concerns and for our cooking together. Susi, for giving me perspective and lots of tea. Magdalena, for our skype calls and for providing me with superb novels. Elisabeth, for being an engaged teacher and so many excellent movie suggestions. Fritz, for sharing your ardour for history, drawing and photography with me. Sinéad, for your humour and for always exchanging such thoughtful emails. Ásta, for staying in touch and sharing the perks of academia with me. Kay and James, for tirelessly inquiring about my project's progress.

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I dedicate this thesis to Dr. Stephan Wölzl. You always believed in me and my ability to listen carefully, to reflect and to narrate – I learnt from you. Danke!

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Introduction

In 1845 Julie Goczałkowska opened an educational institute for girls in the district town of Tarnów in Habsburg Galicia, which is now a part of Poland.¹ After peasants had supported the Habsburg regime against the Polish nationalist uprising, the regime forcefully confronted the peasants' violence in 1846.² At exactly this point, Julie Goczałkowska received the order to close her girls' institute because it was deemed to be "only a disguise for highly dangerous tendencies."³ In the course of cleansing the town of revolutionaries Julie's husband Adalbert had been evicted from Tarnów for "revolutionary plotting" and for being "one of the main organs of the communists" although no proof was provided for these accusations. As a consequence of Adalbert's eviction, the district commissioner of Tarnów recommended the closure of Julie's girls' school. The institute owner petitioned against this ruling and demanded to be at least officially questioned on the subject; however, the Galician provincial government repeatedly denied her request. As a next step Julie addressed a petition directly to the Imperial Commission on Education in Vienna in which she described the grave injustice of the district commissioner's decision. She was yet again denied her request to continue her school project. The final report by the school authorities concluded that the decision was irreversible and that the education of girls was well-provided for by two other private girls' institutes that were located in Tarnów.⁴ Julie eventually moved to Kraków and continued to teach and publish on topics related to education. In 1862 she emphatically demanded women's access to university.⁵

If for contemporary readers the existence of three girls' educational institutes in Tarnów in the mid-1840s might not come as a surprise, from today's perspective it seems unusual. Most of the Galician population worked in agriculture and, according to reports by school authorities, public school attendance was only noticeable during the winter months. The Imperial

¹ In the same year Julie Goczałkowska published her first novel *Dwie siostry* [Two sisters] and a drama in three acts. Julie Goczałkowska, *Dwie siostry. Powieść z obrazów miejscowych* (Bochnia: Wawrzénca Piszó).

² For a recent account of the uprising see Larry Wolff, *The idea of Galicia. History and fantasy in Habsburg political culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 158-187.

³ Original: "[...] die nur der Deckmantel zur Verfolgung höchst gefährlicher Tendenzen zu sein scheint." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Galizien - Tarnow, Julie Goczałkowska. All translations from the German are my own. I am aware of the limitations of translations, therefore for greater accessibility, I included the German originals in the footnotes.

⁴ Julie Goczałkowska remained involved in educational activities: in 1861 she published a Polish Grammar book and in 1862 she published a journal titled "Wieniec" (Österreichische Buchhändler Correspondenz 01.06.1861).

⁵ Zofia Sokół, "Walka kobiet o wstęp na uniwersytety w Polsce," Fundacja Kobięca "eFKa", (2003), available at <http://www.efka.org.pl/index.php?action=p_art&ID=6> (retrieved 20.05.2017).

Commission on Education showed no interest in investing resources to change the situation.⁶ Yet parents from a growing middle class were clearly willing to pay female school owners to privately educate their daughters in order to ensure their safe transition from being pupils to future wives and mothers. The school owner Julie Goczałkowska herself certainly did not fit the narrow conception of femininity traditionally associated with this period, known as the *Biedermeier* or *Vormärz*. These early decades of the nineteenth century are conventionally narrated as a time of social inwardness and backwardness. Remarkably, Julie Goczałkowska acted publicly and politically not only in running a school, but also in making several attempts to negotiate her situation with the local (Tarnów), provincial (Galicia), and central educational authorities in Vienna. In this thesis I use case studies like the example of Julie's school to trace such negotiation processes undertaken by educational entrepreneurs – often women – and various governmental authorities to show the interplay of forces that shaped educational concepts and practises throughout the nineteenth century. Through the lens of negotiations over schooling I explore and redefine our current knowledge about how elements of social class, gender, religion and education constituted each other in nineteenth century Habsburg society.

The timeframe for this thesis is the legislative framework of the Political Constitution of German Schools, which was passed in 1805 and implemented in 1806. The Political Constitution of German Schools, also known as School Administration Act, regulated education on the primary school level for more than sixty years, until 1869, and was based on the General School Ordinance of 1774.⁷ The implementation of compulsory education in 1774 in the non-Hungarian parts of the Austrian Monarchy was a landmark decision by Empress Maria Theresa and was in line with similar European developments at the time. The Prussian King Frederick the Great had already legislated compulsory school attendance laws more than a decade earlier, in 1763, which served as a model for the Austrian legislative body.⁸ Maria Theresa also emphasised unifying the educational content across the empire and creating local educational infrastructures, as well as basic teacher training. The Russian Empress Catherine

⁶ Andrea Komlosy has argued that since there were very few options for education or employment, the society continued throughout the nineteenth century to provide agrarian goods as resources for the increasingly industrialised western areas of the Habsburg Empire, concentrated mainly around Prague and Vienna. Andrea Komlosy, "Ökonomische Grenzen," in *Grenze und Staat. Paßwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremdensetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie (1750-1867)*, ed. Waltraud Heindl-Langer, Edith Saurer and Hannelore Burger (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2000), 809-875, 872.

⁷ A reorganisation on the university level had already taken place following the revolution in 1848. In Hungary the "Ratio educationis publicae" was a separate piece of legislation that was implemented in 1806 with the result that schools remained private institutions until the 1860s.

⁸ For an in-depth comparative discussion of the implementation of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria see James Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the eighteenth-century origins of compulsory schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

the Great in turn took the Austrian model as an example for her legislation of the Primary School Statute in 1786 whose beneficiaries were mainly boys in urban areas.⁹ In France national education was mainly concerned with implementing and extending secondary and higher education for boys during the Napoleonic period. Primary school and girls' education were not unified in the French system, and a state monitored private school sector developed. Compulsory education in France was only implemented in the early 1880s.¹⁰ In England education was largely left to voluntary societies or the commercial sector, and there was little government intervention until the late nineteenth century. With the enactment of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 school attendance was made compulsory for children between the ages of five and ten; however, only at the turn to the twentieth century did the English establish a single authority that was dedicated to educational matters.¹¹

The geographical focus of this thesis centres on Vienna and its surrounding areas in Lower Austria, specifically the region of the so-called Industrial District located south of Vienna. Furthermore, I include examples from other parts of the Habsburg Empire to show aspects of similarities and diversity of schooling and administrative practises. The availability of source material influenced the decision for this focus, since Vienna was the imperial capital and the Viennese Archdiocese held a large collection of original documents on education history. The territory of the Habsburg monarchy – from 1804 to 1867 the Austrian Empire – was defined by borders set down at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and lasted until the 1860s, as the following two maps illustrate.

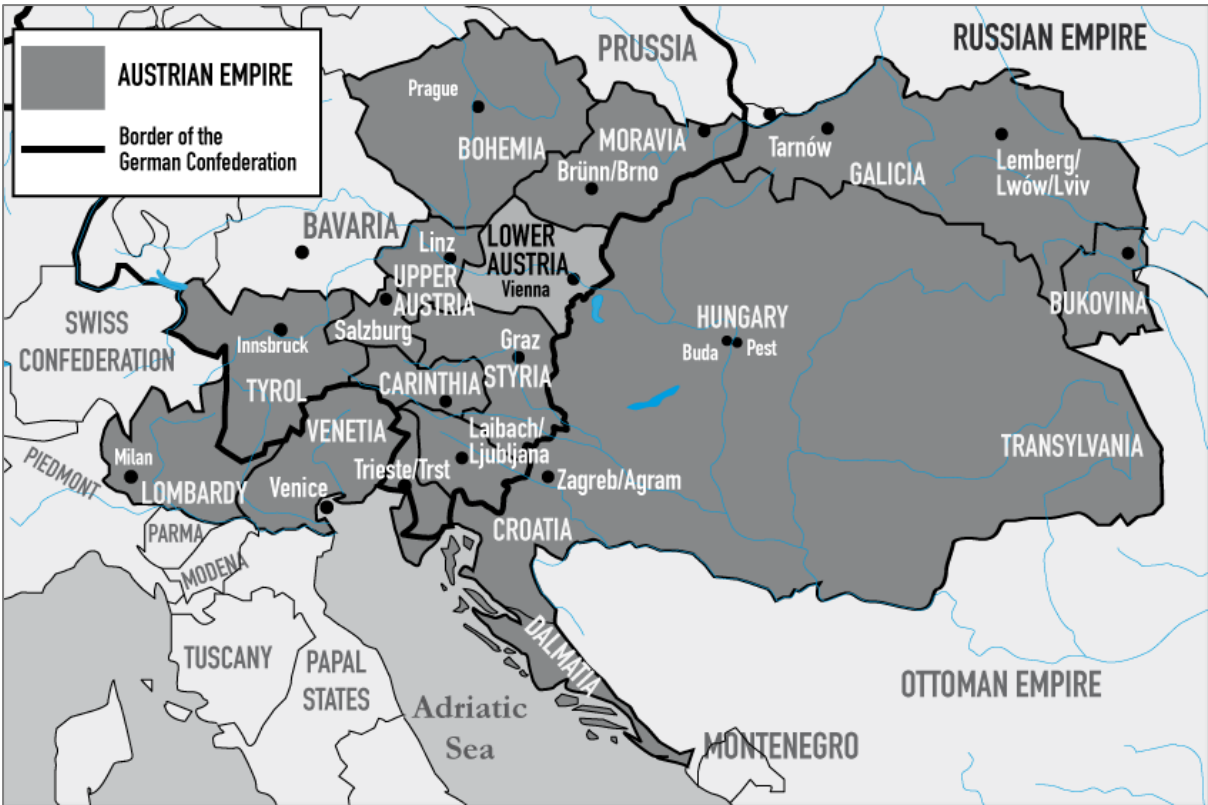
⁹ Jan Kusber, *Eliten- und Volksbildung im Zarenreich während des 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu Diskurs, Gesetzgebung und Umsetzung*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 183-212. Similar to Austria girls' education primarily took place in private institutes; an exception was St. Petersburg where girls were able to attend all secular school types. On the promotion of female education in Russia and its consequences see Bianka Pietrow-Ennker, *Rußlands "neue Menschen". Die Entwicklung der Frauenbewegung von den Anfängen bis zur Oktoberrevolution* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 1999), 130-156.

¹⁰ For an overview of private schooling for girls after 1789 see Rebecca Rogers, "Competing Visions of Girls' Secondary Education in Post-Revolutionary France," *History of Education Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (1994), 147-170.

¹¹ On aspects of public and private education in England and other countries see the volume edited by Richard Aldrich, ed. *Public Or Private Education? Lessons from History* (London/Portland: Woburn Press, 2004). For a general introduction and overview over the history of education in Britain see William B. Stephens, *Education in Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).



1 The Austrian Empire within Europe in 1815 after the Congress of Vienna



2 The Austrian Empire in 1815.

The renewed consolidation of the Habsburg regime in 1815 took place after a quarter century of war and against the backdrop of a uniform set of laws implemented three years earlier. The Austrian Civil Code [*Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, abbreviated ABGB] enacted in 1812 laid the foundations for universally applicable legislation throughout the empire with the exception of Hungary and was officially translated immediately and distributed across all dominions. It is important to acknowledge the complex position of women within this new legal framework. Since the late Middle Ages, the legal situation in Austria had created good conditions for female business activities and economic independence. These continued to a certain extent under the ABGB. Although the ABGB's family laws codified the patriarchal role of the man as head of the family, there was in legal terms no male tutelage [*Vormundschaft*] over women in Austria. Women were permitted to exercise the authority conferred upon a spouse in the interest of the household [*Schlüsselgewalt*]. A principle of segregation of property [*Gütertrennung*] resulted in married women being permitted to enter into business. At the same time, however, the ABGB stipulated that women were obliged to provide unpaid labour in their husband's trade, which made it particularly difficult for women to work independently.¹² The complexity of the position of women in the ABGB invites us to better understand the particular and gendered complexities of the system which legislated this set of laws.

Historiography

Historical reflection in the field of education history was for a long time largely oriented towards the question of which institutions existed rather than to the question of how and in which context these institutions and their actors emerged and operated. Education history was understood as the history of universities and higher education schools. A predominant focus on male pedagogues and the educational path of middle-class boys merely mirrored the educational priorities of school authorities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹³ Helmut Engelbrecht's five volumes on education in the Republic of Austria is to date the only

¹² Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann, "Businesswomen in Austria," in *Women, Business and Finance in Nineteenth-century Europe. Rethinking Separate Spheres*, ed. Robert Beachy, Béatrice Craig and Alastair Owens (Oxford: BERG, 2006), 110-125. Gunda Barth-Scalmani contrasts the Civil Code with previously existing legislation and shows in her analysis of business women in eighteenth century Salzburg how married women were in fact by law put into a subordinate position. Gunda Barth-Scalmani, "Salzburger Handelsfrauen, Frätschlerinnen, Fragnerinnen: Frauen in der Welt des Handels am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," *L'Homme* 6, no. 1 (1995), 23-45.

¹³ A prominent discussion about the problems and perspectives of the field in Austrian historiography for example, only marginally problematises the lack of analysis on the education of underprivileged groups or the topic of girls' education. Elmar Lechner, Helmut Rumpler, and Herbert Zdarzil, eds., *Zur Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Probleme und Perspektiven der Forschung* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992).

comprehensive overview of the history of education in Austria.¹⁴ A constitutive element of eighteenth and nineteenth century education in Austria was the strict division of boys and girls both physically and spatially as well as ideologically in the pursuit of educational aims tailored to the expectations of ideal gender roles. It is a great achievement of women's and gender historical approaches to have challenged the narrow focus on boys' education and to add perspectives on female education. In Austria this type of research focuses predominantly on the efforts of Catholic religious orders, teaching as a vocation and the political path of opening educational opportunities for girls and women in the late nineteenth century. Particularly illuminating are Renate Flich's analysis of educational opportunities for girls in the second half of the nineteenth century, Ilse Brehmer and Gertrud Simon's edited collection which also provides printed primary source material, and Margret Friedrich's more comprehensive overview of girls' education in Austria. For Germany many historians have analysed the historical interplay of gender and education. Elke Kleinau, for example, sheds light on the scope of action for women in German enlightenment pedagogy. For this project, Christine Mayer provides particularly relevant insights into the otherwise neglected topic of the education of poor children. Pioneering research was also conducted by Juliane Jacobi, who provides a number of comparative accounts. James Albisetti has emphasised in regard to Austrian historiography that comparative perspectives are particularly important in order to avoid a rhetoric of backwardness.¹⁵

¹⁴ Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs*, Vol. 1-5, Wien: ÖBV, 1982-1988. While Helmut Engelbrecht gives an account of the development of different educational sectors and teaching as a profession, the edited collection titled "Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte" [Handbook of the German history of education] published between 1987 and 2005 attempts to broadly contextualise specific developments in Germany.

¹⁵ Ilse Brehmer and Gertrud Simon, eds., *Geschichte der Frauenbildung und Mädchenerziehung in Österreich. Ein Überblick* (Graz: Leykam, 1997); Renate Flich, *Wider die Natur der Frau? Entstehungsgeschichte der höheren Mädchenschulen in Österreich*, Reihe Frauenforschung 3 (Wien: Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst, 1992); Renate Flich, "Bildungsbestrebungen und Frauenbewegungen," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, ed. Adam Wandruszka (Wien: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 941-964; Margret Friedrich, "Hatte Vater Staat nur Stieftöchter? Initiativen des Unterrichtsministeriums zur Mädchenbildung 1848-1914," in *Bürgerliche Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1995); Margret Friedrich, "'Dornröschen schlafe hundert Jahr...'" Zur Geschichte der Mädchenbildung in Österreich im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Von Bürgern und ihren Frauen*, ed. Margret Friedrich and Peter Urbanitsch, Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 5 (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1996), 181-196; Margret Friedrich, *Ein Paradies ist uns verschlossen ..." Zur Geschichte der schulischen Mädchenerziehung in Österreich im "langen" 19. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 89 (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1999); Juliane Jacobi, *Mädchen- und Frauenbildung in Europa von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt am Main Campus-Verlag, 2013); Elke Kleinau, "Das Allgemeine und das Besondere. Beiträge historisch-pädagogischer Frauenforschung zur allgemeinen Bildungsgeschichte," *Metis, Zeitschrift für historische Frauenforschung und feministische Praxis* 5, no. 9 (1996), 9-21; Elke Kleinau and Christine Mayer, eds., *Erziehung und Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts. Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung zur Bildungs- und Berufsgeschichte von Mädchen und Frauen* (Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1996); Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz, eds., *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag,

In fact, Habsburg society during the first half of the nineteenth century is often marked with the label of backwardness, a perception originating in the heated debates [*Kulturkampf*] regarding the Catholic influence on schooling and marriage during the 1860s.¹⁶ These powerful liberal tropes of deprivation and backwardness have often obscured an analysis of the complexity of the social world, the school system, and the actors involved.

One area still open to exploration is the private school sector, which developed in addition to private Catholic institutions and in parallel to public schooling during the nineteenth century. In recent years studies by Rebecca Rogers and Christina De Bellaigue on French and English private schools for middle-class girls have provided valuable insights into schooling, concepts of femininity and female entrepreneurship.¹⁷ The question of entrepreneurship among female teachers in Germany was remarkably analysed by Edith Glaser.¹⁸ Given the variety of secondary literature on the topic it is no secret that middle-class girls' education was largely left to private efforts throughout the nineteenth century. Elke Kleinau rightly argued that private girls' schools operated as "functional equivalent" to boys' education organised by the state.¹⁹ It would be a mistake, however, to retain the binary view of sufficient education provided for boys versus a general neglect of girls. Children working in factories and workshops offer vivid examples of how educational provision depended largely on the social class of the children.²⁰ Public education itself had private features for many decades, starting

1996); Christine Mayer, "Erziehung und Schulbildung für Mädchen," in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, Bd II, 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Herrmann Notker Hammerstein (München: C.H.Beck, 2005), 188-211; Christine Mayer, "Poverty, education and gender: Pedagogic transformations in the schools for the poor (Armenschulwesen) in Hamburg, 1788-1871," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1-2 (2011), 91-107; In this context it is important to point to Anne Schlüter's research on the education of working class girls in Germany. Anne Schlüter, "Von der Spinnschule zur beruflichen Ausbildung von Arbeitermädchen in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert. Diskurse über die Ausbildungsfrage des weiblichen Proletariats," in *Arbeiterinnengeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien zum sozio-kulturellen Wandel und zum politischen Diskurs in den Frauenbewegungen in Deutschland, England, Italien und Österreich*, ed. Elisabeth Dickmann (Münster/Hamburg: Lit, 1994), 296-309.

¹⁶ Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs. Von 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie*, vol. 4 (Wien: ÖBV, 1986), 111. An in-depth study of the Catholic influence on education is absent as William Bowman pointed out. William David Bowman, *Priest and parish in Vienna. 1780 to 1880*, Studies in Central European histories (Boston: Humanities Press, 1999), 102.

¹⁷ Rebecca Rogers, *From the salon to the schoolroom. Educating bourgeois girls in nineteenth-century France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005); Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating women. Schooling and identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Rebecca Rogers also was the co-editor of the edited volume: Joyce Goodman, James C. Albisetti, Rebecca Rogers, ed. *Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹⁸ Edith Glaser, "Lehrerinnen als Unternehmerinnen," in *Bildungsgeschichten. Geschlecht, Religion und Pädagogik in der Moderne. Festschrift für Juliane Jacobi zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Meike Sophia Baader, Helge Keller and Elke Kleinau, Beiträge zur Historischen Bildungsforschung (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2006), 179-193.

¹⁹ Kleinau, "Das Allgemeine und das Besondere", 14.

²⁰ Tellingly the so-called Fabrikskinder [factory children] were rarely differentiated by gender in the contemporary discourse of the time.

with its implementation in 1774. For example, a primary school teacher usually lived in the school house with his family and at the beginning, remuneration was based on private payments of parents to the teacher.²¹ Reforms throughout the nineteenth century slowly stripped schooling of its private character. Industrial education, for example, sought to instil the spirit of industriousness in girls and enhance their moral development through needlework instruction in addition to compulsory schooling. For many decades needlework was encouraged by the government. Yet until the Primary School Law of 1869, it was left largely to the private efforts of individuals and associations who founded industrial schools.²² Private educational institutes for girls or boys catered for wealthy members of the *Bürgertum* and offered board, lodging and education. State provision for boys and stricter regulations for male applicants to open private schools throughout the nineteenth century led to a much greater number of girls' educational institutes which spread throughout the Habsburg Empire as the example of Julie Goczałkowska in Tarnów illustrates. While the Primary School Law radically changed educational practises, private educational institutes continued to exist.

The point of departure for this research project was the idea to investigate the educational role of nineteenth century women's associations. However, after collecting source material it soon became clear that I could broaden the object of research in order to avoid replicating a limited middle-class perspective on girls' education. Instead of writing a history of associations I opted to analyse the changing social and legislative framework with regard to education from the early nineteenth century until the advent of the 1869 laws and to investigate individual agency. The subsequent study focuses on entrepreneurship. It investigates three school types: 1) factory schools, 2) industrial schools, and 3) educational institutes. In doing so this thesis not only contributes to the fields of education history and women's and gender studies but also to social-historical accounts of nineteenth century Habsburg society and specifically the history of child labour. Proponents of social history in Austria have placed greater emphasis on statistics, economic circumstances and on family formation. However, the topic of education and considerations of gender in the definition of labour have been largely omitted.²³ In the Austrian

²¹ Until the implementation of the Primary School Law of 1869 female teachers in public schools were mainly confined to the instruction of needlework and teaching languages.

²² The schools were simultaneously called "Industrieschulen" [industrial schools] and "Arbeitsschulen" [working schools].

²³ Josef Ehmer's analysis is for the period under investigation particularly relevant. Josef Ehmer, *Familienstruktur und Arbeitsorganisation im frühindustriellen Wien*, Sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien 13 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1980); Josef Ehmer, "Frauenarbeit und Arbeiterfamilie in Wien: Vom Vormärz bis 1934," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 7, no. 3/4 (1981), 438-473; Josef Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten, Sozialstruktur, ökonomischer Wandel. England und Mitteleuropa in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus*, vol. 92 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

context child labour was addressed by two major studies; Peter Feldbauer provided an in-depth investigation of child poverty in nineteenth century Vienna and Otto Uhlig analysed the lives of so-called *Schwabenkinder* in Tirol and Vorarlberg, or peasant children from poor families in the Austrian and Swiss Alps.²⁴ My thesis adds to this body of research and offers unique insights into the living and working conditions of working children in Vienna and the Industrial District of Lower Austria.

Source Material

In pursuit of new perspectives on early nineteenth century society in general and schooling in particular I gathered a broad range of sources which mainly stem from two groups; *official texts*, such as state bureaucratic, institutional and legal texts and reports, and *published commentary and reporting*, including works of literature, advertisement and newspapers articles. *Personal texts* are rarely preserved for this period which is a challenge for a research project that intends to focus on agency over structure.²⁵ In many cases the sources provided as many insights about the opinions and value systems of their authors as they did about their subjects. In the centre of the analysis, however, lies the question of agency and the process of creating and imposing educational structures. Together with Anthony Giddens I understand structure and agency as two sides of the same coin. This point of view puts the often overwhelming narrations of structure into perspective and gives as much space to agents moulding the system as to the structures that condition agency.²⁶ How did individuals create spaces to exert agency on different levels of practise (local, regional, state)? Other questions specific to the topic discussed in each chapter include, for example: How did individuals use the educational sector to create opportunities for themselves? Which factors influenced decision-making processes of the school authorities? How was legislation implemented at the local level? What impact did the implementation of compulsory education and the centralisation of the school system have on social relations?

²⁴ One chapter of Uhlig's study is dedicated to education. Otto Uhlig, *Die Schwabenkinder aus Tirol und Vorarlberg*, Tiroler Wirtschaftsstudien 34 (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1978); Peter Feldbauer, *Kinderelend in Wien. Von der Armenkinderpflege zur Jugendfürsorge, 17.-19. Jahrhundert* (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1980).

²⁵ To distinguish the source material I used June Purvis' classification. Her discussion on the importance of feminist approaches in historical research provided useful and valid insights for this project. June Purvis, "Using Primary Sources When Researching Women's History from a Feminist Perspective," *Women's History Review* 1, no. 2 (1992), 273-306.

²⁶ Anthony Giddens' theoretical framework on agency/structure offers the possibility to acknowledge the processuality and changeability of both. Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

The biggest group of sources for this thesis are files archived in the Diocesan Archive Vienna (DAW) and the Austrian State Archive (ÖStA). During the first half of the nineteenth century the Catholic church fulfilled the function of school monitoring and permanently shaped public and private school institutions, as well as establishing several private institutes of its own. An advantage of this function for today's historians are the meticulous records kept and archived by the church. These records contain reports, correspondence and assessment lists. Most of the sources about schooling for the period under investigation are handwritten which made it necessary to transcribe the sources as a first step in the assessment process. The large number of organisational files used for this thesis determined that most case studies presented are based on correspondence between the authorities and individuals, or on information about individuals and institutions compiled by the Catholic church authorities and government officials. I paid equal attention to sources not produced by the authorities but by non-governmental actors themselves, which included newspaper articles, classified advertisements, letters, petitions, published writings and cultural productions, such as plays and novels. It is important to note that I treat newspaper advertisements for private schools as a conscious and deliberate activity to appeal to the broader public for their attention and endorsement. Legal documents related to schooling provide a structural framework for my analysis.

Approach and Terminology

To date many archival traces of nineteenth century schooling have rarely been analysed. Pamphlets and pedagogical writings are useful for macro-perspectives that enrich our knowledge on a discursive level but reveal little about subjective experiences. How were those experiences shaped by the interaction of categories of difference, like gender or class, which were also constitutive elements of social institutions at the time? Structural approaches do not enable us to answer questions about how individual experiences related to broader debates and developments. Too strong a focus on individual agency, however, runs the risk of overemphasising choice while diminishing the circumstances of political hegemony. Moreover, the difficulty of an actor-centred approach is that most individuals left little to no documentary traces of their lives. The surviving documents often have to serve as both indicators of individual action and institutional decisions. It is crucial to acknowledge the tension between agency and determination that permeates every research seeking to understand people's lives in the past. In my approach to agency I specifically focused on gender as an analytical category, without ignoring other differentiating factors such as class, linguistic or

cultural differences, and religion.²⁷ Class or social status deserves special attention in any examination of the nineteenth century. Insights acquired from micro-history, social and cultural history and decades of women and gender historical research helps to ensure that my analysis produces close descriptions of the spaces, communities, gendered practises and relationships in which individuals and institutions were embedded. In this regard Clifford Geertz's *Thick Description* approach was inspirational and enabled me to write carefully contextualised accounts of specific moments and incidents in the past.²⁸ My reading strategy was oriented towards locating ambivalence, fractures and simultaneities as I selected material for the historical narrative. My processes of selection and reading were preceded by transcribing entire documents, rather than simply focussing on those parts that sparked my attention. This allowed me to revisit, re-read and re-assess the sources throughout the writing process.

Such a reflective handling of sources entails the continuous exercise of questioning binary constructs; Susan Gal's research on the public/private divide offers useful guidance for approaching binary constructs through their communicative function as indexical signs, which construct and delineate social reality.²⁹ At this point it is worth noting that the research for this thesis is situated in the heteronormative framework of contemporary thought. In future research it would be exciting to find and investigate source material for the early decades of the nineteenth century that give glimpses into modes of sexual identity and desires.³⁰ In this context Kathleen Canning asks the critical question about "whether gender history can break away from the adherence to binary categories while still fulfilling the task of mapping change over time."³¹

I want to briefly address the particular terms I employ in this thesis. The figure of the entrepreneur features prominently in the thesis' title and is central to my arguments. Krünitz'

²⁷ Joan W. Scott's reflections on gender were pioneering in the field of Women's and Gender Studies. Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986), 1053-1068. For a contextualisation of the establishment of Gender as analytical category see Joanne Meyerowitz, "A History of "Gender"," *The American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (2008), 1346-1356.

²⁸ Clifford Geertz, *Dichte Beschreibung. Beiträge zum Verstehen kultureller Systeme*, 2. Aufl. ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1991).

²⁹ Susan Gal, "A Semiotics of the Public/Private Distinction," *A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 13, no. 1 (2002), 77-95; Susan Gal, "Language Ideologies Compared: Metaphors of Public/Private," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15, no. 1 (2005), 23-37.

³⁰ Anna Clark suggests an approach that explores individual desires of historical actors by asking which cultural texts were available at the time and which economic resources were available to meet those desires. Anna Clark, "Anne Lister's Construction of Lesbian Identity," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 1 (1996), 23-50.

³¹ Kathleen Canning, *Gender history in practice. Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship*, 1. publ. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 120. Canning assumed a somewhat mediating function in the binary "discourse" versus "experience" that permeated women's and gender studies. For an instructive overview of the changes in the field see Laura Lee Downs, *Writing gender history* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010).

late eighteenth century encyclopaedia explains an entrepreneur to be necessarily a man: “Otherwise the word entrepreneur is today also used [...] for a man in general who wants to take over, establish, run, enforce and organise a tenancy, a trade, a factory, institute, etc., and who is involved in it.”³² From the late eighteenth century not only the growing industrial sector with its cotton mills and printing factories provided a new arena for business activity but also the introduction of compulsory education opened particularly for women additional opportunities to earn a living. Here the scale of business is important, while large firms received major attention of historians, small businesses were often overlooked. This is particularly true for female small scale entrepreneurs whose businesses “lay at the murky boundaries of public and private, profit-seeking and philanthropic, wage labor and entrepreneurship, legitimate and illegitimate enterprise.”³³ Entrepreneurship still has a strong masculine connotation and became with the economist Joseph Schumpeter in the 1940s discursively connected to creativity and innovation.³⁴ My decision to use the word entrepreneur is owed to this creative element, as can be seen from advertisements and records documenting women’s inexhaustible and dextrous negotiation of ‘system’. Educational entrepreneurs who established schools to earn a living and industrialists who were forced to take care of the education of their child labourers are protagonists of the evolving bourgeoisie. It is important to note that I do not impose a consistent use for the term *Bürgertum* in the analysis.³⁵ In some cases, I translate the term, but generally I left the German word in place.

Education meant different things to the people involved. The term *education* translates in German to *Bildung*, *Erziehung* and *Unterricht*. *Bildung* is a key term with many meanings. It

³² Original: “Sonst aber wird das Wort Entrepreneur heut zu Tage [...] für einen Mann überhaupt gebraucht, der ein gewisses Geschäfte, einen Pacht, einen Handel, eine Manufactur, Fabrik, Anstalt etc. wirklich übernehmen, aufrichten, ausführen, vollstrecken und einrichten will, und darinnen begriffen ist.” Krünitz, Johann Georg, ed. Oekonomische Encyclopädie. Vol. 11. Berlin, 1777, 76 [electronic version of University of Trier <<http://www.kruenitz.uni-trier.de/>> (18.05.2018)].

³³ Wendy Gamber, "A Gendered Enterprise: Placing Nineteenth-Century Businesswomen in History." *The Business History Review* 72, no. 2 (1998), 188-217, 193.

³⁴ The image of an entrepreneur being a heterosexual, able bodied, white male hero is today immensely powerful in the culture of start-ups. Youth also plays a pivotal role in this culture. On Schumpeter’s vision of entrepreneurship and its impact on the study of female business owners see Jennifer Aston, *Female Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century England. Engagement in the Urban Economy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 201), 46-47.

³⁵ For foundational research on *Bürgertum* see publications by the Bielefeld School Tradition, most importantly Jürgen Kocka, ed. *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert. Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich*, 3 vols. (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1988); Lothar Gall, ed. *Stadt und Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, 8 vols. (München: Oldenbourg, 1990); Helmut Reinalter and Wolfgang Mager, eds., *Staat und Bürgertum im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert: Studien zu Frankreich, Deutschland und Österreich. Ingrid Mittenzwei zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1996). On the *Bürgertum* in Austria see the eight volume edition "Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie" published from 1990 onwards. Ernst Bruckmüller et al., eds., *Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie*, 8 vols. (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1990). These volumes largely lack gender historical approaches.

usually applies to the social groups subsumed under the term *Bürgertum* and is not limited to formal education. Its most common translation is the process of acquiring knowledge in the sense of a person's self-formation through education.³⁶ On the other hand *Erziehung* is understood during this period as an instrument to form character traits and personality structures. Educational institutes were called *Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt* or *Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsanstalt* which incorporates the aspect of *Unterricht* or *Lehre*, meaning teaching and instruction, and *Erziehung*, the formation of the character.³⁷ The terminology *socioeconomic status* has to a certain extent replaced the word *class* which, particularly in its German version *Klasse*, evokes a narrow Marxist connotation with a specifically materialist focus. The category class, however, implies more than merely the socioeconomic status of a person but also, as noted by Pierre Bourdieu, a whole set of socialised norms that guide behaviour and thinking.³⁸ For this thesis I often chose to use "social background" instead of class, in order to avoid an essentialist categorisation. However, summarising people under any umbrella term makes essentialism unavoidable which the example of the term *middle-class* shows. I use *middle-class* to roughly locate actors in the social fabric of nineteenth century society but not to assign them a homogeneous group identity. Similarly, I do not assume that there was a homogenous Habsburg society.³⁹ In using the term I seek to emphasise the role of education and schooling to create dominant cultural expectations and to instil piety and patriotism across the empire.

Several aspects of my topic were not addressed in the thesis although they deserve the attention of historians. The role of private donations and foundations for schooling in the Habsburg Empire, for example, was of considerable importance, especially in rural areas; however, it has

³⁶ The concept of *Bildung* and its historical meanings is discussed most recently by Rebekka Horlacher, *The Educated Subject and the German Concept of Bildung. A Comparative Cultural History* (New York: Routledge, 2016).

³⁷ For a comprehensive overview over the changes in the conceptions of *Erziehung* and *Bildung* from the classical period to the twentieth century see Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, *Geschichte der Erziehung. Einführung in die Grundzüge ihrer neuzeitlichen Entwicklung* (Weinheim/München: Juventa, 2000).

³⁸ The term class and the legacy of social history has led to numerous heated debates, as for example Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, "Farewell to the Working Class?," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 57 (2000), 1-30; Joan W. Scott, "The "Class" We Have Lost," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 57 (2000), 69-75; Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, "Reply: Class and the Politics of History," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 57 (2000), 76-87.

³⁹ Ernst Bruckmüller problematises the term Habsburg society in: Ernst Bruckmüller, "Was there a "Habsburg Society" in Austria-Hungary?," *Austrian History Yearbook 37* (2006), 1-16. The focus on the divisive role of teachers in promoting modern nationalism towards the end of the nineteenth century obscures the integrative role of education. Ernst Bruckmüller shows this integrative function on the example of classroom materials. Ernst Bruckmüller, *Patriotic and National Myths. National Consciousness and Elementary School Education in Imperial Austria*, in: *The Limits of Loyalty. Imperial symbolism, popular allegiances, and state patriotism in the late Habsburg Monarchy*, ed. Laurence Cole and Daniel L. Unowsky (New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books), 12-35.

only been thoroughly investigated for the modern era.⁴⁰ Another area for future research is the practise of collecting natural history specimens for educational purposes, which began in the eighteenth century.⁴¹ For example, an advertisement by the private school owner Anna Freyberger in the *Wiener Zeitung* in 1831, attracted my attention when she sold her insect collection of apparently more than 2,000 insects.⁴² This led me to question the degree to which the practise of collecting was performed by teachers. The insect collection itself is an aspect of material culture, which could also uncover important aspects of the classroom experience. I was only able to briefly address questions of classroom material culture with regard to the issue of children possessing sufficient clothing to attend schools during the winter-time, or the issue of exhausted child labourers falling asleep on school benches in factory schools. The actual process of instruction in this early period left few traces in the archives. Finally, the question of the child's perspective also poses a particular problem due to the availability of sources, since no autobiographical accounts are available that allow the kind of approach Mary Jo Maynes proposed for researching children's agency.⁴³

The chapters of this thesis are organised both chronologically and thematically: Chapter One introduces educational policies and practises at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and traces the prerequisites that led to the development of three school types. Chapter Two interprets the first two decades of the nineteenth century as a period of heightened social anxiety of elites, in which every educational measure ultimately boiled down to the question of morality. Chapter Three addresses the tensions between the competing logics of child labour and compulsory schooling. In Chapter Four I discuss various aspects of private needlework instruction and its entanglement with textile businesses. After the 1848 revolution interesting gender and class dimensions evolved when Viennese women claimed expertise in the

⁴⁰ An exception is the Master Thesis of Manuel Neubauer which provides an overview over many aspects of Stipendienstiftungen in the Habsburg Monarchy. Manuel Neubauer, *Stipendienstiftungen in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Master Thesis, Universität Wien, 2015). For the modern era see: Joachim Bahlcke and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds., *Schulstiftungen und Studienfinanzierung*, vol. 58, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2011). Particularly illuminating is Ivo Cerman's chapter on the role of aristocrats as benefactors in Bohemia. Ivo Cerman, "Adelige Landschulen für arme Kinder in Böhmen," in *Schulstiftungen und Studienfinanzierung. Bildungsmäzenatentum in den böhmischen, österreichischen und ungarischen Ländern, 1500-1800*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke and Thomas Winkelbauer (Wien/München: Böhlau/Oldenbourg, 2011), 371-381.

⁴¹ For examples of eighteenth century female collectors see Marlies Raffler, "Sammlerinnen im 18. Jahrhundert," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 55 (2000), 225-233.

⁴² Anon., Eine Käfersammlung, *Wiener Zeitung* 12.03.1831, 376.

⁴³ Mary Jo Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008), 114-124. Even with autobiographical accounts the history of children is mediated through an adult perspective and the product of the memory of the respective author's own youth.

wellbeing of girls from poor backgrounds and sought to discipline and educate them for their future purpose as diligent servants. Chapter Five demonstrates how women entrepreneurs, like Julie Goczałkowska and some men, created professional opportunities for themselves by claiming to provide effective moral guidance and gender appropriate skills to girls in their privately-owned schools. The strict segregation of sexes in educational matters enabled women to claim expertise in the field of girls' education as Chapter Six illustrates. The Conclusion offers an analysis of structural changes over time and the Epilogue discusses the implications of the Primary School Law of 1869 and describes the fate of the private schools introduced in this thesis.

1. The School Landscape before 1806

The Political Constitution of German Schools [*Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen*, abbreviated *PSchV*] also called School Administration Act of 1806 fundamentally shaped the educational system in the non-Hungarian part of the Habsburg Empire for more than sixty years.⁴⁴ When the Act was published, the regions of Tirol, Vorarlberg, Salzburg and the Inn- and Hausruckviertel were under foreign occupation, as were the territories of Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia which became part of the Kingdom of Italy and later France. Only after the Peace of Paris in 1814 were the regulations extended to include these recovered territories.⁴⁵ The School Administration Act's more than three hundred pages were broadly based on the General School Ordinance of 1774 and on subsequent educational reforms introduced by Emperor Joseph II.⁴⁶ The nineteen sections legislated school monitoring and the running of a school (section one), school types (section two), personnel matters (sections five, eight, nine, eleven and fourteen), the organisation of the school year (section seven) and regulations on the location and conditions of school buildings (section seventeen and nineteen).

The School Administration Act put the Catholic clergy in charge of monitoring schools. The importance of this move was acknowledged in the preamble of the set of regulations which contained an explanation on the new role of the local priest. He had to function as observer and watch over the religious education which he himself had to provide in addition to his monitoring role. Moreover, he was in charge of supervising the other subjects taught, the methodological approach taken, the conduct of the school teacher, the diligence and morality of the pupils, and their rate of school attendance. When a priest detected problems, he had to correct them with "calm seriousness" [*sanftem Ernst*] and to inform his superior who was usually the local dean.⁴⁷ The School Administration Act divided the duties of monitoring and administration between the Catholic church and other governmental authorities. In this

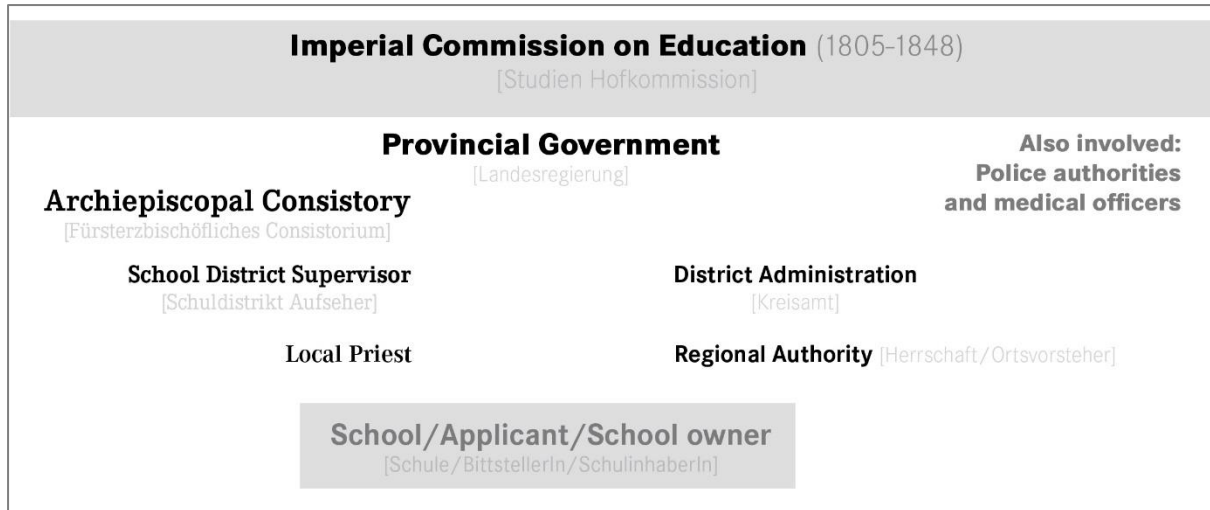
⁴⁴ *Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den kaiserl. königl. deutschen Erbstaaten* [Administration Act governing German schools in the imperial and imperial royal German hereditary states], abbreviated *PSchV*.

⁴⁵ Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreichs. Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz*, vol. Band 3 (Wien: ÖBV, 1984), 229.

⁴⁶ Many of Joseph II's reforms were revoked; for example the implementation of different school fees for girls and boys was revoked in 1783. An important remnant, however, was that educational institutions such as universities had become public and state-controlled.

⁴⁷ §461 *PSchV*, Wien 1833. William David Bowman explains the role of deans as follows: "The dean of an ecclesiastical district was the archbishop's administrative representative at the district level. Deans carried out visitations to parishes in their districts and reported to the Archdiocesan Office in Vienna. They formed an intermediate level of church bureaucracy between the parish and the archdiocese." Bowman, *Priest and parish in Vienna. 1780 to 1880*, 174-175, Footnote 100.

hierarchy the provincial government stood above the Catholic church authority. However, the Archiepiscopal Consistory's demands and advice were important negotiation processes, which numerous cases in this thesis illustrate.



3 Organisational structure of education from 1806 to 1848.

The district administration coordinated the remuneration of school teachers and monitored the condition of school buildings. Catholic church authorities were in charge of supervising teachers and school education.⁴⁸ In this system of checks and balances deans supervised the local priests who were also responsible for religious education.⁴⁹ A daily prayer routine before each lesson and during breaks was anticipated to instil Catholic piety and devotion.⁵⁰

In spite of the unanimity on the importance of education different opinions prevailed in terms of educational aims. In a utilitarian spirit, the objective of eighteenth-century reformers, like Johann Anton von Pergen, Gerard van Swieten, Joseph von Sonnenfels or Johann Ignaz Felbiger, was to educate and raise useful and obedient subjects. At the same time educational theories that focused on developing individual human capabilities became highly influential as illustrated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile* or Heinrich Pestalozzi's *Inquiries*.⁵¹ The evolving school system made basic education for girls and boys from all social backgrounds compulsory. However, for a long time, public resources for further training were limited to

⁴⁸ It is important to note that primary schools had until the 1860s a private character when it came to the remuneration of teachers. Tuition fees were only abolished in 1871.

⁴⁹ PSchV. First section, Control and Supervision of the School System.

⁵⁰ Johann Ignaz von Felbiger, *ABC oder Namenbüchlein. Zum Gebrauche der Schulen in den kaiserlich-königlichen Staaten* (Linz: Johann Michael Feichtinger sel. Wittve, 1786).

⁵¹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile, or on Education*, trans. Christopher Kelly and Allan Bloom (Lebanon, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2002 [1762]); Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *Meine Nachforschungen über den Gang der Natur in der Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts* [My inquiries into the Course of Nature in the Development of Mankind] (Zürich: [s.n.], 1797).

Catholic middle-class boys. Boys as such were not always in an advantageous position, as illustrated by the situation of child labourers. Similar to girls' education, the responsibility for the education of children working in factories was delegated to private initiatives.⁵² Remarkably a lively private school sector for girls did in fact develop in the late eighteenth century.

An interesting feature of the 1806 School Administration Act were the gendered expectations placed on male teachers. An ideal male teacher was married. To start a family was seen as a prerequisite for the position of school teacher in a local community. Bourgeois conceptions increasingly saw marriage to be a moral union of love in which the wife restrained the male animalistic instinct. Marriage was also an important prerequisite for women who wanted to establish a private girls' school. In the private sector specifically, women had a better prospect of obtaining permission to open a girls' school if they were either married or widowed. Teachers who were truly good examples for their pupils lived in a family unit. This precondition also had a spatial dimension. A school simultaneously contained elements that were public and private. In the late 1700s considerable time and effort was spent on planning school buildings in a way that accommodated both the teacher's living and working space under one roof.

“And because it is necessary that the pupils do not get disturbed by the domestic business of the wife, the children and the servants of the school teacher, in order that the school room is not used for anything other than education, so it has to be entirely separated from the living space of the teacher.”⁵³

Furthermore the School Administration Act of 1806 legislated that a school building was to be situated in a “healthy, airy and calm place”⁵⁴, ideally in the middle of the village or town. In reality, of course, school houses were usually small and crowded. For example, in Bockfließ, a village north-west of Vienna, 136 pupils shared one classroom.⁵⁵ Sometimes private individuals volunteered when the local administration could not afford to build a school. For example, in Zwischenbrücken, a village formally situated in today's Leopoldstadt in Vienna,

⁵² Factory owners had to establish private factory schools or had to ensure their child labourers' school attendance in the local primary school.

⁵³ Original: "Und da es nöthig ist, daß die Schüler durch die häuslichen Geschäfte des Weibes, der Kinder und Dienstleute des Schullehrers nicht gestört werden; daß mithin das Schulzimmer durchaus nicht zu einem andern Gebrauche als zum Unterrichte diene: so muß dasselbe überall von der Wohnung des Lehrers abgesondert sein." Section 19, PSchV.

⁵⁴ §362 PSchV.

⁵⁵ DAW, Schulamtsakten 178/1/8, Klage über die Zustände in der Schule zu Bockfließ.

the local forester made his house available for twenty-two years without charge.⁵⁶ Not only were school buildings a frequent topic in the correspondence between school authorities but also the notoriously low income of teachers, who were unable to support themselves and their families without other income opportunities, was a key issue. For this reason, many teachers' households were also in fact small farm-holdings because the addition of wine cellars and cowsheds to the school building was permitted. Due to the promotion of industrial education from the late eighteenth century onwards, the activities of growing fruit trees or bee-keeping were considered beneficial for school children. The supervising clergy regularly complained about teachers who dedicated more time and energy to farming than to teaching. Furthermore, teachers often used their musical skills to earn extra income during entertainment evenings in the local public house. In 1806, for example, Franz Deimer was reproached for neglecting his teaching duties in favour of his farm business. Although it was certainly no excuse to neglect his school business, the local dean argued that it was necessary for a teacher to have a piece of land and a vineyard. This would enable him to more adequately support his family.⁵⁷ Complaints were manifold. The priest Josef Holmayr in Drösing, for example, rebuked the teacher Josef Grill for spending more time hunting than teaching.⁵⁸ In 1817 a regulation was added to the School Administration Act in order to improve the economic situation of teachers. The regulation actively encouraged the wives of teachers to supplement their husband's income through gainful employment: "Given the situation of most school teachers it should be encouraged rather than hindered that their wives contribute to their income in a permissible way."⁵⁹

Several professions were proposed for teachers' wives, such as producing needlework, maintaining a grocery shop [*Victualien-Handel*], or tallow trading [*Unschlittwaren*]. In conjunction with the Imperial Commission on Education, the Court Chancellery ordered teacher's wives be permitted to pursue so-called "free occupations" [*freie Beschäftigungen*] as long as they did not open their business in the school building and their husbands were not involved. This example shows that the question of provision stood in the centre of many decision-making processes throughout the nineteenth century. For instance, Joseph Kölbl, the

⁵⁶ From 1831 the forester Thomayer requested a rental payment from the local authorities. DAW, Schulamtsakten 194/12/14, J. A. Thomayer stellte seine Wohnung unentgeltlich zur Verfügung.

⁵⁷ DAW, Schulamtsakten 194/18/11, Seyring 1809, Lehrer Franz Deimer wegen Vernachlässigung seiner Pflichten.

⁵⁸ DAW, Schulamtsakten 226/11, Beschwerde Pfarrer Josef Holmayr gegen Josef Grill.

⁵⁹ Original: "Da bey der Lage, in der sich die meisten Schullehrer befinden, vielmehr zu wünschen als zu hindern ist, daß ihre Gattinnen auf irgend eine erlaubte Weise zu ihrem Unterhalte beytragen." §252, PSchV.

successor of the deceased school teacher Johann Michael Holzmann in the primary school in Gerasdorf, officially agreed to marry the school teacher's pregnant widow in 1809 in order to take over her husband's position.⁶⁰ The School Administration Act also contained regulations addressing the children of local school teachers. In the case where a son had completed his teacher training and had already worked as an assistant for his father with "competence, diligence and good conduct"⁶¹, his father was permitted to hand the school business over to his son. Interestingly a law regulated the particularities concerning the marriage of a teacher's daughter to a potential candidate for her father's position. A general transfer of the school business to the future husband of the daughter was not welcomed because it would cause "only practical and unhappy marriages."⁶² However, the regulation made concessions. Hence, when the future husband was among several suitable candidates for the position, he should be selected over his competitors. From the late 1810s onwards, authorities encouraged wives and daughters of school teachers to establish industrial schools for girls either in a separate building or in the school building during the lesson-free hours. The only prerequisite was the completion of a needlework exam.⁶³

"Female teachers in girls' schools should not only be trained in the required subjects and method, but also be well-instructed in the generally necessary and useful female forms of handwork."⁶⁴

The School Administration Act encouraged female teachers to consult a male or female teacher of excellent skill for assistance. Although teacher training for male teachers existed, for a long time it consisted of a three-month introductory course. The Imperial Commission on Education emphasised that only limited knowledge was required for the position of a school teacher. The School Administration Act offered several measures if it was discovered that a teacher did not fulfil the minimum requirements. One option was to consult the school supervisor for classes or to visit a well-instructed neighbouring teacher in order to fill gaps of knowledge. However, the authorities also viewed too much knowledge with suspicion, since children of farmers and

⁶⁰ DAW, Schulamtsakten 194/15/5, Gerasdorf, Joseph Kölbl als Nachfolger 1809.

⁶¹ §293, PSchV.

⁶² Original: "[...] blos interessierte und unglückliche Ehen [...]" §289 PSchV.

⁶³ Female teacher training was until the 1840s mostly limited to the completion of the needlework exam offered by the Ursuline convent. A selected number of pupils were trained as educators at the Institute for Daughters of Civil Servants [Civil-Mädchen Pensionat] or the Institute for Daughters of Military Officers [Offiziers-Töchter Institut] in Vienna.

⁶⁴ Original: "Die Lehrerinnen der Mädchenschulen sollen nicht allein in den vorgeschriebenen Lehrgegenständen, und in der Lehrart, sondern auch in den allgemein nothwendigen und nützlichen weiblichen Handarbeiten wohl unterrichtet und geübet seyn." §252, PSchV.

craftsmen could possibly learn more than was required. Moreover, a better educated teacher could demand a higher salary.⁶⁵ The School Administration Act dealt with expectations about a male teacher's appearance and conduct in some detail.

"The [male] teacher at a public school should have healthy senses, good pronunciation and a healthy body. Obvious physical infirmities could easily expose him to the children's ridicule and destroy his reputation."⁶⁶

Each teacher had to take care of his reputation in order to ensure discipline and order in the classroom, "through his knowledge and moral good characteristics, through manly, honourable, and always consistent behaviour."⁶⁷

In 1815 Emperor Francis introduced uniforms for civil servants, a regulation that theoretically permitted male teachers to wear uniforms.⁶⁸ No evidence supports the actual practise of uniform wearing among teachers but the regulation certainly functioned as a means to construct masculinity and manliness.⁶⁹ The performance of masculine behaviour was in this light even more important, since the teacher was understood as the bearer of state authority, irrespective of whether he wore a uniform or not. Masculine behaviour was conceptualised as calm and controlled rather than aggressive. The manner in which punishment was regulated illustrates this norm, since using the cane was not prohibited. However, physical punishment was clearly not encouraged in the School Administration Act. In 1806 when the law became effective the master bookbinder Franz Bobelka complained to the Lower Austrian government about the "unjust punishment" of his son. The local priest Roman Korpf and the teacher Joseph Gollner had allegedly physically punished the pupil for not attending the obligatory Easter confession. The case report also contained a detailed description of the rant [*Schimpforgie*] of Franz Bobelka's wife against the priest and the school teacher who were portrayed as victims of these inconsiderate parents. However, the school supervisor Vinzenz Eduard Milde sided with the parents and reprimanded the priest, since he had "at a point in time, when school matters had

⁶⁵ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 232.

⁶⁶ Original: "Der Lehrer einer öffentlichen Schule soll gesunde Sinne, eine gute Aussprache und einen gesunden Körper haben. Auffallende körperliche Gebrechen könnten ihn den Kindern leicht lächerlich machen, und um das nöthige Ansehen bringen." §209, PSchV.

⁶⁷ Original: "[...] sondern durch seine Kenntnisse und moralisch guten Eigenschaften, durch ein männliches, anständiges und sich immer gleiches Betragen." Section 11, §240 PSchV.

⁶⁸ §63 PSchV.

⁶⁹ Ute Frevert emphasises the symbolic function of the uniform for the wearer, which reminds him of his duty within an institution. Ute Frevert, "Männer in Uniform. Habitus und Signalzeichen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Männlichkeit als Maskerade. Kulturelle Inszenierungen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Claudia Benthien and Inge Stephan (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2003), 277-296.

just been entrusted to the clergy, given reason for complaint.”⁷⁰ This case shows that schooling was not necessarily a top-down process but in some cases parents actively intervened when they felt their child had been mistreated. It is important to emphasise that the School Administration Act contained clear measures against sexual and physical abuse.⁷¹

“Immorality of even wilder kind especially the proven seduction of the youth will be punished with dismissal and the incapability to work in both public and private education of the youth. The same punishment is reserved for the teacher who punished a pupil a second time in a physically damaging way.”⁷²

Disciplinary measures against priests, teachers and assistants were pursued in cases of chronic alcoholism or in situations where the police authorities pursued and prosecuted allegations. However, it is likely that in many cases the abuse was never reported. The School Administration Act also contained detailed regulations on the gender specific treatment of male and female pupils, who were to be separated from each other. To contextualise these nineteenth century developments, it is necessary to take a look further back in time.

1.1. Well-Mannered and Useful Subjects Wanted, the Eighteenth Century

In 1774 when Empress Maria Theresa had implemented compulsory education for children between the ages of six and twelve, she had announced that the “darkness of unknowing should be enlightened and for everyone the appropriate education according to their social standing be provided.”⁷³ For a long time, religious orders, private schoolmasters and parish priests provided schooling to local communities. James van Horn Melton points to the existence of an extensive network of parish schools by the eighteenth century in Prussia and Austria. The diocese of Liegnitz in Prussian Silesia, for example, provided education for more than 1,200 pupils in

⁷⁰ Original: “[...] gerade in dem Zeitpunkte, in welchem das Schulwesen den Händen des Klerus anvertraut wurde, Anlaß zu Klagen gegeben hat.” DAW, Schulamtsakten 34/1, Klage des Bindermeisters Franz Bobelka. This case is not an isolated event. Sometimes disputes were not only verbally but also turned physically violent between staff and parents. DAW, Schulamtsakten 188/33/3, Schlägerei zwischen dem Gehilfen Vinzenz Neuwirth und dem Vater eines mißhandelten Schulkindes.

⁷¹ If and how these measures were implemented is subject to further research.

⁷² Original: “Unsittlichkeit noch wilderer Art, vor allem aber erwiesene Verführung der Jugend wird mit der Cassation und Erklärung der Unfähigkeit zum öffentlichen und Privat-Unterrichte der Jugend bestrafet. Eben diese Strafe steht demjenigen Lehrer bevor, der sich die Mißhandlung eines Kindes durch Züchtigung, wodurch daselbe am Körper Schaden genommen hat, zum zweyten Mahle hat zu Schulden kommen lassen.” §282-283 PSchV.

⁷³ Original: “...die Finsterniß der Unwissenheit aufgekläret, und jedem der seinem Stande angemessene Unterricht verschaffet wird.” Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-, Haupt- und Trivialschulen in sämmtlichen Kaiserl. Königl. Erbländern [ASchU], Prag 1780 [1774].

seventy-four schools.⁷⁴ Despite the high number of schools in some regions the actual literacy rates remained very low, especially in rural areas, where the ability to write one's own name was considered exceptional. Schooling provided by religious orders proved to be more efficient. The famous educational efforts of the Catholic Piarist order played a pivotal role in spreading education from the seventeenth century onwards. The Piarists usually provided a broader range of subjects than elementary schools, since they taught not only religion, reading, spelling, accounting, but also calligraphy and Latin.⁷⁵ The Piarist's efforts were not only welcomed but also met with suspicion by other members of the clergy, particularly by the Jesuit order, who pursued an elitist educational concept.⁷⁶

Maria Theresa's father, Emperor Charles VI, legislated the first set of school laws in the 1730s. He implemented centralised rules for universities and *Gymnasien*. Elementary schools, however, remained unregulated. The education in these elementary schools was often haphazard because no educational standards, whether in the form of teacher training or centrally-published school books, were provided. Private schoolmasters usually lacked the reputation and earned little income. They were only able to make a living in urban areas. In rural regions artisans, the sacristan of a parish or in some cases even the tavern keeper fulfilled the role of transmitting some knowledge.⁷⁷ Education legislation was targeted to address specific issues and regions, but not the entire monarchy. Schooling in Vienna and its suburbs, for example, was often the subject of provisions and regulations. For instance, in 1732 Charles VI issued a decree about the schooling of the common people [*gemeinen Leute*] in Vienna's periphery. Parish priests received the specific order to "implant the fear of God, in order that the youth will be removed from ignorance, idleness and voluptuousness."⁷⁸ The father of Maria Theresa also ordered that children be assembled in local communities for certain hours and be provided with religious education [*Kinder-Lehr*] in order to encourage them to work early in life. Following on from this in February 1748, Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree that was largely based on similar content.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Melton, *Absolutism*, 7.

⁷⁵ Notably the Latin language was a prerequisite for further academic training.

⁷⁶ Franz Tomberger, "Bilder aus der österreichischen Schulgeschichte längst vergangener Zeit," in *Pädagogisches Jahrbuch*, ed. Wiener Pädagogische Gesellschaft (1890), 1-27, 20.

⁷⁷ Melton, *Absolutism*, 17.

⁷⁸ Original: "[...] die Gottesfurcht einpflanzet, und die Jugend dadurch der Unwissenheit, Müßiggang und Ueppigkeit entzogen werde." Anon., "Auferziehung der Jugend, 4. Juli 1732," in *Sammlung Oesterreichischer Gesetze und Ordnungen [ab 1721]*, ed. Sebastian Gottlieb Herrenleben (Wien: 1752), 777.

⁷⁹ Similar decrees were issued in other provinces. In Upper Austria for example the "perpetuation of religion and extinction of false doctrines" was demanded in 1752. In 1756 it was forbidden to bring cattle to graze the pasture

“We have repeatedly observed, that the youth located in the Viennese suburbs is not kept under control and even less educated in the necessary religious exercises, therefore over the years their own decline becomes a heavy burden on the local police as they are tempted to numerous abuses.”⁸⁰

Religious education was seen as the main source of disciplinary power. The repeated efforts to increase school attendance can be interpreted as an ongoing endeavour to create disciplinary control through an increasingly centralised system.⁸¹ Another step towards centralisation was taken in 1760, when the Imperial Commission on Education was transformed into an independent Court Commission. The Education Commission had to ensure that central educational reforms were implemented uniformly throughout the empire. For a functioning state apparatus, the standardised education of future civil servants throughout the Habsburg monarchy was particularly important.⁸² However, Maria Theresa did not encourage social mobility, as the example of her restriction on university access illustrates.

“The youth of the lower class is allowed to enrol in a study programme without difference in capacity and ability, and receive permission to advance even if they are not progressing; with the consequence, that they waste the time without results and get to be half and even less scholars, more a burden than a benefit for the public, whereas they could be useful citizens for the state with otherwise received instruction in crafts or other kinds.”⁸³

James van Horn Melton has described this process as “educational exclusion.”⁸⁴ This exclusion was particularly acute when the Jesuit order was expelled from Austria and dozens of *Gymnasien* and *Stadtschulen* subsequently closed. The confiscation of Jesuit property in 1773

on Sunday and holiday mornings in order to encourage mass attendance. Tomberger, "Bilder aus der österreichischen Schulgeschichte längst vergangener Zeit," 23.

⁸⁰ Original: "Man habe des mehreren wahrgenommen, wasmassen [sic] die auf den Vorstadtgründen befindliche Jugend keineswegs in gehörigem Zaum gehalten, noch seltener erforderlichermassen in den geistlichen Uebungen unterrichtet, somit aber bei mehrers anwachsenden Jahren zu ihrem selbst eigenen Untergange und grosser Beschwermiss des allhiesigen Publici zu vielen Misshandlungen verleitet werden." Anon., "Schulordnung in Vorstädten, 3. Febr. 1748," in *Supplementum Codicis Austriaci, oder Chronologische Sammlung aller vom 20ten Oktober 1740 [...] bis letzten Dezember 1758*, ed. Thomas Ignaz Freyherrn von Pöck (Wien: 1777), 281.

⁸¹ Central in this context is Michel Foucault's analysis on the specific mechanisms modern states established to ensure control of its citizens. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and punish. The Birth of the Prison* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979).

⁸² For details on the connection between educational policy and the education of civil servants see Waltraud Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen. Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich. 1780 bis 1848*, ed. Wolfgang Mantl, Christian Brünner and Manfred Welan, 2nd revised ed., vol. 36, Studien zur Politik und Verwaltung (Wien/Köln/Graz: Böhlau, 2013), 101-143.

⁸³ Original: "Bei Wahrnehmen, daß die Jugend von mindermem Stand ohne Unterschied ihrer Kapazität, und Fähigkeit zum Studiren gelassen, und ihnen, wann sie auch darinnen keinen Fortgang haben, solche fortzusetzen, gestattet werde, woraus dann erfolget, daß solche die Zeit ohne Frucht versplittern, und dereinstens dem Publikum, als halb- und noch minders gelehrte, mehr zur Last als Nutzen gereichen, wo sie doch bei erhaltender anderweiten Anleitung dem Staat in Handwerken, oder in andere Art nützliche Bürger abgeben könnten." Theresianisches Gesetzbuch, 1766-1769, Verordnung 02.05.1767.

⁸⁴ Melton, *Absolutism*, 214.

provided Maria Theresa with the means to reform and expand state education in the Habsburg Empire, and to push for the completion of school reform whose content reformers had been negotiating since 1770. The Augustinian abbot Johann Ignaz Felbiger played a lead role in the establishment of a three-tiered school system legislated with the General School Ordinance in 1774.⁸⁵ Notably separate legislation for Hungary was implemented.⁸⁶ In 1777 the imperial government legislated an adapted version of the General School Ordinance titled *Ratio Educationis*. The law initiated the expansion of German against Latin as an official language.⁸⁷ The question of language became highly politicised and future policies introduced step-by-step the use of Magyar. In 1843 Magyar became the language of instruction in Hungarian schools.⁸⁸

Another striking feature of the developing school system was the spatial segregation of girls and boys. In schools, girls and boys had to be separated from each other and seated on different benches. This school setting merely mirrored the spatial situation in churches, where women and men had to sit separately while attending mass.⁸⁹ Johann Christoph Kröger, an educator from Hamburg who visited Austrian schools during the 1830s, voiced his scepticism about this politics of separation.

“The separation of the sexes in different schools seems to be almost anxiously monitored in Austria [...]. The source of this pedagogical principle seems to lie in the non-psychological opinions [*unpsychologische Ansichten*] of the clergy. But then is this the right way to reach the goal?”⁹⁰

⁸⁵ The primary school, called common or minor school (Trivialschule), provided basic education in four subjects: religion, reading, writing and arithmetic. These schools had to be established in every rural parish. The secondary general school called Hauptschule (major school) was aimed at boys from a middle-class background, such as sons of merchants, civil servants or artisans in urban areas. This school type was usually the stepping stone to the gymnasium (grammar school) with a curriculum not only including the core subjects like religion, reading, writing and arithmetic, but also basic knowledge in Latin, history, geography, mechanics trigonometry, and architecture. The third school type "Normalschule" was established in every province as a model school and teacher training institute. Melton, *Absolutism*, 209-229.

⁸⁶ For information on the amended version of the Ordinance for Hungary see Domokos Kosáry, "Die ungarische Unterrichtsreform von 1777," in *Ungarn und Österreich unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II. Neue Aspekte im Verhältnis der beiden Länder*, ed. Anna Drabek (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982), 91-100.

⁸⁷ On the specifics of this legislation see Domokos Kosáry, "Die ungarische Unterrichtsreform von 1777," in *Ungarn und Österreich unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II: Neue Aspekte im Verhältnis der beiden Länder*, ed. Anna M. Drabek (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982).

⁸⁸ See paragraph nine of Anon., "Von der ungarischen Sprache und Nationalität," in *Gesetzartikel des ungarischen Reichstages 1843-1844. Aus dem Ungarischen nach der Originalausgabe übersetzt und mit den Zitaten der veränderten Gesetzartikel versehen*, ed. Janos Zima (Tirnau: Felix Wachter, 1844).

⁸⁹ Both seating arrangements were, at least in rural areas, common until the second half of the twentieth century.

⁹⁰ Original: "Die Trennung der Geschlechter in verschiedenen Schulen scheint in Oesterreich fast ängstlich beachtet zu werden; [...]. Die Quelle dieses pädagogischen Grundsatzes scheint mir in unpsychologischen Ansichten der Geistlichkeit zu liegen; allein wird denn auf diese Weise der Zweck wirklich erreicht?" Johann

The extent to which the education of girls and boys was pursued separately seemed excessive to an outsider but was for a long time an integral part of the Austrian education system. Already the General School Ordinance of 1774 emphasised the necessity of separate education for girls, ideally in separate schools. This logic of separate spheres went hand-in-hand with the tendency to frame the female mind as fundamentally different and inferior to the male mind: "In case there is the opportunity for separate schools for girls they should attend them. There they are to be educated in sewing, knitting and other things appropriate for their gender."⁹¹ The drafters of school legislation saw knowledge to practise needlework as necessary, and an important and "natural" part of female education.⁹²

Maria Theresa famously announced in the General School Ordinance of 1774: "The education of the youth of both sexes is vital to the happiness of a nation."⁹³ However, it seemed that parents were not yet persuaded by the advantages of public schooling. By the early 1780s school attendance was low in most Habsburg territories which led Emperor Joseph II to experiment with different measures.⁹⁴ After the closure of the monasteries Joseph II introduced tuition fees in order to reduce the public expenditure for schooling. Parents who did not ensure the regular school attendance of their children were charged a double tuition fee. When it became clear that these measures did not have the intended effect, the tactic was changed. From 1783 onwards, no school fee was charged for boys' school attendance on the primary level and only a half fee for the attendance of major schools.⁹⁵ This legislation once again revealed the

Christoph Kröger, *Reise durch Sachsen nach Böhmen und Oesterreich, mit besonderer Beziehung auf das niedere und höhere Unterrichtswesen*, vol. 2 (Altona: Johann Friedrich-Hammerich, 1840), 233.

⁹¹ Original: "Wo es die Gelegenheit erlaubet, eigene Schulen für die Mägdlein zu haben, da besuchen sie solche, und sind daselbst, wenn es füglich angehet, auch im Nähen, Stricken, und anderen ihrem Geschlechte angemessenen Dingen zu unterweisen." §12, ASchO.

⁹² The exercise in needlework taught girls to produce for others, sit still, and preserve bodily delicacy. More about the role of needlework for female education for example in: Pia Schmid, ""Weibliche Arbeiten". Zur Geschichte von Handarbeiten," in *Gender-Geschichte/n. Ergebnisse bildungshistorischer Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung*, ed. Elke Kleinau, Walburga Hoff and Pia Schmid (Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2008), 49-72. Bärbel Ehrmann-Köpke, "*Demonstrativer Müßiggang*" oder "*rastlose Tätigkeit*"? *Handarbeitende Frauen im hansestädtischen Bürgertum des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Internationale Hochschulschriften 546 (Münster: Waxmann, 2010).

⁹³ Original: "[...] die Erziehung der Jugend beyderley Geschlechts als die wichtigste Grundlage der wahren Glückseligkeit der Nationen." ASchO.

⁹⁴ Starting in 1782 Joseph II pursued a reform programme in all areas of administration. A landmark decision of this programme was the dissolution of religious orders where solely contemplative religious life was practised. Between 1783 and 1787 all monastic schools and episcopal seminaries were closed as part of the "Klostersturm", the dissolution of religious houses. Parallel to this development the system of parishes and dioceses was fundamentally reorganised. Karl Vocelka, *1699-1815: Glanz und Untergang der höfischen Welt. Repräsentation, Reform und Reaktion im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat*, ed. Herwig Wolfram, Österreichische Geschichte (Wien: Ueberreuter, 2001), 378.

⁹⁵ However, access to the gymnasium and to university was further restricted for boys of a less affluent social background. Only those who were deemed particularly gifted, and, more importantly whose wealthy parents were

educational priorities of the government. Parents had to pay the full fee for school attendance of their daughters, a regulation that potentially discouraged parents from sending them to school. Gerard van Swieten, a medical doctor and advisor to Maria Theresa who played a pivotal role in the educational reforms during the second half of the eighteenth century, strongly argued against differential school fees for boys and girls.⁹⁶ Van Swieten conceded that girls in their role as future mothers were indeed in need of a certain level of education, an argument which persuaded Joseph II. The law was replaced with a school fee regulation linked to the economic opportunities of the parents rather than the sex of their child.⁹⁷



4 Frontispiece, Hippel, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber*, Berlin 1792.

These gendered educational ideals were, however, not uncontested at the time. The German writer Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel argued in 1792 that natural law justified the equality of the sexes and fiercely rejected the Enlightenment's distinctions based on sex. In fact, women were superior to men and their exclusion was a loss for society, according to Hippel. The frontispiece of Hippel's publication is instructive on ideal female gender roles at the time. It is questionable whether Hippel approved the image before publication given that it affirms the very gender anthropological ideals he criticised.⁹⁸ The picture shows four female figures of bourgeois or aristocratic background and the most prominent woman to the right is breast-feeding. Hippel emphasised the importance of female education in the light of girls' future role as motherly educators. Furthermore, the philosopher questioned the lack of involvement of fathers in the upbringing of their children: "Is education only the duty of mothers, or not also the obligation of fathers? Does the child not belong to both?"⁹⁹

able to support them, were permitted to study. At the same time as access to universities was further restricted for students from a lower-class background, the admission of Protestants (1778) and Jews (1782) was permitted.

⁹⁶ For detailed information on Gerard van Swieten (1700-1772) see Ernst Wangermann, *Aufklärung und staatsbürgerliche Erziehung. Gottfried van Swieten als Reformator des österreichischen Unterrichtswesens 1781-1791* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1978).

⁹⁷ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 119-121.

⁹⁸ A detailed analysis of those ideas provides: Claudia Honegger, *Die Ordnung der Geschlechter. Die Wissenschaften vom Menschen und das Weib, 1750-1850* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag, 1991).

⁹⁹ Original: "Ist die Erziehung bloß Pflicht der Mütter, oder liegt sie nicht auch den Vätern ob? Gehören die Kinder nicht beiden?" Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel, "Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber," (Berlin: Vohsische Buchhandlung, 1792), 361.

1.2. Private Educational Institutes for Boys and Girls

From the late eighteenth century a diverse and active private school sector developed in the Habsburg monarchy. Joseph II personally supported some of these new private initiatives which can be seen as bourgeois institutions par excellence because of their fees and educational content. Wenzel Bernhard Heeger opened the first institute of this kind in Perchtoldsdorf, a village south of Vienna, in 1782. The institute owner assured parents of his good intentions in the institute's educational programme that was published in 1785: "For breakfast there will be neither hot chocolate, nor coffee."¹⁰⁰ Wenzel Bernhard Heeger, originally from Silesia, bought together with his wife Elisabetha an estate in Perchtoldsdorf in 1782. According to the sale announcement the main house consisted of fourteen furnished rooms, horse stables, a wine press, two basements and a kitchen, in addition to vast grounds with fruit and ornamental gardens and a number of acres. The scene was perfectly idyllic with a small river running through the garden that was decorated with miniature statues.¹⁰¹ Emperor Joseph II personally gave permission in the form of a special privilege, for the establishment of this private boys' educational institute. In his educational programme Wenzel pointed to the alternative educational spirit promoted in his institute, one which was far from all kinds of temptation and excess. The institute owner promised a thorough practical approach and a patriotic spirit in his school that was situated in healthy surroundings. The curriculum sounded promising. Besides the elementary subjects of religion, reading, writing, arithmetic and style [*Stil*], the pupils were instructed in "everything important about the history of their fatherland" and [Catholic] religious history as well as geography, science of nature and natural history. The institute owner emphasised the importance of knowledge for learning how to grow and use natural products. He expressed his preference for domestic products, but also ensured the readers that pupils also received instruction about important foreign products. Wenzel emphasised his practical approach, since the Heeger family effectively maintained an agricultural holding along with the institute. Each product was ideally produced and examined on the school grounds. The educational programme's introduction to "all sciences, arts and crafts" was similarly characterised by the effort to show everything in practise. The theoretical part of education was described as "education in rationality and wisdom" [*Vernunft- und Klugheitslehre*].

¹⁰⁰ Original: "Zum Frühstück wird kein Chokolat, noch Kaffee gegeben." Wenzel Bernhard Heeger, *Etwas an Menschen- und Jugendfreunde. Von dem Unternehmer des Privaterziehungshauses in Berchtoldsdorf* (Wien: Ghelen, 1785), 13.

¹⁰¹ A detailed description of the estate was provided in a property advertisement in 1782. Anon., "Haus zu verkaufen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 27.03.1782, 19.

Furthermore, the institute owner promised a thorough education in German and some knowledge in Latin, French and Italian. The curriculum was completed with lessons in drawing, music and dancing.¹⁰² In the course of outlining the school's curriculum the institute owner appealed to "the philanthropist and friend of the youth" to donate money to his school for the purpose of collecting objects and specimens. Wenzel was inclined to acquire a wide range of objects for his systematic natural and model cabinet, and each student was encouraged to start his own collection.¹⁰³ The institute owner promised to "take care that the pupil will be instructed in everything necessary for his future with particular punctuality."¹⁰⁴ He emphasised his expert knowledge as pedagogue: "At the beginning the pupil stays in my immediate surroundings until I have adequately recognised his qualities and decide how to proceed with him."¹⁰⁵ This educational programme in the spirit of Enlightenment pedagogy was possibly the reason why Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and his wife Constanze decided to entrust their three-year-old son Carl in 1787 to the institute.¹⁰⁶ In 1791, a couple of months before Mozart died, he wrote a letter to his wife conferring with her about the possibility of taking Carl out of the institute and sending him to the Piarists whose seminary was to reopen in 1792.

"He looks fabulous – for his health there could be no better place but everything else is a misery! – A good farmer may be educated for the world. I have [...] taken Carl out until Sunday and told him that you would like to see him – tomorrow Sunday I will come with him to you – then you can keep him or I bring him on Sunday after lunch back to Hecker [Heeger]; - think about it, because of one [more] month he can't be spoiled, I think! – in the meantime the story with the Piarists can come about, which is currently pursued. – he [Carl] is, by the way, not necessarily worse but also not an inch better than he always was. He has his usual shapelessness, enjoys complaining as always, wants to learn even less [Emphasis in the Original], and because he is spending five hours in the morning and five hours after lunch walking in the garden, as he confessed himself, in sum the children do nothing, but eat, drink, sleep and walk [...]"¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Heeger, *Privaterziehungshaus*, 12-13.

¹⁰³ Wenzel Bernhard Heeger was indeed an eager collector of objects and curiosities which is illustrated by a newspaper announcement in 1788 where the collector replied to a report about a cow who had given birth to a calve with two heads. He, the owner of the Heegersche educational institute, was in fact in the possession of the skulls of such a calf which was born in Timișoara/Temeswar. Anon., "Auf Veranlassung der letzthin mitgetheilten Nachricht, daß in Steyermark eine Kuh [...]," *Wiener Zeitung*, 16.04.1788, 919.

¹⁰⁴ Original: "Man wird ungemein pünktlich darauf sehen, daß alles so beygebracht werden, wie es jeder Zögling für seine Zukunft brauchen soll [...]" Heeger, *Privaterziehungshaus*, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Original: "Jeder Zögling bleibt Anfangs so lang unmittelbar um mich, bis ich seine Beschaffenheit hinlänglich erkannt, um mein Verfahren gegen in einrichten zu können." Heeger, *Privaterziehungshaus*, 17.

¹⁰⁶ Otto Erich Deutsch, *Mozart. A Documentary Biography*, trans. Peter Branscombe Eric Blom, Jeremy Noble (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), 298.

¹⁰⁷ Original: "Er sieht herrlich aus – für die Gesundheit könnte er kein besseres Ort haben, aber daß übrige ist leider Elend! – einen guten Bauern mögen sie wohl der Welt erziehen! – aber genug, ich habe | weil Montag erst die großen Studien |: daß Gott erbarm |: den Carl bis Sonntag nach Tisch ausgebeten; ich habe gesagt daß du ihm gerne sehen möchtest – Morgen Sonntag komme ich mit ihm hinaus zu dir – dan kannst du ihn behalten, oder ich

Larry Wolff has argued that Mozart's expression of concern about his son's education in this letter certainly stood in the general spirit of Rousseau's *Émile, or on Education*, to which it can be added that exactly this spirit seems to have been the Mozarts' motivation to send their son to this institute in the first place.¹⁰⁸ The letter also shows how Mozart as a father conferred with his wife Constanze about their son's educational future. Constanze's opinion clearly counted, whereas most historical accounts focus on the decision-making father. This example indicates that bourgeois parents increasingly engaged in questions of educational methods and the place of instruction.

During the reign of Joseph II (1780-1790) a space opened for private individuals to pursue their educational projects. This was not only true for male entrepreneurs but also for women. Thérèse Luzac petitioned Emperor Joseph II in January 1786 for permission to open a private boarding school for twelve girls in Vienna.¹⁰⁹ She emphasised the lack of educational opportunities for middle- and upper-class daughters. Although Joseph II had no particular inclination to expand female education, the idea appealed to him for practical reasons. For the education of middle- and upper-class girls usually French tutors [*Hofmeister*] were employed. The Emperor sought to diminish the influence of these French teachers by promoting private initiatives and by training a new generation of teachers. Given this background it seems that Thérèse Luzac's request for the protection and financial support of her envisioned small institute in the Viennese suburbs reached Joseph II at the right time. However, instead of granting Thérèse permission to open her own institute, Joseph II appropriated her plans and heavily modified them together with the Imperial Commission on Education. Thérèse in turn received the opportunity to assume the leadership of this modified version of her idea, a teacher training Institute for Daughters of Civil Servants. This institute was similar to an already existing charitable Institute for Daughters of Military Officers [*Offiziers-Töchter Institut*].¹¹⁰ From 1786 onwards Luzac

führe ihn Sonntag nach Tisch wieder zu Hecker; – überlege es, wegen einen Monath, kann er eben nicht verdorben werden, denke ich! – unterdessen kan die Geschichte wegen den Pieristen zu Stande kommen, woran wirklich gearbeitet wird. – übrigens ist er zwar nicht schlechter, aber auch um kein Haar besser als er immer war. er hat die nähmlichen Unform, plaget gerne wie sonst, und lernt fast noch weniger gern, weil er daraus nichts als vormittags 5 und nach Tisch 5 Stunden im Garten herum geht, wie er mir selbst gestanden hat, mit einem Wort die Kinder thuen nichts, als Essen, trinken, schlafen und spazieren gehen." Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, "An Constanze Mozart in Baden bei Wien. Wien, 14. Oktober 1791. Abschrift, um 1830," ed. Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum, *Mozart Briefe und Dokumente – Online-Edition* (Salzburg 2014), <http://dme.mozarteum.at/briefe/>.

¹⁰⁸ Larry Wolff, "Childhood and the Enlightenment," in *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, ed. Paula S. Fass (New York: Routledge, 2013), 78-100, 94.

¹⁰⁹ Therese Luzac was the daughter of the private physician of the Duke of Orleans. After her father's death her mother married an Austrian civil servant and moved to Vienna. Gerson Wolf, *Projekt einer höheren Töchterschule unter Kaiser Josef II. und das k.k. Civil-Mädchenpensionat in Wien* (Wien: Hölder, 1879).

¹¹⁰ Another practical reason for the emperor's approval of the idea was the practise to privately employ French instructors [*HofmeisterInnen*] for the education of girls in the French language. If the private initiative would

headed the charitable institute which was moved onto the free premises in the convent of St. Ursula in the Viennese city centre. Thérèse's envisioned familiar atmosphere was not realised. The emperor himself selected twenty-four girls on condition that they agreed to serve as public girls' school teachers for at least six years after completing of the course. Some parents heavily contested Thérèse Luzac's leadership with complaints that cumulated in her dismissal in 1789. Apparently, pupils of the institute fervently defended their teacher in a petition to Emperor Joseph II, but it did not help change his mind.¹¹¹ Thérèse Luzac finally realised her private school project in the early 1790s: "After working for twelve years with some success in the education of youth, besides having a particular inclination for children, I can say that it would be impossible to deprive me of this kind of work [...]."¹¹²

She published an outline of her pedagogical ideas in French in which she carefully argued her educational convictions. Thérèse repeatedly emphasised her many years of experience in the educational sector and underlined that her sixty students taught so far, each of whom had remained for at least two years in her care, proved the success of her educational method.¹¹³ Luzac argued with Rousseau that a child should be raised and educated in a way that it did everything out of its own motivation. The teacher had to guide the pupil in "well-regulated freedom."¹¹⁴ Thérèse showed humour in describing her approach to teaching the subjects of history and geography: "They do not say: oh God! Geography!"¹¹⁵ Rather than simply the dry repetition of all German cities, learning geography should be as exciting as taking a journey. The teacher approached the subject of history in a similarly playful manner. She recounted how her pupils had created a collage of notes with interesting historical features in the institute's living room. The place of display apparently invited them to consult these notes during their leisure time. Similar to Wenzel Heeger, Thérèse Luzac placed a strong emphasis on practical

dedicate itself to the education of future teachers, the unwelcomed foreign influence would hopefully be lessened. Wolf, *Civil-Mädchenpensionat*, 9.

¹¹¹ Franz Branky, *Das k. k. Civil-Mädchen-Pensionat in Wien. Eine Denkschrift zur Säcularfeier der im Jahre 1786 vom Kaiser Josef II. zur Heranbildung von Lehrerinnen und Erzieherinnen gegründeten Bildungsstätte* (Wien: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1886), 50. Meike Lauggas analyses the process of Thérèse Luzac's dismissal in detail. Meike Lauggas, *Mädchenbildung bildet Mädchen. Eine Geschichte des Begriffs und der Konstruktionen*, *Feministische Theorie* 40 (Wien: Milena-Verlag, 2000), 105-108. The girls' institute remained until the Imperial School Law of 1869 one of the main institutes for female teacher training in the Habsburg Empire.

¹¹² Original: "Travaillant depuis douze ans avec quelque succès à l'éducation de la jeunesse, ayant d'ailleurs une inclination particulière pour les enfans, je puis dire, qu'il me feroit impossible de me priver de ce genre de travail [...]." Thérèse Luzac, *Idées Générales sur L'éducation, pour fervir de Plan à un établissement que je veux former pour élever quelques jeunes Demoiselles* (Vienna n.p., 1793), 1.

¹¹³ Luzac, *Idées Générales sur L'éducation*, 6.

¹¹⁴ Original: "La liberté bien réglée." Luzac, *Idées Générales sur L'éducation*, 5.

¹¹⁵ Original: "Elles ne diront pas: a Dieu! la Géographie!" Luzac, *Idées Générales sur L'éducation*, 19.

knowledge. This entailed, for example, the care and keeping of plants at the institute. Both institute owners charged a quite high annual school fee of four hundred florins.¹¹⁶

During the 1790s a number of new institutes opened in Vienna and its surroundings. In 1791, for example, Anne Schmidt opened an institute at Landstraße. She offered the subjects: knowledge of the fatherland [*Vaterlandskennntnis*], instruction in nature and the soul [*Natur- und Seelenlehre*] and the art of housekeeping [*Haushaltungskunst*], and drawing. French and needlework were part of the standard repertoire of a girl's schooling.¹¹⁷ Another example is Josepha Weller's institute in the Josefstadt. In her institute's announcement in the *Wiener Zeitung* Josepha gave a detailed description of her girls' school which opened in 1794. Her pupils received board, lodging and clothing, knowledge in German, French, Italian and "if need be the Hungarian language."¹¹⁸ Josepha Weller offered all types of female tasks [*Frauenzimmerarbeiten*], "both concerning decoration and housekeeping."¹¹⁹ Dancing, playing the piano and cooking were part of the curriculum "together with everything that is required for prosperity, morals and necessity." An unusual aspect of this school was that school clothes were provided.

"The clothing for weekdays is cotton, for the holidays wool muslin, complemented with a rose-coloured headband (in summer), in winter duffel¹²⁰ every day, on holidays a scarf with golden cords and a gilded skirt, hats for the summer and stitched bonnets for the winter. Undershirts, stockings, etc. are provided in half-dozen."¹²¹

Occasionally male owners of girls' institute can be found from the 1790s to the 1810s.¹²² In 1793, for example, Jakob Hurka opened an educational institute for girls who had already completed compulsory education beyond the age of twelve. The school's curriculum was similar to other institutes designed to prepare girls for their future domestic roles, comprising of French and Italian, dancing, female tasks [*Frauenzimmerarbeiten*] and everything necessary

¹¹⁶ In comparison Mozart's salary as Court composer starting in 1787 was 800 florins per year. Otto Erich Deutsch, "Austrian Currency Values and Their Purchasing Power (1725-1934)," *Music & Letters* 15, no. 3 (1934), 236-238.

¹¹⁷ Anne Schmidt, "Ankündigung einer Mädchenschule auf der Landstraße Nr. 324 im Schmidischen Hause," *Wiener Zeitung*, 14.05.1791, 1293.

¹¹⁸ Josepha Weller, "Privat-Erziehungsanstalt für Mädchen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 22.03.1794, 869-870.

¹¹⁹ Weller, "Privat-Erziehungsanstalt für Mädchen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 22.03.1794, 869-870.

¹²⁰ Duffel or "Molleton" is a rough cotton fabric woven from plain canvas.

¹²¹ Original: "Die Kleidung ist für die Wochentage Kotton, für die Feyertage Mousselin, nebst einer rosenfarbenen Binde (im Sommer) im Winter Molton auf alle Tage, an Feyertagen ein Tuch mit goldenen Schnüren, und einem garnirten Rock von Kammertuch, Hüte für den Sommer, und geheftete Hauben für den Winter." Weller, "Privat-Erziehungsanstalt für Mädchen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 22.03.1794, 869-870.

¹²² I have found no example of a woman heading a boys' school.

for “practical housekeeping.”¹²³ In Ernest Vogt’s educational institute boys and girls were instructed, but the advertisement did not specify whether certain subjects were co-taught. In 1790 Ernest had received permission to provide board, lodging and education in the elementary subjects, which included Latin, French and Italian, as well as dancing, drawing and fencing. In later advertisements “military exercises” substituted fencing and the school owner added that girls received comprehensive instruction in needlework.¹²⁴ During the first period of the Napoleonic Wars around 1800 several private institutes closed because of financial difficulties; for example, Wenzel Heeger’s boys’ educational institute in Perchtoldsdorf closed. At the same time when private educational institutes were founded a pedagogical discourse with lasting impact developed.

1.3. The Anti-Masturbation Campaign

German pedagogues, often private institute owners themselves, and medical practitioners produced an extensive body of literature on the so-called vice of masturbation in the 1780s and early 1790s.¹²⁵ Central to this literature was the question of how to detect the masturbator and how to wrest children from this evil vice. The anti-masturbation discourse originated in the anonymously published *Onania, or the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution* at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Swiss doctor Samuel Auguste Tissot endorsed the topic in 1758 even further with his publication *L’Onanisme*, in which he explained in great detail all the physical and psychological ailments caused by masturbation.¹²⁶ Jean Jacques Rousseau further popularised Tissot’s views in his publication *Émile, or on Education*.¹²⁷ Remarkably the anti-masturbation campaign created a particular consciousness about children as sexual beings as

¹²³ Jakob Hurka, "Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt für junge Mädchen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 30.10.1793, 3189.

¹²⁴ Anon., "Nachricht. Unterzeichneter macht sich verpflichtet nochmal anzukündigen [...]," *Wiener Zeitung*, 04.09.1790, 2311-2312; Anon., "Nachricht. Ernst Vogt Unternehmer eines Erziehung-Institutes [...]," *Wiener Zeitung*, 10.05.1794, 1412; Anon., "Kundmachung. Ernst Vogt Unternehmer des Erziehung-Institutes [...]," *Wiener Zeitung*, 21.09.1796, 2733. The inclusion of military exercises in the curriculum was likely inspired by the Jesuit priest Father Ignaz Parhammer’s educational approach which promoted strict military discipline for pupils in orphanages. For details on Ignaz Parhammer’s methods see Gernot Heiß, "Erziehung der Waisen zur Manufakturarbeit. Pädagogische Zielvorstellungen und ökonomische Interessen der maria-theresianischen Verwaltung," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 85 (1977), 316-331.

¹²⁵ Isabel Hull has noted that many campaigners against masturbation were private school owners who sought to establish themselves as pedagogues. Isabel Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 270.

¹²⁶ Franz Eder, "Diskurs und Sexualpädagogik: Der deutschsprachige Onanie-Diskurs des späten 18. Jahrhunderts," *Paedagogica Historica* 39, no. 6 (2003), 719-735.

¹²⁷ Rousseau, *Émile, or on Education*. Isabel Hull argues that for this reason the discussion in the German context was always connected to education. Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society*, 259-260.

well as the urge to reflect upon one's own sexual activities.¹²⁸ Isabel Hull further argued that "some people suddenly discovered they had been having sex all their lives (and that it was dangerous)."¹²⁹

In 1811 and 1813 Vinzenz Eduard Milde published a "General Textbook on Pedagogy" [*Allgemeines Lehrbuch der Erziehungskunde*] in which he explained in detail the particulars of the sexual drive and its dangers. With the publication of this textbook for teachers the anti-masturbation discourse entered Austrian pedagogy. Milde held the first chair of pedagogy at the University of Vienna in the early 1800s. The clergyman delved deeper into the issue of early sexuality and how to prevent the vice of masturbation in his textbook: "The sexual drive is a powerful, dangerous, and if it degenerates, a harmful drive. [...] This drive needs the attention and control of the educator."¹³⁰ Based on the extensive anti-masturbation literature Milde explained that this dangerous drive had numerous causes. The following activities allegedly triggered it: adult conversation using a language that disguised the topic of sexuality, telling jokes with a sexual undertone, reading explicit literature, looking at objectionable paintings or depictions, or attending plays which were not appropriate for children. All those activities sparked the fantasies and emotions in young people and so "the sexual drive is awakened and often nourished to insurmountable strength."¹³¹ The pedagogue also discussed the harmful impact of sexual abuse which had the potential to kindle a dangerous sexual drive: "Many are sad victims of corrupt servants, fellow pupils, playmates, or even individual educators."¹³²

It was believed that abuse potentially awakened the sexual drive in a child who subsequently was tempted to engage in the evil vice of masturbation. Interestingly Milde divided the sexual drive into "direct" and "indirect" drives. The indirect drive manifested itself in "friendship with an individual of the same sex, in thankfulness, affection for smaller children and often to animals."¹³³ Milde described this drive as unconscious and free of immoral thoughts, although

¹²⁸ Michel Foucault coined this process as "pedagogization of children's sex." Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality. Vol. 1* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 104. Publications warning about the danger of masturbation were usually accompanied by confession letters to the author, where alleged masturbators reported their symptoms and suffering. The letters, authentic or not, were printed as a pedagogical warning.

¹²⁹ Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society*, 278.

¹³⁰ Original: "Der Geschlechtstrieb ist ein mächtiger, gefährlicher, und, wenn er ausartet, schädlicher Trieb. [...] Dieser Trieb bedarf daher der Aufmerksamkeit und Leitung des Erziehers." Vinzenz Eduard Milde, *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Erziehungskunde im Auszuge, Teil 2* (Vienna: Christian Gottfried Kaulfuß, 1821), 174.

¹³¹ Original: "[...] der Geschlechtstrieb geweckt, und bis zur oft unüberwindlichen Stärke genähret." Milde, *Erziehungskunde Teil 2*, 176.

¹³² Original: "Viele sind ein trauriges Opfer verdorbener Dienstpersonen, Mitschüler, Gespielen, sogar einzelner Erzieher geworden." Milde, *Erziehungskunde Teil 2*, 176.

¹³³ Milde, *Erziehungskunde Teil 2*, 177.

it bore the danger of too much attraction: “In educational institutes and schools, the intense friendships, in which the sexual love is hiding, deserves special attention, because not all pupils have a pure heart.”¹³⁴ A way to prevent too much intimacy was to spatially divide the children from each other and to monitor and occupy them constantly.¹³⁵ Soon Milde moved on to a detailed analysis of the sexual drive and the particular degeneration caused by vice of masturbation. Masturbation, also called “self-weakening” [“*Selbstschwächung*”], was conceptualised as an animalistic instinct. Milde and other authors described this instinct as an overwhelmingly strong force, difficult to stop once unleashed. Importantly, traces of the vice allegedly clearly manifested in the mind and body of the pupil.¹³⁶ Therefore, teachers needed to be trained in order to detect these signs of masturbation. Again, Milde emphasised the danger of same sex attraction. In this context it is interesting that anti-masturbation campaigners made the practise of masturbation responsible for a mental change connected to the object choice, a shift of the focus of desire. Milde argued that masturbating caused a “sudden indifference towards the other gender, and conversely a passionate attachment to individuals of the same sex.”¹³⁷

In anti-masturbation literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the bourgeois public/private divide became visible in descriptions of the process of becoming a masturbator. It was believed that girls regularly developed the practise of masturbation in solitude, whereas boys learnt from each other and to practise on each other.¹³⁸ Vivid examples of this gendered distinction are documented in Joachim Heinrich Campe’s collection of pedagogical writings.¹³⁹ In this collection Johann Friedrich Oest pleaded for a separation and rearrangement of school benches in his prize-winning essay on how to prevent masturbation.

¹³⁴ Original: "In Erziehungshäusern und Schulen verdienen die heftigen Freundschaften, unter denen die Geschlechtsliebe sich verbirgt, eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit, weil nicht alle Zöglinge eines reinen Herzens sind." Milde, *Erziehungskunde Teil 2*, 177-178.

¹³⁵ The German pedagogue Johann Friedrich Oest had already suggested this in his prize winning contribution to a competition organised by Joachim Heinrich Campe. Johann Friedrich Oest, "Versuch einer Beantwortung der pädagogischen Frage: Wie man Kinder und junge Leute vor dem Leib und Seele verwüstenden Laster der Unzucht überhaupt, und der Selbstschwächung insonderheit verwahren, oder, wofern sie schon davon angesteckt waren, wie man sie davon heilen könne?," in *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens: von einer Gesellschaft practischer Erzieher 6*, ed. Joachim Heinrich Campe (Wien: 1787).

¹³⁶ Milde explained in detail how a child could be detected. After listing a range of bodily symptoms from paleness and yellow-coloured skin, to general weakness and staying behind in development the author moved to mental changes which were characterised by feelings of distractedness, irritability, fear and embarrassment.

¹³⁷ Original: "[...] plötzliche Gleichgültigkeit gegen das andere Geschlecht, und dagegen leidenschaftlicher Hang zu Personen desselben Geschlechtes, [...]." Milde, *Erziehungskunde Teil 2*, 185.

¹³⁸ A clear example for this conception is the fear of “two boys in one bed” in factory dormitories as described in Chapter Two of this thesis.

¹³⁹ Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818) was a prominent German writer and pedagogue.

“You accustom the children to sit properly; let them attend without coats and be careful to have an uninterrupted view of everything that goes on. [...] Then it will never happen that in the presence of the teacher a boy teaches the vice to another one, or practises it on the other, as the teacher reports.”¹⁴⁰

However, Oest did not confine himself to boys. He continued his observations focusing on industrial schools for needlework:

“The same is true for sewing or knitting schools where, every girl so easily becomes her own seducer. If you do not know the person who is their warden and if you are not convinced about her attention to this ill-fated vice, keep your children back, and no mother should be ashamed to lead her daughters herself and educate them under her supervision in the female businesses.”¹⁴¹

The danger of masturbation was discursively connected to industrial education in two ways. Campaigners urgently warned against monotonous occupations. In particular spinning was deemed to quickly cause boredom and could potentially exert too much pressure on certain parts of the body. In an appendix to Oest’s observations Joachim Heinrich Campe added concrete examples of children who had, in the eyes of the campaigners, rushed into disaster. Female examples were frequently connected to the position in which needlework was carried out: one girl allegedly started masturbating when she stood at the corner of the table while knitting and touched ever so often “an excitable part of the body”¹⁴², which led to intensified feelings. Anti-masturbation campaigners considered sitting at the corner of the chair or crossing legs while doing needlework to be the most dangerous practises. Similar arguments were mounted in cases involving boys. Everything that caused pressure on the “secret parts” of the body was seen as risky.¹⁴³ At the same time constant visibility and occupying hands with useful tasks was regarded as preventative measures that had the potential to save children from the

¹⁴⁰ „Man gewöhne die Kinder, anständig zu sitzen; lasse sie ohne Mäntel kommen und habe eine ununterbrochene Aufsicht auf alles, was vorgeht. [...] So wird es nie geschehen können, daß im Beiseyn des Lehrers ein Knabe den andern das Laster lehre, oder an ihm treibe, wie der Volkslehrer erzählt.“ Johann Friedrich Oest, "Versuch einer Beantwortung der pädagogischen Frage: Wie man Kinder und junge Leute vor dem Leib und Seele verwüstenden Laster der Unzucht überhaupt, und der Selbstschwächung insonderheit verwahren, oder, wofern sie schon davon angesteckt waren, wie man sie davon heilen könne?," in *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens: von einer Gesellschaft practischer Erzieher* 6, ed. Joachim Heinrich Campe (Wien: 1787), 142.

¹⁴¹ Original: "Eben dieses gilt von Näh- und Strickschulen, wo noch dazu jedes Mädchen so leicht sein eigener Verführer wird. Kennt man nicht die Person, die hier Aufseherin ist, und ist man nicht von ihrer Aufmerksamkeit gerade auf dies unselige Laster überzeugt, so behalte man seine Kinder zurück und jede Mutter schäme sich nicht, ihre Töchter selbst anzuführen und unter eigener Aufsicht zu weiblichen Geschäften zu bilden." Oest, "Versuch einer Beantwortung der pädagogischen Frage," 142-143.

¹⁴² Oest, "Versuch einer Beantwortung der pädagogischen Frage," 92-99.

¹⁴³ Isabel Hull describes the focus on boys in greater detail. It is remarkable that girls were recognised to some extent as sexual beings. Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society*, 262-263.

vice. In Habsburg Austria this anti-masturbation discourse entered school legislation with the School Administration Act of 1805/1806. The legislation advised teachers not to tolerate certain behaviour; pupils were required to stay in sight, sit in a certain position and keep their hands visible: "He does not tolerate [...] the frequent leaving [of the classroom], the indecent way of sitting and the hiding of the hands."¹⁴⁴ The anti-masturbation campaigners produced a discourse whose traces can be found in different contexts throughout the nineteenth century as examples in this thesis will illustrate.¹⁴⁵

1.4. Industrial Education and the Cotton Industry

"Children will be people,
Girls will be brides,
However, only those will live happily,
Who early strive to acquire useful knowledge."¹⁴⁶

This German rhyme published in the Bohemian education journal *Der Schulfreund Böhmens* emphasises the "education for usefulness" [*Nützlichkeitserziehung*] which was a dominant pedagogical aim from the late eighteenth century. Reformers envisioned gender appropriate "education for usefulness" to instil industriousness in children.¹⁴⁷ During the eighteenth-century industriousness became a core ideal of the *Bürgertum* and functioned as a demarcation from the alleged idleness [*Müßiggang*] of the aristocracy.¹⁴⁸ In turn instilling these values in children of the lower classes became a central educational mission. The Bohemian clergyman Ferdinand Kindermann was the most influential promoter of industrial education in the eighteenth-century Habsburg monarchy. In 1788 he wrote in his account of industrial schools,

¹⁴⁴ Original: "Er dulde nicht [...] das öftere Hinausgehen, das unanständige Sitzen und Verbergen der Hände." Elfter Abschnitt, §21 and 22, PSchV.

¹⁴⁵ Isabel Hull points to the threat the practise of masturbation caused to civil society in the eyes of the clergy, pedagogues and medical practitioners; if the body and mind degenerated and the sexes lost interest in one another, the institution of marriage was endangered and therefore society itself. Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society*, 265.

¹⁴⁶ Original: "Aus Kindern werden Leute, Aus Mädchen werden Bräute, Doch pflegen nur jene einst glücklich zu leben, Die früh schon nach nützlichen Kenntnissen streben." "Verse" in *Der Schulfreund Böhmens*, Vol. 1/3, Prague 1817, 132.

¹⁴⁷ In German "industriousness" translates to "Fleiß", "Arbeitsamkeit", "Betriebsamkeit", "Thätigkeit" or "Industriosität".

¹⁴⁸ The proverb "Müßiggang ist aller Laster Anfang" [Idleness is the root of all vice] is common knowledge. For a detailed analysis of this conceptual pair see Wolfgang Asholt and Walter Fähnders, eds., *Arbeit und Müßiggang 1789 bis 1914. Dokumente und Analysen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1991).

“The advantages of industrial schools are great; they are very substantial. Sin and vice are prevented and the prosperity of the human society promoted [...].”¹⁴⁹

Similarly, Heinrich Phillip Sextro, Professor for Theology and Administrator of Poor Relief in Göttingen, argued in his programmatic paper on industrial schools in 1785:

“In educating the youth to be industriousness and through this annual increase of diligent workers for the state, the number of the poor who are fed by the state and the number of corruption of morals and vices, which idle poor commit, maintain and spread, would soon decrease.”¹⁵⁰

Sextro’s publication motivated the famous pedagogue Joachim Heinrich Campe who strove to further promote industrial education with his essay “About a Few Underestimated or at Least Unused Ways to Further the Industry, the Population and Public Welfare.”¹⁵¹ Campe argued that industrial education had to be linked to school education. The teaching method at the time was limited to gathering all the children in one class room and then instructing one child after the other. In the meantime, the other children were left unmonitored and misbehaved, “starting all kinds of damaging, often very damaging mischief.”¹⁵² Industrial education, for example in the form of needlework, had the potential to remedy the problem and create a new generation of industrious citizens. Joachim Heinrich Campe contrasted this image of industrious citizens with a description of members from the lower classes who were “cumbersome, lazy, clumsy and driven by animalistic thoughtlessness.”¹⁵³

Girls and boys who came from a poor background became the focus of attention of pedagogues and social reformers who in the spirit of the Enlightenment increasingly understood childhood as an innocent and pure phase of life, which is separate from adulthood. In this conception, labour and industrial education were effectively justified as child protective measures against

¹⁴⁹ Original: "Die Vortheile, welche aus diesen Industrieschulen herfließen, sind groß, sie sind sehr beträchtlich. Sünd und Laster wird verhütet, und der Wohlstand der menschlichen Gesellschaft befördert [...]." Ferdinand Kindermann, Kurze Beschreibung des Probstes von Schulstein von der Entstehungs- und Verbreitungsart der Industrialklassen in den Volksschulen des Königreichs Böhmen, 1788, reprinted in: Anton Weiss, *Geschichte der Theresianischen Schulreform in Böhmen* (Wien/Leipzig: Hof-Verlags-Buchhandlung Carl Fromme, 1906), 400-407.

¹⁵⁰ Original: "Durch diese Bildung der Jugend zur Industrie, und durch diese jährliche Vermehrung fleißiger Arbeiter im Staat, würde dann freylich auch die Anzahl der Armen, die der Staat nun ernährt, und damit auch die Anzahl der Sittenverderbnisse und Laster, die müßige Arme begehen, unterhalten und fortpflanzen, bald geringer werden." Heinrich Philipp Sextro (1746-1838), *Über die Bildung der Jugend zur Industrie* (Göttingen Dieterich, 1785), 129.

¹⁵¹ Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Ueber einige verkannte wenigstes ungenützte Mittel zur Beförderung der Industrie, der Bevölkerung und des öffentlichen Wohlstandes* (Wolfenbüttel: Schulbuchhandlung, 1786).

¹⁵² Campe, *Beförderung der Industrie*, 10.

¹⁵³ Campe, *Beförderung der Industrie*, 12.

poverty and begging. The Bohemian school reformer Ferdinand Kindermann argued that parents usually withdrew their children from school so that they could be used to carry out a number of household tasks or other forms of employment. He emphasised that a combination of primary education with instruction in skills could prevent this practise, particularly because children usually received little remuneration. As a result, parents associated instruction with financial expenditure.¹⁵⁴

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, private entrepreneurs and local school teachers established a variety of industrial schools. These schools were often short-lived and largely forgotten several decades later.¹⁵⁵ A primary school tailored for industrial production was referred to as an industrial school. However, the designation “industrial school” was also used for separate lessons attended in addition to primary school education. Industrial schools were also called working schools [*Arbeitsschulen*] or occupation schools [*Erwerbsschulen*]. The establishment of spinning schools [*Spinnschulen*] was a distinct trend during the second half of the eighteenth century. In his comparative study James van Horn Melton has shown that Prussian efforts to cultivate useful citizens provided a good example and influenced Austrian developments at the time. In 1763 the Prussian government implemented spinning instruction for local youth in Silesian villages. Austria followed the Prussian example with a decree issued in 1765, promoting spinning schools in rural areas.¹⁵⁶ The preparatory work of cotton wool continued to be outsourced for many decades to come. Spinning schools offer a particularly clear example of societal efforts to promote industrial development. From September 1777 to March 1792 the Bohemian school directorate published biannual reports which show that this type of school spread rapidly, especially in Bohemia.¹⁵⁷ These reports provide insights into the reformist zeal that captured the region throughout these two decades. In many cases teachers established industrial classes taught in the school building. These classes were usually instructed by the daughters or wives of these teachers. For instance, the teacher Franz Miller founded an industrial school in Altstadt in 1785.¹⁵⁸ In this school children were instructed in

¹⁵⁴ This practise of small remuneration was not exclusive to Bohemia but widespread as Christine Mayer argues in her analysis of industrial schools in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Hamburg. Mayer, "Poverty, education and gender: Pedagogic transformations in the schools for the poor (Armenschulwesen) in Hamburg, 1788-1871."

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter Two.

¹⁵⁶ Melton, *Absolutism*, 135.

¹⁵⁷ Ferdinand Kindermann (1740-1801) founded the first industrial school in Bohemia in 1773. The idea quickly found civil societal resonance, since 674 schools were counted by 1798. Renate Seebauer, *Kein Jahrhundert des Kindes. Kinderarbeit im Spannungsfeld von Schul- und Sozialgesetzgebung*, Pädagogik und Gesellschaft 8 (Wien: Lit-Verlag, 2010), 35.

¹⁵⁸ There were several towns called Altstadt in Bohemia at the time, the report did not specify the location.

spinning wool and cotton wool and silk preparation. These children were described as coming from a poor background, and their working parents had no time to supervise their children. The report on the industrial school in Altstadt underlined that without the teacher's intervention the children would have grown up in idleness and wild freedom. As a consequence of their idleness these children would have become a burden on the state. A key consideration of pedagogues as well as members of civil society who financially supported the foundation of industrial schools was to supply the developing *Bürgertum* with better qualified servants and artisans. This approach can be found in Franz Miller's explicit emphasis that early work training was important to raise "at least hard-working servants and craftsman [...]"¹⁵⁹ Industrial education was not only directed at children but also at adults during the second half of the eighteenth century. Reports enthusiastically described that the task of spinning wool to yarn made many industrial schools effectively wool spinning mills. In Bílina/Bilin, a spa town in Bohemia, the school headmaster Franz Kohl had opened an industrial school in the summer of 1786 with the help of charitable sponsors in an effort to spread the spinning business:

"The industrial school founded with great effort by the Bilin school teacher Franz Kohl makes ever so beneficial steps, the more beneficiary friends are supporting him. The Bilin Royal Oberamt as well as the Royal Industrial Directorate [Industrialdirektion] took a very active interest in the name of patriotic love for the youth. Through this, good institutions were established for the introduction and spreading of the spinning business in the dominions of Bilin, Liebeshausen, Mireschowitz, Eisenberg, and Neudorf; through this initiative cotton was distributed to all towns and villages, and the first encouragement was given in the form of ten gulden for spinning wheels for poor pupils in Bilin."¹⁶⁰

The emphasis on patriotic fervour paired with love and dedication for the youth can be found in many reports on industrial schools in Bohemia. The amount of spun wool was announced with pride as illustrated when, under the direction of Baron von Lamotte, the children in a Prague orphanage produced 3,798 pounds of cotton wool, in addition to 426 pounds spun by apprentices.¹⁶¹ The process of turning wool to yarn was a work step not only delegated to schools but also to work houses and orphanages. This development was part of Maria Theresa's

¹⁵⁹ Weiss, *Geschichte der Theresianischen Schulreform in Böhmen*, 306.

¹⁶⁰ Original: "Die mit großem Aufwande von dem biliner Schuldirektor Franz Kohl errichtete Industrialschule macht um so vortheilhaftere Schritte, je mehrere und wohlthätigere Freunde ihn unterstützen. Das biliner fürstl. Oberamt sowohl als die fürstl. Industrialdirektion nahmen sich der Sache aus patriotischer Liebe zur Jugend sehr thätig an. Durch jenes wurden zur Einführung und Verbreitung des Spinngeschäftes auf den Herrschaften Bilin, Liebeshausen, Mireschowitz, Eisenberg, und Neudorf gute Anstalten getroffen; durch diese ward der Verlag von Baumwolle für sämmentliche [sic] Ortschaften besorgt, und 10fl auf Spinnräder für arme Schülerinnen in Bilin zur ersten Aufmunterung geschenkt." Weiss, *Geschichte der Theresianischen Schulreform in Böhmen*, 382.

¹⁶¹ Weiss, *Geschichte der Theresianischen Schulreform in Böhmen*, 374.

and her son Joseph II's systematic promotion of the cotton industry.¹⁶² Several examples illustrate the entanglement between industry and the educational promotion of industriousness throughout the eighteenth century. The educational programme of orphanages established during the eighteenth century usually included instruction in spinning, knitting and other useful tasks. The skills children acquired in early eighteenth century Vienna were soon applied to the textile production of the Oriental Company. It is important to note that influential textile producers and traders were at the same time prominent donors to orphanages. The Viennese silk merchant Michael Kienmayr, for example, donated a building to a Viennese orphanage in 1742. Another example is the textile producing Waldstein family, who established an orphanage on their estate in Oberleutensdorf/Litvínov in 1754. Empress Maria Theresa actively supported this utilisation of orphans in an effort to combine the care of orphans with education for usefulness in the form of textile production. In 1761 heads of orphanages were per decree informed that spinning mills were eager to take poor children on "for care".¹⁶³ Orphans and poor children were specifically addressed with a decree in February 1764, which legislated that manual labour was to be introduced in orphanages, poorhouses, prisons and workhouses through the cottage system, in which textile production was dispersed to these institutions.¹⁶⁴ Similar developments also took place in other European cities. Frederick the Great, for example, granted the lace producers *Ephraim and Sons* in Potsdam permission to employ six hundred orphans in 1769.¹⁶⁵

1.5. Factories as Charitable Enterprises

The promotion of industriousness justified not only the use of orphans for piecework but also the employment of children in factories. This development is particularly visible in the textile industry, where factories became increasingly the centralised places for production.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Gustav Otruba, "Die Wirtschaftspolitik Maria Theresias und Josephs II," in *Von der Glückseligkeit des Staates. Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Österreich im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus*, ed. Herbert Matis (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1981), 77-104.

¹⁶³ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 173.

¹⁶⁴ Several articles describe eighteenth century orphanages in Vienna in detail. Heiß, "Erziehung der Waisen zur Manufakturarbeit." Martin Scheutz, "Pater Kindergeneral und Janitscharenmusik. Österreichische Waisenhäuser der Frühen Neuzeit im Spannungsfeld von Arbeit, Erziehung und Religion," *ÖZG* 25, no. 1 (2014), 41-81.

¹⁶⁵ Doris Bühler-Niederberger and Heinz Sünker, "Die proletarische Kindheit," in *Kindheiten in der Moderne. Eine Geschichte der Sorge*, ed. Meike S. Baader, Florian Eßer and Wolfgang Schröer (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2014), 72-96, 85.

¹⁶⁶ The transition from the cottage system to a centralised system of production did not happen abruptly as historian Andrea Komlosy has shown. However, a significant changeover took place around 1800. Komlosy points to the expansion of mechanical cotton spinning concentrated in the Industrial District of southern Lower Austria, northern Bohemia and in Vorarlberg. Andrea Komlosy, "Textiles Verlagswesen, Hausindustrie und Heimarbeit.

However, these cotton mills and other factories needed vast spaces for production. Empress Maria Theresa decisively opposed the expansion of production sites in Vienna, since the overall cost of living was already high in the overcrowded capital city. Moreover, an expansion of factories threatened to further increase the price of goods, particularly food goods.¹⁶⁷ The issue became even more pressing at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century during the Napoleonic war period, when a severe housing shortage made space even more precious in Vienna. The expansion of factories was also discussed in terms of social control. One argument in favour of production sites remaining and expanding in Vienna was the aspect of provision. Factories effectively functioned as asylums for the “inevitable mob situated in all bigger cities.”¹⁶⁸ From 1801 to 1804 a power struggle over the subject between two different imperial institutions, the Court Chancellery and the Imperial Chamber led to heated discussions about the benefits and disadvantages of banning the establishment of new factories in Vienna. As a result, entrepreneurs were encouraged through incentives to establish their businesses in the countryside. This development led to a series of factory openings in the Province below the Vienna Woods, also called the Industrial District. Retrospectively the establishment of vast cotton mills outside of Vienna, but in the Lower Austrian countryside, was an advantage for factory owners. When the issue of child labour gained public attention in the 1830s and 1840s, the owners contrasted the healthiness of the natural environment in the countryside to the appalling situation of factory workers in urban centres in France and England.¹⁶⁹

In 1786 Emperor Joseph II issued a memorandum to his minister of state Count Pergen. This memorandum was the starting point for minimal conditions for the employment of child labourers in factories in the Habsburg Empire. Remarkably this memorandum was for several decades the only legislation with the exception of certain provisions regulating the education of child labourers. During his travels in 1785 Joseph II had visited a silk factory in the so-called Grünmühle, an estate associated with the village Wienersdorf in the Industrial District in Lower Austria. The emperor had witnessed “endless ailments.”¹⁷⁰ An epidemic of typhus

Prototypen des informellen Sektors im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Ungeregelt und unterbezahlt. Der informelle Sektor: Konzepte, Widersprüche und Debatten*, ed. Christof Parnreiter, Andrea Komlosy, Irene Stacher and Susan Zimmermann (Wien: Südwind, 1997), 63-86.

¹⁶⁷ Johann Slokar, *Geschichte der österreichischen Industrie und ihrer Förderung unter Kaiser Franz I. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Großindustrie und unter Benützung archivalischer Quellen verfaßt* (Wien: F. Tempsky, 1914), 18.

¹⁶⁸ Original: "[...] das in allen großen Städten notwendigerweise befindliche Gesindel [...]." Speech by Count Herberstein-Moltke on the 3rd of March 1802 at the United Court Office [Vereinigte Hofstelle]. Quoted in: Slokar, *Geschichte der österreichischen Industrie*, 31.

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter Three.

¹⁷⁰ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, Copia. Lieber Graf Pergen!

[*epidemisches Faulfieber*] had broken out which had already cost several workers their lives. The emperor also witnessed the children's bodies covered in scabies. Joseph II observed that it was common for four and five children to share a bed and decided that each child should sleep in a separate bed. Moreover, girls and boys were to sleep "completely separated in different bedrooms."¹⁷¹ Joseph II specifically detailed hygienic measures in points three to five.

3. Once a week the children have to be cleaned and combed.
4. Every eight days the children have to receive clean laundry, shirts, etc. and
5. All months the bed facility must be cleaned and the sheets exchanged."¹⁷²

Emperor Joseph II ordered the visit of a district medical officer twice a year, in spring and autumn "to enact the most needed" [*das Nöthige zu verordnen*] and to monitor whether his directives had been implemented. Additionally, three other authorities were engaged in supervision. Four times per year "the district authority, the government and the concerned pastor have to take over supervision and care of the points above and issue a report."¹⁷³ Interestingly the minimal requirements did not mention attending Sunday mass or religious worship, a point that became critical for the Catholic clergy during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

A year later the imperial government regulated the education of children working in factories. While six years of education was technically compulsory for every girl and boy from the age of six, the directive proposed a compromise between the need for education and the need to earn an income.¹⁷⁴ The "need" of factory owners for a cheap labour force was not mentioned. Factory owners and the child's parents had to cover the costs of education. The local teacher and the priest either provided evening classes in the local school, or the factory owner opened a separate school on the factory grounds. Both solutions were called factory schools

¹⁷¹ In his article on factory legislation, published during his study of law, the economist Ludwig von Mises identified this first point which stemmed from a 1765 decree which demanded separate beds for servants to prevent fornication. Ludwig von Mises, "Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Fabriksgesetzgebung," *Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung* 14 (1905), 209-271.

¹⁷² Original: "3. Sind die Kinder alle Wochen wenigstens einmahl durch Waschen und Kämmen am Leib zu reinigen, und zu säubern. 4. Müssen den Kindern alle 8 Tage neu gewaschene Wäsche, Hemde gegeben werden. 5. Alle Monate müssen die Bettstätte gereinigt und die Leintücher mit neu gewaschenen getauschet werden." DAW, Lieber Graf Pergen!, 95/8.

¹⁷³ DAW, Lieber Graf Pergen!, 95/8.

¹⁷⁴ The directive informed factory owners that children should only if necessary be employed before the age of nine. Mises, "Fabriksgesetzgebung."

[*Fabriksschulen*].¹⁷⁵ This directive requiring factory schools for child labourers entered later with wording similar to the School Administration Act of 1805/06.¹⁷⁶

In the Habsburg Empire the question of child labour received early legislative attention in comparison to legislative measures in England and France. In England production processes were already largely mechanised by the end of the eighteenth century. Sir Robert Peel introduced the first child labour legislation *Health and Morals of Apprentices Act* in 1802. This legislation, also called the Factory Act of 1802, focused on apprentices with some of its clauses applying to all textile factories. Concerning the sleeping arrangements of children, Peel addressed topics similar to early Austrian legislation. The Factory Act demanded separate sleeping arrangements for girls and boys but it did not object to a maximum of two children sleeping in one bed together.¹⁷⁷ While in Joseph II's decree the cleanliness of the children's bodies and sleeping spaces were the focus of attention, the Factory Act expanded on hygiene measures and called for the proper ventilation of workspaces and the whitewashing of walls twice a year. An important difference between the laws was the call for limited working hours (maximum twelve) and prohibition of night shifts in the English legislation. Apprentices should be provided with basic education, clothing and accommodation and should attend church services once a month. Factory owners in the Habsburg Empire had to provide basic education, food (but only if the apprentice or the working child lived on the factory grounds), clothes, lodging, linen and medical supplies.¹⁷⁸ Both pieces of legislation were poorly enforced if at all.¹⁷⁹

Child labour was not a phenomenon novel to the eighteenth century. The novelty was that the places of production were increasingly outside the family home and often at a considerable distance. When production sites expanded and factories increasingly employed children, the idea of factory labour as a charitable provision for children prevailed. The following example

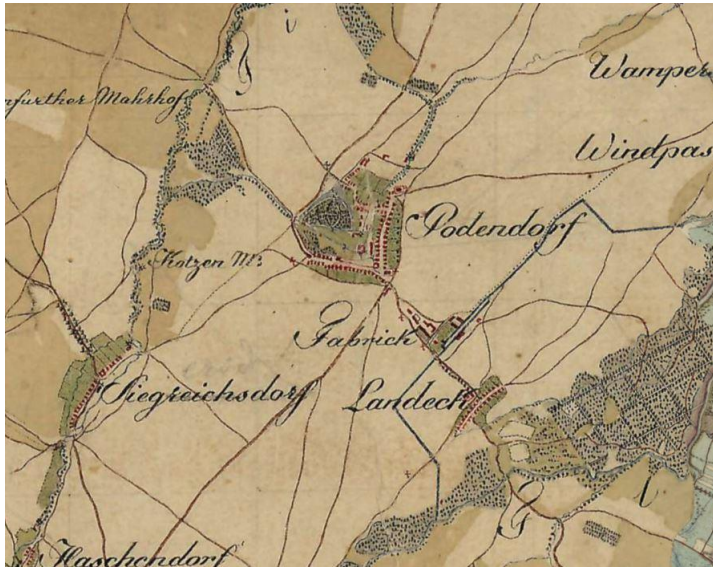
¹⁷⁵ The term "factory school" was used for schools privately established by factory owners for children under the age of twelve who worked in a factory. In some cases, the factory school was solely dedicated to the daughters and sons of factory workers. In other cases evening classes paid by the factory owner and held in the local primary school were also called "factory schools."

¹⁷⁶ See §10, section fifteen, PSchV.

¹⁷⁷ A. Harrison B. L. Hutchins, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 2nd Edition ed. (London: P.S. King & Son, 1911), 16.

¹⁷⁸ On the "Rights of the apprentices towards the factory owner" [§ 148. Rechte der Lehrlinge gegen den Fabriksherrn"] in: Ignaz Wildner von Maithstein, *Das österreichische Fabrikenrecht. Mit einem Anhang über das Recht der Wasserleitung* (Wien: Beck, 1838), 153-155.

¹⁷⁹ A similar destiny was later experienced in France where the first law to regulate factory work - the Children's Protection Act of 1841 - was in fact not applied, since no authority enforced the law. Bénédicte Reynaud Jérôme Bourdieu, "Factory discipline, health and externalities in the reduction of working time in nineteenth century France," *Socio-Economic Review* 4 (2005), 93-118: 97.



5 Close-up of the Land Register of Francis II (I). WStLA, Staatliches Finanzwesen, Franziszeischer Kataster (1817-1833).

offers some illuminating insights into the state promotion of child labour in factories. Around 1800 the Austrian government invested considerable time and effort into recruit skilled British machine builders in order to introduce new technology to the industries across the Habsburg Empire.¹⁸⁰ The efforts soon bore fruit. In 1802 a cotton mill located in Pottendorf was the first cotton mill on the European continent based on the English

model. A group of aristocrats and wholesalers in the circle of Count Josef Schwarzenberg financed the mill. John Thornton, a craftsman from the Manchester cotton firm McConnel and Kennedy, was responsible for establishing the factory.¹⁸¹ By 1811 this cotton mill had developed into a busy production site with as many as 1,800 workers, many of whom were children. In preparation for the production process in the factory the beating and cleaning of cotton wool was outsourced to separate branches, including a workhouse in Vienna, a branch in Wiener Neustadt and several branches in West-Hungary.¹⁸² Since the founding of the factory in 1802 both the work and the living spaces continually expanded. In 1811 a *Fabriks-Ortschaft* [factory village] with twenty-six houses was completed in addition to the work buildings, which were situated on both sides of the river Fischa.¹⁸³ One of the buildings was the so-called

¹⁸⁰ A detailed and entertaining description of the efforts of Baron Karl Georg Glave-Kolbielski (1752-1831) for this cause is provided in: Herman Freudenberger, *Lost Momentum. Austrian Economic Development 1750s-1830s* (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2003), 192-199.

¹⁸¹ John and his brothers also founded other factories in Ebenfurth, Eggendorf, Münchendorf and Unterwaltersdorf. Historian Herbert Matis shows in his chapter "Der österreichische Unternehmer" shows how waves of immigration of wholesalers, industrialists and machine builders influenced nineteenth century Austrian economy. Herbert Matis, *Von der frühen Industrialisierung zum Computerzeitalter. Wirtschaftshistorische Wegmarkierungen. Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Charlotte Natmeßnig and Karl Bachinger (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2006), 39-54.

¹⁸² One of the cotton mill's shareholders was the Hungarian Count Niklas Esterhazy. Anon., "Entstehung und dermahliger Stand der Baumwoll-Spinnerey Unternehmung in Pottendorf," *Vaterländische Blätter*, 09.11.1811, 542. According to the local archive of Hornstein two Putzhäuser [cleaning houses] for cotton wool were opened in Hornstein and Steinbrunn employing 150 female workers each. For more information see the webpage of the archive in Hornstein <<http://www.hornstein.at/de/heimatarchiv-hornstein/herrschaft-esterhazy/>> [accessed 10.02.2016].

¹⁸³ Anon., "Entstehung und dermahliger Stand der Baumwoll-Spinnerey Unternehmung in Pottendorf," *Vaterländische Blätter*, 09.11.1811, 541-542.

Kinderhaus [children's institute]. This children's institute was a living and learning space with separate units for girls and boys who were the sons and daughters of the military personnel. For working families, separate buildings with separate units were provided. The children's institute in Pottendorf was a late example of an explicitly charitable institution for child labourers as described in the previous section. According to a contemporary report the institute building was attached to a garden, which was a point used to argue that the children were surrounded by a healthy environment.

“As a large number of children are employed in the factory, the entrepreneurs established a separate building for them (in addition to the garden), in which 200 children are entertained and educated.”¹⁸⁴

Twenty-four spaces in this children's institute were reserved for daughters of experienced soldiers above the rank of sergeant. Since the military fund financed these spaces, the institute was called *Franzens-Kinder-Institut*, a children's institute dedicated to Emperor Francis, who had authorised its establishment. The first director of the cotton mill, Josef Hartl Edler von Luchsenstein, argued that daughters of soldiers should not live in military barracks since only negative examples surrounded them there.¹⁸⁵ They neither received any religious education nor industrious education. In the opinion of Josef Hartl, the “future sad destiny” of these girls, likely referring to prostitution, was predetermined because of this kind of life. Consequently, the factory director deemed living and working in a factory as the better choice.¹⁸⁶ In 1812 the government informed the Archiepiscopal Consistory, which acted as the local school monitoring authority, that admission to the institute required meeting the following conditions.

1. “The child has to be a poor orphan or have parents who either because of the size of their family, or their poverty have difficulties feeding and educating their children; the authorities have to confirm these circumstances.
2. Without exception the child has to be born in one of the Austrian provinces and be Catholic, as there is no other religious education provided other than Catholicism.

¹⁸⁴ Original: "Da sehr viele Kinder in der Fabrik beschäftigt werden, so haben die Unternehmer ein eigenes Gebäude (nebst Garten) bauen lassen, in welchem 200 Kinder erzogen, unterhalten und gebildet werden." Anon., "Die Baumwollspinnerey zu Pottendorf bei Wien," *Allgemeine Handlungs-Zeitung. Mit den neuesten Erfindungen und Verbesserungen im Fabrikwesen, und in der Stadt- und Landwirthschaft*, 18.01.1822, 34.

¹⁸⁵ The cotton mill director was conveniently also the spokesman of the Viennese court's charity commission.

¹⁸⁶ Hofkanzleivortrag 24.10.1811 and resolution on 21.11.1811 quoted by: Mises, "Fabrikgesetzgebung," 214. Josef Hartl Edler von Luchsenstein possibly formed his opinion in reference to a decree issued by Empress Maria Theresa in May 1766, who ordered to keep the daughters and female servants separate from the soldiers' quarters. See legislation from the 7th of May 1766, "Bei Einquartierung der Soldaten [...]", Sammlung aller k. k. Verordnungen und Gesetze vom Jahre 1740 bis 1780, 1789.

3. The child is not allowed to be under eight or over twelve years of age, it is not permitted to have a physical ailment which could hinder its ability to work, it has to be healthy and vaccinated.
4. The parents or guardians should guarantee that they will leave the children in the institute until aged fifteen because until they gain working skills they are damaging for the factory, and to have a constant turnover of children is disadvantageous, however, in exceptional cases earlier leave is permitted if better care-taking of the children can be proven."¹⁸⁷

Detailed instructions were not limited to the selection of potential candidates but these instructions were also extended to their transfer to the institute. When a girl was granted admission, meticulous guidelines were provided for the transportation of the girl from her departure point in the Habsburg Empire to the factory. A soldier's wife was to transport the child safely to the institute and was remunerated for her efforts at a rate similar to an infantryman. In addition, she received the pay of a meat contribution [*Fleischbeytrag*], bread money [*Brotgeld*] and lodging money [*Schlafkreuzer*]."¹⁸⁸

The following account of a celebration on the occasion of Emperor Francis' return to Vienna after the peace settlement in Paris on the 16th of June 1814 gives an idea of the spirit with which the institute was run. The directory of the children's institute dedicated to Emperor Francis organised a morning mass in the church of Pottendorf, and then celebrations continued in the cotton mill itself.¹⁸⁹ On the occasion of the memorable event all children of the *Franzens-Kinder-Institut* in Pottendorf were dressed in their Sunday attire and were put on display together with their banner [*Fahne*] in a half circle in the institute's yard.¹⁹⁰ The administrator

¹⁸⁷ Original: "1. Das Kind muß entweder eine arme Waise seyn, oder solchen Eltern angehören, welchen entweder wegen ihrer zahlreichen Familie, oder wegen eigener Armuth die Ernährung und Erziehung des Kindes zu beschwerlich fällt, diese Umstände müssen durch obrigkeitliche Zeugnisse erwiesen werden. 2. Selbes muss in einem der österr. Provinzen ohne eine Ausnahme gebohren, und katholisch seyn, weil in diesem Institute kein anderer Religionsunterricht, als der katholische stattfindet. 3. Das Kind darf nicht unter 8 und nicht über 12 Jahre alt sey, es darf kein körperliches, die Arbeitsfähigkeit hinderndes Gebrechen haben, sondern muß gesund und vacciniert seyn. 4. Eltern und Vormünder müssen sich versichern, die Kinder bis zum 15. Jahre in der Anstalt zu belassen, weil sie, bis sie in der Arbeit Fertigkeit erlangen, der Fabrik Schaden bringen, und im steten Wechsel der Kinder für die Fabrik zu nachtheilig wäre, jedoch wird in ausserordentlichen Fällen, wo eine bessere Versorgung der Kinder erweislich ist, auch während der Zeit der frühere Austritt gestattet." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/10, Zur Sitzung am 2. Jänner 1812, Zusatzblatt.

¹⁸⁸ Section 13 §15437 "About the provision in the Pottendorfer cotton mill factory" in: Franz Hübler, *Militär-Oekonomie-System der kaiserlichen königlichen österreichischen Armee*, vol. 16 (Wien: J. Geistinger, 1822).

¹⁸⁹ The celebration in Pottendorf was part of a series of spontaneous popular celebrations, as the civil servant Joseph Rossi has documented in two volumes called "Memorial book for the ruler and the fatherland". Joseph Rossi, *Denkbuch für Fürst und Vaterland* (Wien: J.B. Wallishausser, 1815). Pieter Judson convincingly argued that these celebrations displayed "a distinctive and shared culture of imagery, slogans, and ritual practices around the idea of empire." Pieter Judson, *The Habsburg Empire. A New History* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 2016), 99.

¹⁹⁰ The children possessed Sunday clothing which indicates that in many ways the charitable set-up at least provided a certain standard of living. In many reports on cotton mills the lack of proper clothing to attend school classes was identified by parish priests.

of the local dominion, the pastor, the magistrate, a few strangers, the factory sub-directorate and the inspectors of the institute were lined up next to them. Remarkably not one but two busts of the emperor decorated with laurel leaves were presented to the institute for each dining hall of the separate living spaces for the boys and girls. Johann Krenner, who together with John Thornton was responsible for the management of the factory, gave a speech in which he pointed out the importance and sacredness of the day. The medical official Johann Weiß who was responsible for regularly inspecting the institute replied to this speech and in the name of the children thanked the factory board for the busts. Moreover, he assured the audience that the presence of the emperor's portrait would motivate the pupils in their professional duties. The busts were a reminder to become "good and loyal subjects and citizens worthy of his protection."¹⁹¹ To mark the occasion the children received extra food and beverages; another advantage of the day was a work break from the hard factory labour. The *Franzens-Kinder-Institut*, which was co-subsidised by the military fund, was the last of its kind in Lower Austria. The factory administration closed the institute's doors in 1823.¹⁹² Children's institutes in factories, which usually provided strict monitoring, board, lodging and education for child labourers continued to exist until the mid-1830s.

1.6. Summary

A key feature of public schooling before the implementation of the Primary School Law of 1869 was the partial outsourcing of financial and organisational responsibility. The biggest contributor in both respects was the Catholic church. In order to pay for the enforcement of the General School Ordinance in 1774 considerable funds were gained from the expulsion of the Jesuit order and the dissolution of other religious orders that were solely contemplative in character during Joseph II's reign. Until trained teachers were available, the Catholic clergy often functioned as provisional teaching staff for the basic subjects in local communities. Later the clergy fulfilled an important role as the official school authorities from 1805/06 in addition to providing a considerable number of hours of religious education. Other sources of public school funding were taxes and contributions from various sources; for example municipal

¹⁹¹ Original: "[...] daß sie gleichsam unter Seinen Augen gute und getreue Unterthanen und Staatsbürger werden, und so Seines Schutzes sich würdig machen." Joseph Rossi, *Denkbuch für Fürst und Vaterland*, vol. 2 (Wien: J.B. Wallishausser, 1815), 59.

¹⁹² Karl Ritter von Bundschuh, *I. Supplement zu dem im Jahre 1822 in drei Bänden herausgegebenen Handbuche über das bei der k.k. österreichischen Armee bestehende Militär-Oekonomie-System, enthaltend die in den Jahren 1822 und 1823 bis zum Schluß desselben nachgefolgten Verordnungen* (Prag: Gottlieb Haase, 1824), 109.

contributions or donations by aristocratic landowners, as well as payments by parents themselves. At the local level, annual donations announced in newspapers and foundations played an important role in the provision of basic education. By the last two decades of the eighteenth century, a lively private school sector had developed for middle-class girls and boys.

Education was promoted as a tool to instil and reaffirm developing bourgeois values. This is particularly evident in the plans to enhance industriousness through the implementation of industrial schools for children who came from a lower-class background. Interestingly the discourse of industrial education was supplemented by another discourse focusing on education, the anti-masturbation campaigns. I have shown how this discourse entered Austrian pedagogy and complemented the campaigns to promote industriousness of the second half of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. The concept of schools for industrial education, which especially spread in Bohemia under the auspices of Ferdinand Kindermann was short-lived. Thus, similar to other European countries the idea of encouraging industriousness was seen as a solution to the problem of poverty. In this context, factories were introduced under the guise of a charitable enterprise.¹⁹³ Children from a poor background constituted a significant part of the workforce long before the establishment of large factories and their labour was usually crucial for the family economy. With the implementation of compulsory education, however, a conflict arose that pitted the demands of subsistence against the demands of education. The solution was to bring education to the factory in the form of factory schools and children's institutes.

¹⁹³ Interestingly the boundaries were also blurred in the prison context, which were fashioned as "institutions of virtue, order and industriousness." Martin Scheutz, "Demand and Charitable Supply: Poverty and Poor Relief in Austria in the 18th and 19th Centuries," in *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Southern Europe*, ed. Ola Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Bernd Roeck (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005), 52-95, 71.

2. Social Anxieties and the Possibilities of Education

With the implementation of compulsory education in the 1770s the foundations were set for educational structures, traces of which have remained until today.¹⁹⁴ Educational policies in the decades to follow this landmark legislation can be characterised by improvisation and experimentation which examples in this chapter will illustrate. The structures for mass schooling slowly developed throughout the Habsburg Empire and demanded considerable planning efforts, from teacher training to monitoring procedures to the architecture of school buildings. During the period of the Napoleonic Wars the implementation of significant educational endeavours took place. Numerous sources reveal how bourgeois values and moral anxieties of the eighteenth century described in the previous chapter were channelled into legal measures that were largely driven by stereotypes and preconceptions. Educating the youth from lower-class backgrounds seemingly promised to bring these fears under control. Prejudices dominated not only in respect of social background but also permeated into many aspects of education. At the same time the fear of moral decline provided certain activists, such as priests or women, with an opportunity to voice their opinions and benefit from the new legal situation.

2.1. The Napoleonic Era and Anti-French Sentiments

In terms of education the first two decades of the nineteenth century can be summarised as a period dominated by social anxieties. These social anxieties were often expressed as moral concerns, which heavily influenced decision-making processes and the legislation and implementation of new policies. The School Administration Act of 1805/1806 served as a point of departure for further consideration since it meticulously regulated every aspect of education. At the time of its publication the Habsburg administration was in the midst of the straining period of the Napoleonic Wars, which was characterised by a series of wars of the French Empire under Napoleon I and changing allies with the aim to conquer all of Europe. The obstacles and difficulties of this period become evident in the printing and publishing process of the new education law itself that was delayed until April 1806, due to the French forces' occupation of Vienna in 1805.¹⁹⁵ The war period not only interrupted administrative procedures but also disrupted public and private schooling. School buildings were particularly affected in

¹⁹⁴ In Austria, for example, girls were until 1987 educated in needlework and boys in handicrafts. The division of lower level secondary schools in Hauptschule [common school] and gymnasium is a continuity until today.

¹⁹⁵ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 224.

1809 when French troops marched towards Vienna for a second time. A visitation report [*Visitationsbericht*] from Kirchberg am Wechsel in Lower Austria documented the interruption of education and the damage to the school building because of the “marching and plundering of French soldiers.”¹⁹⁶ The head of the Police Court, Counsellor Joseph Ritter von Schüller, highlighted how the second occupation of Vienna from May to October 1809 had caused a particular threat to the population’s morality. Schüller was deeply concerned about an overwhelming increase of immoralities, specifically prostitution, in Vienna. He emphasised the negative influence of the current circumstances on the “mood of the public.”¹⁹⁷ As a result of the lack of restraint not only were well-known prostitutes found in “depraved houses and company” but there were also girls and women of the “better kind.”¹⁹⁸ While these girls and women had received good education and upbringing, they had still allegedly participated in immoral actions. Schüller added that despite this appalling situation some girls and women were of course innocent and deplorable victims of circumstance. The Police Court Chancellery corresponded with Emperor Francis II (I) about the matter. A central question was how to remedy the dreadful behaviour of the French occupiers who allegedly systematically spread immorality.¹⁹⁹ As a consequence of these anti-French sentiments governmental authorities targeted education in the French language. Specifically, applications for French language schools for girls were only reluctantly approved during this period. The case of Josepha Hoffmann illustrates this practice. Hoffmann held an authorisation to teach French and intended to open a French-German girls’ day school in Vienna. The Lower Austrian government denied her applications for a school licence in 1811 and 1813. As a next step the French teacher approached the Imperial Commission on Education, who also denied her request, which was based on the argument that there was “an extraordinary amount of French

¹⁹⁶ DAW, Schulamtsakten 20/4, Visitationsbericht Kirchberg am Wechsel.

¹⁹⁷ Report by Polizeioberdirektor Hofrat von Schüller, 31.08.1809. Reproduced in Friedrich Wilhelm Schembor, *Franzosen in Wien. Einwanderer und Besatzer. Französische Revolution und napoleonische Besatzung in den österreichischen Polizeiakten* (Bochum: Winkler, 2012), 185-186.

¹⁹⁸ Report by Polizeioberdirektor Hofrat von Schüller, 31.08.1809. Reproduced in Schembor, *Franzosen in Wien. Einwanderer und Besatzer. Französische Revolution und napoleonische Besatzung in den österreichischen Polizeiakten*, 185-186.

¹⁹⁹ Schembor, *Franzosen in Wien. Einwanderer und Besatzer. Französische Revolution und napoleonische Besatzung in den österreichischen Polizeiakten*, 185-186. A recurrent nineteenth-century trope not confined to the French occupation of Vienna is the moral panic regarding prostitution. Pioneering in this regard is Judith Walkowitz’ research. See Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society. Women, Class, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

girls' schools which developed bit by bit in Vienna, a further increase is out of many considerations not only inadvisable but also in every aspect very harmful."²⁰⁰

Throughout the 1810s other applicants seeking to set up French girls' schools received similar negative replies. By denying Elisabetha Freytag's application for permission to open a French girls' school the governmental authority sought to limit the "by no means fruitful spreading of French language schools" even if the applicant was "otherwise righteous."²⁰¹ Interestingly the Imperial Commission on Education made an exception for the renowned educational institute of Theresia Mellini, which was situated at the Graben in Vienna's city centre. On the 9th of September 1815 Theresia Mellini advertised her institute for the first time and emphasised the "important purpose" of educating girls for their future "female circle of activity."²⁰² The same classified was published six months later, in February 1816, in the Galician newspaper *Lemberger Zeitung*.²⁰³ Her advertisement included an additional message aimed at parents living in the provinces of Lower Austria, Carniola and Galicia:

"To reassure parents that the children entrusted to this institute will receive loving care and real education they can direct an enquiry to the trading premises of Mister Franz Bogner in Vienna and Mr. L. A. Rudolph in Ljubljana. In Galicia one can contact the wholesaler Mister Johann Jakob Bauer in Lviv for more information."²⁰⁴

These advertisements suggest that Theresia's school flourished despite the difficult economic circumstances in Vienna at the time. In 1817 the Police Court Chancellery suddenly prohibited the teaching of the French language in Theresia Mellini's institute. The prohibition was based on the argument that the school owner had not formally applied to the educational authorities

²⁰⁰ Original: "[...] als sie überhaupt bey der so ungemein grossen Anzahl französischer Mädchenschulen, die nach und nach in Wien entstanden sey, nun weitere Vermehrung derselben aus vielseitigen Rücksichten nicht allein für nicht rätlich, sondern auch in jedem Anbetrachte für höchst schädlich halte." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Josepha Hoffmann.

²⁰¹ In the same governmental report the school licence application of Antonia Grohs was also denied. ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Elisabetha Freytag.

²⁰² Theresia's announcement was similarly phrased to many other advertisements at the time, emphasising the domestic ideal. Theresia Mellini, "Mädchen Erziehungs- und Unterrichts-Anstalt," *Wiener Zeitung*, 09.09.1815, 515, 515.

²⁰³ The *Lemberger Zeitung* [Newspaper] which was the main German newspaper was published on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays between 1812 and 1866. Two Austrian clerks Franz Kratter and Joseph Schneider received the privilege to publish newspapers which were similar, but not identical: the Polish language newspaper "Gazeta Lwoska" and the German newspaper *Lemberger Zeitung*. After 1848 the two businesses were merged and published by the same editors.

²⁰⁴ Original: "Zu grösserer Beruhigung für Aeltern, daß die dieser Anstalt von ihnen anvertrauten Kindern eine liebevolle Pflege und echte Bildung geniessen werden, können dieselben ihre Anfrage an die Handlungshäuser Herrn Franz Bogner in Wien und Hrn. L. A. Rudolph in Laybach richten. In Galizien kann man bey dem Großhändler Herrn Jakob Bauer in Lemberg nähere Erkundigung einziehen." Theresia Mellini, "Mädchen-Erziehungs- und Unterrichts-Anstalt," *Lemberger Zeitung*, 09.02.1816, 81, 81.

for permission to offer French as a subject, despite the fact that she had already advertised the subject for two years. Mellini immediately applied for the necessary permission to offer French language and argued that not offering this subject constituted a substantial threat to her business. She emphasised that she could not afford to lose pupils as she was responsible for providing a living for two families. The Imperial Commission on Education decided to make an exception and instantly granted permission to extend her licence. The school authority's reasoning emphasised the fact that most of the children in her institute were daughters of traders who were seen as "respectable parents."²⁰⁵ School authorities tried to limit French schooling during and shortly after the Napoleonic Wars. However, these efforts did not fully succeed, since speaking French was an indication of education and culture throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.²⁰⁶

2.2. Private Schools in the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia

At the same time as French language education for girls was condemned, Italian language education for boys was encouraged. In 1814 a straight-forward regulation titled "Encouragement to Learn the Italian Language" recommended that boys at secondary school level acquire knowledge of Italian, likely considered to prepare them for their duty as civil servants. This language policy was particularly important since Emperor Francis planned to apply existing provincial legislation to the Lombardy-Venetian Kingdom.²⁰⁷ Emperor Francis decided to implement the regulations of the School Administration Act of 1805/1806:

"I want the school and study system in the newly-acquired Illyrian and Italian provinces to be organised as quickly as possible according to the regulations existing in my lands, whose incorporation into my German lands is already decided."²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Another aspect of Theresia Mellini's case is the fact that the school owner's connections to traders in Ljubljana and Lviv even had held potential to attract children from cities of considerable travel-distance to Vienna. ÖStA, Studienhofkommission AVA, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Theresia Mellini.

²⁰⁶ On the central role of French language education see Waltraud Zirngast, "Fremdsprachen als Frauensache. Zur Geschichte des Französischen als frauenspezifischem Bildungsgut," *Wiener Geschichtsblätter* 55 (2000), 38-51.

²⁰⁷ Chancellor Clemens von Metternich (1773-1859) had advised the emperor to grant greater autonomy to the previously annexed new Austrian Crownland. Helmut Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa. Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Herwig Wolfram, *Österreichische Geschichte* (Wien: Ueberreuter, 2001), 162-169.

²⁰⁸ German Original: "Ich will das Schul- und Studienwesen in den neu erworbenen illyrischen und italienischen Provinzen, deren Einverleibung in Meine Staaten schon bestimmt ist, so schnell als möglich nach den in Meinen deutschen Staaten bestehenden Vorschriften organisiert wissen." Emperor Francis to Ugarte, 11.07.1814 quoted in: Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa*, 163. For a detailed analysis of the administrative organisation see the detailed study by Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, *Österreichischer Verwaltungsstaat und*

In his account on Lombardy from 1832 the contemporary geographer and statistician Wenzel Blumenbach described this measure of compulsory schooling retrospectively as a successful civilising mission. Even though Blumenbach clearly romanticised Habsburg rule in the north of the Italian peninsula, it is worth paying closer attention to his observations which serve as context for the case studies in this section. According to the geographer the Austrian Provinces of Italy were clearly in all respects more modern and advanced than those in the Southern regions which had been part of the Habsburg Empire for twenty-six years. Blumenbach fully attributed this development to the Habsburg governments' dedication to national education [*Volksbildung*]. Depending on their social background Catholic children attended either state schools or private institutes.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless the educational system was still in need of improvement, according to Blumenbach.²¹⁰ After children had spent their early years in the nursery, boys usually returned home to work in their father's profession and girls were sent to "one of the many educational institutes or a religious order as soon as they grow-out of the nursery."²¹¹ An important aspect in Blumenbach's account is the private structure of education. A statistical survey in 1842 shows a tight net of private education in the region. The survey counted 209 private boys' primary schools in Lombardy and 135 in the Venetian province. The survey calculated a further 426 girls' schools in Lombardy and 92 in Venetia.²¹² In the Lombardy-Venetian Kingdom it was common practise that the local aristocracy, such as manorial Lords, funded education. In order to receive such donations school owners had to petition them for support, emphasising the charitableness of their education projects. Interestingly private school owners replicated the same argument before the Imperial Commission on Education in Vienna and started to submit requests for donations to support their school projects. Since the applications were deemed to be a matter of finances rather than

administrative Eliten im Königreich Lombardo-Venetien 1815-1859, Österreichischer Verwaltung (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1993).

²⁰⁹ The small number of Protestant children in Milan either attended a (Catholic) public school or received education from a private teacher. Blumenbach explained that more affluent Protestant parents sent their children to educational institutes in Switzerland. Wenzel Carl Wolfgang Blumenbach, *Neuestes Gemälde der Oesterreichischen Monarchie. Zweiter Teil*, Schütz's Allgemeine Erdkunde, oder Beschreibung aller Länder der fünf Welttheile (Wien: A. Strauß's sel. Witwe, 1832), 245.

²¹⁰ For Blumenbach the practise of outsourcing child-rearing in the Lombardy-Venetian Kingdom was a disturbing detail. He described that new born babies were wet-nursed by a farmer's wife and at the age of four placed in the home of a woman living in a city [Stadtweib] for board and lodging who acted as the child's first teacher. Similar outsourcing of childcare was practised in eighteenth and nineteenth century France; for a comprehensive overview see George Sussman, *Selling mothers' milk. The wet nursing business in France 1715-1914* (Chicago/London: University of Illinois Press, 1982).

²¹¹ German Original: "[...] und zur Fortsetzung der Erziehung in eine der vielen Erziehungsanstalten oder in ein Nonnenkloster zu geben." Blumenbach, *Neuestes Gemälde*, 249-250.

²¹² Chapter "Lehranstalten", Section "Lehranstalten für die männliche/weibliche Jugend", in: k. k. Direction der administrativen Statistik, *Tafeln zur Statistik der oesterreichischen Monarchie Jg.15 1842* (Wien: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1846).

education, the General Court Chancellery in charge of financial administration started to file replies.²¹³ In comparison to applications from other regions of the Habsburg Empire where the necessity to earn an income from a private school business was a key element in an application, the opposite was emphasised in Italian applications. The charitable cause to nurse and educate children dominated all applications, and it is difficult to determine where charitable intentions ended and the need of making a livelihood began. The reason for this line of argument was also connected to the numerous educational activities of religious orders in these regions.

The following example illustrates how governmental decisions during this particular period were first and foremost based on financial considerations. The tight net of private schools in the Lombardy Venetian Kingdom promised to protect the school fund from the demand of creating new educational infrastructure. On the other hand, the petitions submitted by Italian private school owners for contributions were a potential financial burden. The Education Commission met the applications for funding with increased hostility. Three cases involving schools in Venice provide an overview of the variety of applications and reactions of Emperor Francis II (I) and the imperial government. In 1802 the brothers Marco and Antonio Cavanis opened a school which was dedicated to a charitable cause in Venice.²¹⁴ In 1816 the brothers filed a petition for financial support to the imperial government in Vienna. The newly-appointed governor of Venice Peter Goess was unsure about how to decide on the matter and therefore forwarded the petition to the emperor. The brothers argued that the requested financial aid was to guarantee the continuation of the institute, which “rescues the poor youth of both sexes in great numbers”²¹⁵ and encouraged good behaviour and education in knowledge and skills. The Cavanis brothers emphasised that their undertaking led their pupils to an honourable, breadwinning path of life. Although the treasury was completely exhausted at this point, Emperor Francis II (I) granted a subsidy of two thousand gulden. When Marco and Antonio submitted a further petition for financial aid in 1818, Francis II (I) was once again inclined to grant a donation. However, the General Court Chancellery intervened and declined the petition.

²¹³ Archive material offers insights into specific cases of schools in Lodi, Milan, Padua, Treviso, Trieste, Udine, Venice, Verona and Vicenza, which document how known practises were applied to the new circumstances in order to benefit from the new leadership. For more information see ÖStA, AVA, 13B2.

²¹⁴ The school building is today a hotel in Venice, called "Domus Cavanis". The institute is still existing, see <<http://www.cavanisvenezia.it/istituto-cavanis.html>> (14.03.2015).

²¹⁵ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Venetien/Venedig, Erziehungsinstitut Gebrüder Cavanis.

“The General Court Chancellery cannot meet the petition, because the treasury has already to support a considerable number of the public education institutes in the Venetian provinces [...].”²¹⁶

Alternatively, a scheme in the form of a loan was offered for the purpose of paying the accumulated debts over two and a half years. In 1817 the private school owner Marianna Insom also petitioned for financial aid for her girls’ institute in Venice, which had accumulated a debt of one thousand gulden. Her request was denied, however.²¹⁷ As a result, the petition prompted Count Ignaz Karl Chorinsky, president of the General Court Chancellery, to circulate a memorandum emphasising that “the finances which are on all occasions versatile utilised in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom”²¹⁸ were extremely tight. Not even public schools in the rest of the Habsburg Empire received sufficient funding, so why support Italian private schools? It is unclear how the institute overcame its financial troubles. Marianna Insom is mentioned in the statistical overview as head [*Directrice*] of her institute in Venice five years later in 1822. These 1822 statistics listed seven girls’ schools in the city of Venice; four were run by private individuals and three by female religious orders.²¹⁹ Interestingly the girls’ schools are subsumed under the monastic term *Collegien* [colleges] for the female youth, listing religious and private schools together.²²⁰

Two more examples illustrate how authorities in Vienna assessed particular applications. Pasqua Sandrini successfully obtained support from the imperial government for her charitable *Collegium di St. Croce* in Padua.²²¹ In 1816 Sandrini petitioned not for a financial contribution but for permission to move her institute, counting fifty pupils, into a property called *Conservatorio del Vanzo*. The building with a garden and chapel was the former home of an educational institute for middle-class girls, which the priest Domenico Leonati had run from 1743 to 1811. The Imperial Commission on Education assessed the case and leaned towards permitting the appropriation of the building for two reasons. Firstly, “existing educational institutes should be continued if possible, especially if they are well-managed and local

²¹⁶ ÖStA, Erziehungsinstitut Gebrüder Cavanis.

²¹⁷ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Venetien/Venedig, Marianna Insom.

²¹⁸ Original: "Die Finanzen, welche in dem lombardisch-venezianischen Königreiche bey allen Gelegenheiten, und so vielfältig in Anspruch genommen werden [...]." Note by Count Chorinsky. ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Venetien/Venedig, Marianna Insom.

²¹⁹ Anon., Hof- und Staats-Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthums, 261.

²²⁰ Using the name of the parish where the school was established as school name was common practise; Marianna Inson’s school, for example, was called Collegium an der Pfarre des Erzengels Raphael zu Venedig [College at the Parish of the Archangel Raphael in Venice] rather than using the family name of the owner, Inson’sche Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt [Education Institute of Inson], as was the practice in the Austrian territory at the time.

²²¹ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Venetien/Padua, Pasqua Sandrini.

authorities had approved them.” Secondly, the “preservation of the building is secured without burdening the public administration.”²²² Pasqua Sandrini ran her *Collegium di St. Croce* for several decades.²²³ Similar to Pasqua Sandrini, Maddalena Marchesa di Canossa successfully petitioned for a building for her institute. Maddalena ran the “*Case di Educazione Femminile*” [Houses of Female Education] for a couple of years in Venice and Verona. The imperial government provided empty buildings for her schools since they were seen as beneficial for public security. Both cities had a high population of impoverished inhabitants, who were absorbed in “great ignorance [*Unwissenheit*] and truculence. [...] How harmful, how dangerous an uneducated and deprived population for public security is does not need proof.”²²⁴

2.3. Prejudices against a Single Man

In 1789, with the permission of the Lower Austrian government, Anna Maria Klement [also written as Clement] opened her private girls’ institute in Vienna.²²⁵ Anna Maria’s husband Johann was at the time a teacher at the recently-founded Institute for Daughters of Civil Servants [*Civil-Mädchen Pensionat*] where he taught reading, calligraphy, German, French, dictation, orthography, and drawing.²²⁶ Fifty pupils attended Anna Klement’s institute around 1800 which, remarkably, continued to exist under different owners and in different locations for several decades until 1864. During the Napoleonic Wars Anna fell ill and placed the teacher Mathias Swoboda in charge of educational matters. Mathias had worked for six years at the Klement institute and functioned as the *de facto* head of the school by the time of Anna’s death in 1809.

„She included everybody working in her institution in her will, from the servant to the head teacher. The teacher Swoboda had taught in her institute for six years and is now in

²²² Original: "Da an der Aufrechterhaltung aller dermal bestehenden Erziehungsanstalten besonders wenn sie gut geleitet sind, und von den Behörden deren Fortdauer gewünscht wird [...] gelegen ist. [...] als die Erhaltung des Gebäudes ohne Last der Staatsverwaltung gesichert wird." ÖStA, Pasqua Sandrini.

²²³ In a local guide dated 1842 the education of girls from poor backgrounds is emphasised, whether the school was entirely dedicated to the charitable cause or also provided an income for the school owner is not documented. R. de Visiani, "Pubblica istruzione," in *Guida di Padova e della sua Provincia* (Padova: 1842), 373.

²²⁴ Original: "[...] Unwissenheit und Roheit.[...] Wie schädlich aber, wie gefährlich für die öffentliche Sicherheit eine unwissende und verderbte Volks-Klasse sey bedarf keines Beweises." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Venetien/Venedig, Marchesa di Canossa.

²²⁵ The school's founding is mentioned in an overview of educational and charitable institutions in 1832 by Johann N. von Savageri, *Chronologisch-geschichtliche Sammlung aller bestehenden Stiftungen, Institute, - öffentliche Erziehungs- und Unterrichts-Anstalten in der k.k. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien*, vol. 1 (Brünn: Rohrer, 1832), 485.

²²⁶ Johann's annual wage was 400 florins. Wolf, *Civil-Mädchenpensionat*, 15.

charge. He inherited everything that had to do with the school [...]. This teacher had led the school during the tedious illness of the businesswoman to the full satisfaction of the parents of the girls. He is also a teacher of German calligraphy and spelling at the Academy of Oriental Languages. In respect of his teaching post and his morality the head of this institute gives the best testimony. In order that he is not solely in charge of a female education institute, he has organised the assistance and contribution of the widow of the Military Major M. A. v. Ostoich whose morality, knowledge and character are praised [...].
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The designated school owner had to formally apply to the Lower Austrian provincial government for permission to take-over Anna Klement's educational institute. The Lower Austrian provincial government granted limited permission in order to ensure the continuance of the school and forwarded the case to the Imperial Commission on Education where it remained pending. Three years later the matter was finally discussed. The fact that Mathias Swoboda was an unmarried male applicant puzzled the government officials. The case remained undecided and was laid aside for an additional two years. In the meantime, Mathias continued to act as head of the girls' institute. In 1814 Emperor Francis II (I) was approached for a decision on this complicated matter. After reviewing the evidence Francis requested more information about the case.

„[...] 1st if up until now a man was permitted to establish and run a girls' educational Institute. 2nd if it is advisable and proper for such an institute to permit a single man to use female assistants. The content of the other protocols serves to my knowledge. Vienna 17th Oct. 1814, Francis I." 228

The police, the Lower Austrian provincial government and the Archiepiscopal Consistory swiftly replied to the emperor's inquiry. The police officials attested Mathias Swoboda's good moral conduct but advised the provincial government to encourage him to marry, "because it

²²⁷ Original: "In ihrem Testamente bedachte sie alle bey ihrer Anstalt verwendeten Personen, von der Dienstmagd an bis zu dem ersten Lehrer; dem Lehrer Swoboda aber, welcher durch sechs Jahre schon an ihrer Lehranstalt gestanden war, und nun ihre Anstalt leitete, vermachte sie alle zu ihrer Erziehungsanstalt gehörigen Einrichtungsstücke und Requisiten ohne mindeste Ausnahme, und noch zwey Pianoforte. Diese Lehrer hatte durch die letzten Jahre und während der langwierigen Krankheit der Unternehmerin das Institut zur vollen Zufriedenheit der Eltern geleitet, und ist auch Lehrer der deutschen Schön- und Rechtschreibkunst an der Akademie der morgenländischen Sprache, dessen Vorsteher in in Ansehung seines Lehramtes und seiner Sittlichkeit das vortheilhafteste Zeugniß gibt. Um ein weibliches Erziehungsinstitut nicht allein zu besorgen, hat sich Swoboda den Beistand und die Mitwirkung der verwitweten Majorin M. A. v. Ostoich, ihrer Sittlichkeit, Kenntnisse und Charakter angerühmet werden, verschafft [...]." ÖStA, AVA,13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Mathias Swoboda, 1815.

²²⁸ German Original: "[...] Itens ob bisher einem Manne die Errichtung und Führung einer Mädchen- Schul- und Erziehungs-Anstalt gestattet worden sey. 2tens ob es rätlich und anständig sey, eine solche Anstalt einem ledigen Manne, der sich weiblicher Gehilffinnen bedient, zu gestatten. Der Inhalt der übrigen Protokolle dient Mir zur Wissenschaft. Wien den 17. Obe 1814. Franz I" ÖStA, StHK AVA, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Mathias Swoboda.

would offend the well-being of society if a single man would be the head of a girls' institute and the related governesses."²²⁹

The provincial government on the other hand issued an extremely positive report on the case and did not criticise the applicant's marital status. Somewhat surprisingly the Archiepiscopal Consistory did not criticise his marital status either. The local parish priest, who personally knew the parties involved, explained that the widow Marianne von Ostoich, a respectable woman living in the parish, was personally willing to take over the responsibility for the wellbeing of every girl. This arrangement guaranteed, according to the Consistory, a strict division of roles. Mathias Swoboda was responsible for supervising male teachers and the financial and accounting matters of the institute, whereas Marianne von Ostoich looked after all female concerns. This arrangement might have persuaded the Archiepiscopal Consistory but not the Imperial Commission on Education. After another period of several years when the case was not processed, the commission granted Mathias Swoboda, who was still single, a twelve-month period to find a suitable candidate to marry in order to continue running the institute together with Marianne von Ostoich. However, the Imperial Commission on Education had not consulted Emperor Francis II (I) on this decision, possibly because the case had been put on hold for such a long time. When the emperor was informed about the decision, he intervened.

"Female educational institutes should, as it has been practised until now and also in the future, only be entrusted to women. Hence the arrangement has to be made that the former female teaching institute of Klement is as soon as possible taken from Swoboda and given to a very suitable female teacher or educator. In the case that nobody can be found the institute will have to close. By the way, there should not have been a trial year for a case in which, once the evil is happening it cannot be reversed. Vienna 9th January 1819. Francis II."²³⁰

Ironically when Francis II (I) announced his final decision on the matter in January 1819, Mathias Swoboda had been heading the girls' institute for nearly ten years already without any

²²⁹ Original: "[...] daß ihm die Verehelichung anzurathen wäre, weil es dem Wohlstande beleidige, daß ein lediger Mann Vorsteher eines Mädcheninstitutes und der dazu nöthigen Gouvernanten sey." ÖStA, Mathias Swoboda.

²³⁰ Original: "Weibliche Lehr- und Erziehungs Anstalten sollen, wie es bisher gehalten wurde, auch in Hinkunft immer nur Frauenzimmern anvertraut werden. Es muß daher auch die Einleitung getroffen werden, damit die vormals Klementische weibliche Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt dem Swoboda, sobald es nur immer thunlich ist, abgenommen, und einer ganz geeigneten Lehrerin und Erzieherin übergeben werde. Sollte sich keine solche finden, so hat die Anstalt einzugehen. Übrigens hätte auch kein Versuch auf ein Jahr in einer Sache gemacht werden sollen, in der das Übel wenn es sich je einmal ereignet haben sollte, nicht wieder gut zu machen ist. Wien den 9ten Jänner 1819. Franz II" ÖStA, Mathias Swoboda.

complaint; nobody in fact had rushed to change the intermediate status of the institute.²³¹ Anna Klement's girls' institute was not closed after the rejection of Mathias' application. The widow Marianne von Ostoich officially took over the institute. Mathias continued to work as a teacher and eventually married Marianne's daughter Elisabeth.²³² The former educational institute of Anna Klement continued to exist but later became a concern again for the Imperial Commission on Education.²³³

The emperor's decision in this case is significant. For the next four decades and more, only women were entrusted with running girls' schools.²³⁴ The case of Mathias Swoboda also shows how important the division of gender in the school context was in Austria. Mathias' gender and marital status had become the sole focus of attention. Mathias possibly quickly realised that his role as head of the institute was in danger for exactly this reason. In his local parish he found a widow who supported him; who else could impart "natural" gender roles better than a teacher of the same sex?

As much as every man was stereotypically seen as a potential perpetrator, every woman was understood as being naturally caring, good and gentle. The possibility that women could potentially act violently and abusively towards children was only discussed in the context of domestic staff, where the servant in question was turned into an immoral seducer who led, particularly boys, to the vice of masturbation. The evil to which Emperor Francis II (I) had referred to, was likely connected to the anti-masturbation campaigns of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

2.4. Industrial Education as Crime Prevention?

In Vienna the end of the Napoleonic Wars was met with festivities and celebrations. The celebratory events had already started in April 1814 when couriers brought the news of the end of the War of the Sixth Coalition against the French Empire on the 31st of March. In the following weeks couriers regularly reported on the events leading to Napoleon's abdication and were welcomed with celebrations when entering the city of Vienna. Several celebratory

²³¹ The length of the decision making process was not unusual for the period of time and can be seen as a signifier for an -understaffed state apparatus during the 1810s.

²³² Their marriage did not last long – Elisabeth died a few years later. Anon., "Verstorbene zu Wien den 12. May," *Wiener Zeitung*, 17.05.1823, 453, 3.

²³³ See Chapter Five.

²³⁴ In 1867 Franz Schubert was permitted to open a girls' institute with eight classes, "since it is time to deviate from the praxis to give girls' schools only to female teachers." DAW, Schulamtsakten 233/2/5a, Gesuch Franz Schubert, Kolowratring N9 in Wien zur Errichtung einer Haupt- und höheren Töchterschule.

practices, however, were seen as violating decency and threatening security. In order to give the celebrations a more disciplined and coordinated direction, Augustin Reichmann Freyherr von Hochkirchen in his function as vice president of the Lower Austrian government and councillor Ignaz Freyherr von Stuppan issued a “Circularre” on the 28th of April 1814. This regulation for distribution to local communities was titled “The Mischiefs Taking Place During Public Celebrations and General Urban Light will be Stopped.”²³⁵ Festive expressions understood as indecent or dangerous were

- “1) the throwing of money from windows on the street or while passing by.
- 2) the boisterous shouting of street urchins with inappropriate allusions.
- 3) the running around with burning torches in the streets and the shooting and firing of rockets.”²³⁶

In light of the expected return of Emperor Francis II (I) it was seen as particularly important to stop this mischief, especially since numerous joyous celebrations were expected. On the same day the regulation was published, Augustin Reichmann sent a set of copies of the regulation to the Archiepiscopal Consistory, which included a note ordering that the regulation was to be “especially announced to the schoolchildren through their teachers.”²³⁷ This example demonstrates that in the same way priests were used to spread information in their parishes, schoolteachers were deployed as voices of the government who expected the pupils to inform their parents about the regulations. This crime prevention measure is not an isolated case of targeting school children. In December 1813 members of the Supreme Judicial Body [*k.k. oberste Justizstelle*] held a meeting with the Imperial Commission on Education concerning the issue of crime prevention. During this meeting the idea of implementing industrial schools was voiced. This idea resonated quickly, since the Continental Blockade had been lifted by the end of 1813, which meant that the industrial sector had to prepare for increased competition once again, especially competition from Great Britain.²³⁸

²³⁵ DAW, Schulamtsakten 102/1, Miscellanea.

²³⁶ Original: “1) Das Geld-Auswerfen aus Fenstern, oder auch von Gehenden. 2) Das ausgelassene Geschrey der Gassenjungen mit ungezogenen Anspielungen. 3) Das Herumlaufen mit brennenden Fackeln in den Straßen, das Schießen und Raketenwerfen.” A violation of points one and two was punished by guards. Point three, the handling of fire and explosives was to be prosecuted as a serious offence according to §209 of the Austrian Penal Code. DAW, Schulamtsakten 102/1.

²³⁷ Original: “[...] damit solche insbesondere der Schuljugend durch die Lehrer bekannt gemacht werde.” DAW, Schulamtsakten 102/1.

²³⁸ Indeed, many manufactures which had flourished during the blockade, especially in the textile industry, did not survive the following years. David F. Good, *The economic rise of the Habsburg empire, 1750-1914* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 50.

1813 had been a good year in Lower Austria and Vienna with less criminal offences, compared to the previous year²³⁹, nevertheless the issue was treated with urgency. Inspired by “examples from abroad” the discussants came to the conclusion that one main cause of prevalent crime was the lack of industrial schools in the Habsburg territories. A month later Vienna urged all provincial governments in regions where the School Administration Act was in effect to investigate and report “if and under which modalities and where separate industrial schools were to be established and how the necessary costs can be supplied?”²⁴⁰ The discourse connecting economic benefits of industrial education in the form of moral enhancement and the so-called lower-classes clearly predated the survey. It is somewhat surprising that the Imperial Commission on Education did not mention the industrial school movement of Ferdinand Kindermann in Bohemia that emerged during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. This absence of any reference to the movement can be explained on a more practical level: those who produced the reports for the survey were communicating solely with the authority in Vienna and seemed to have been produced without knowledge of the other reports. Eighteenth century ideas about idleness, poverty and industrial education were regulated in a section in the School Administration Act of 1806 which in its wording is strongly reminiscent of Ferdinand Kindermann’s publications on industrial education.

“Since idleness and poverty are the source of many offences, diligence and labour, on the other hand, are the basis of an honest livelihood and righteous change; the teacher will acquire special merit for the school youth if he pays attention to implement and promote the instruction and habituation of the youth to manual work, spinning, knitting, sewing, etc. together with the local priests.”²⁴¹

The survey produced more than two-hundred pages of handwritten reports which were presented together with a summary to the Court Chancellery in February 1815.²⁴² The results

²³⁹ Anon., "Blick auf den Zustand der Moralität im Erzherzogthum Niederösterreich im Jahr 1813," *Vaterländische Blätter*, 24.05.1815, 253-254.

²⁴⁰ Original: "[...] ob und unter welchen Modalitäten, dann an welchen Orten eigene Industrieschulen zu errichten, und auf welche Art die dazu erforderlichen Kosten zu sichern wären." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [1-12], Studien-Hofkommission. Sitzung am 10ten Hornung 1815.

²⁴¹ Original: "Da Müßiggang und Armuth die Quelle vieler Vergehen, Fleiß und Arbeitssamkeit hingegen der Grund eines ehrlichen Auskommens und rechtschaffenen Wandels sind; so wird sich der Lehrer ein besonderes Verdienst um die Schuljugend erwerben, wenn er sich angelegen seyn läßt, die Unterweisung und Gewöhnung derselben zu Handarbeiten, zum Spinnen, Stricken, Nähen, u.s.w. gemeinschaftlich mit dem Ortsseelsorger auf alle Art einzuleiten und zu befördern." Section 11, §37, PSchV.

²⁴² Margret Friedrich briefly discusses these reports on the basis of a report summary published by Anton Weiss about primary schools in nineteenth century Austria. Friedrich, *Mädchenerziehung*, 173-174. Also see Anton Weiss, *Geschichte der österreichischen Volksschule unter Franz I. und Ferdinand I. Geschichte der österreichischen Volksschule 1792-1848*, vol. 2, Ausserordentliche Beiträge zur österreichischen Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte (Graz: Styria, 1904).

of the survey did not give rise to a comprehensive implementation of industrial education but the proposals were met by silence and inaction for the next eleven years. In 1826 the Imperial Commission on Education was once more engaged in the matter. It informed the provincial governments that while industrial schools as described in the Political Constitution on German Schools were to be promoted, there was no public funding available for their implementation.

Although the reports of 1814 did not have their intended effect, they did reveal ideas about industrial development, gender appropriate behaviour and appropriate occupations for children connected to their social background. In the reports both the terms *Industrieschule* [industrial school] and *Arbeitsschule* [work-school] were used simultaneously, but there was no consensus about what this type of school entailed. The provincial government of Moravia, for example, took a direct approach and requested a clarification of the term from the Court Chancellery, who replied:

“Educational institutes are understood as places in which the youth should get acquainted not only with the useful way to exercise the crafts of their social standing but also with the way their desire is stirred and strengthened to obtain what is necessary for their needs and for civilised activity and economy.”²⁴³

The fact that the investigation was not limited to the Habsburg territories points to the hope of keeping up with industrial development through the establishment of industrial schools. Not surprisingly, Great Britain served as a possible role model for industrial development. The matter seemed to be important to the government. For instance, in 1814, State Chancellor Clemens Metternich requested the Austrian Ambassador in London, Count Merveldt, to obtain information about industrial schools and other educational institutes in Britain. In response, Count Merveldt informed the chancellor that industrial schools in the German sense were unheard of in London:

“In so far as industrial schools are institutes, in which the school-aged youth receives the first preparations of mechanical arts or handicrafts outside the hours of their normal education, often for example on Sundays, then I can assert with certainty there are none in London.”²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Original: "Es werden Lehranstalten verstanden, in welchen die Jugend nicht nur mit der zweckmäßigen Art, die Arbeiten ihres künftigen Standes zu betreiben, bekannt gemacht, sondern in welchen auch in ihr der Trieb zur eigenen Verschaffung der nöthigen Bedürfnisse, zur bürgerlichen Betriebsamkeit und Sparsamkeit durch Lehr- und Angewöhnung erregt und verstärkt werden soll." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [1-12], Studien-Hofkommission.

²⁴⁴ Original: "In so fern nämlich unter Industrieschulen Anstalten bezeichnet werden, in denen die schulfähige Jugend außer den Stunden des gewöhnlichen Unterrichtes meistens zum Beyspiel an Sonntage, zu den ersten

The London parishes ran so-called ragged schools. Count Merveldt explained that these schools were usually institutions for poor children where it had become common practise to invite a tailor or a cobbler every week to teach the children their respective crafts, in order to increase the children's potential economic self-sufficiency.²⁴⁵ As a follow-up on the report, the embassy in London was requested to send British reference books on the matter. Michael Gruber, the director of philosophical studies at the University of Vienna who had spent several years in London, was asked to summarise the literature. In seven pages Gruber analysed Andrew Bell's pedagogical method called the Madras system, in which older pupils were to instruct the younger ones on what they had learned. Two reports on the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor were included in the summary, and as a last point Gruber discussed the Philanthropic Society. The society was established in 1788

“to prevent crimes, and to reform the poor; by training up children of vagrants and criminals, and such who are in the paths of vice and infamy to virtue and industry; to save them from ruin, and prevent their becoming injurious to society.”²⁴⁶

Michael Gruber reported that he himself had visited the building of the society several times and approved the arrangement. He emphasised that some children were thoroughly educated in handcrafts for their future lives, so that “many of these unfortunates became good citizens [...]”²⁴⁷ This goal of raising industrious and moral citizens resembled Austrian considerations about and approaches to the subject.

Visions of gender appropriate industrial education in the urban/rural setting

The definition of an industrial school as a place to promote “civilised activity and economy” was circulated to all regional governments and inspired a variety of interpretations. In January 1815 the district authority of Prerau/Přerov in Moravia, for example, viewed the industrial school as an institute similar to a technical college, where young boys from the age of eight were to receive information about all important trades, and learn how to produce goods with

Vorbereitungen mechanischer Künste und Handwerke die Anleitung bekämen, in so fern kann ich mit Gewissheit behaupten, daß es deren in London keine gibt." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [112-113], Graf Merveldt an Fürst Metternich, London den 22. September 1814.

²⁴⁵ The Count expanded in detail similar educational efforts and organisations such as the Philanthropic Society in London, the “Madras System” by Andrew Bell, the Asylum in Chelsey and generally the fact, that schools were left to private efforts; compulsory education was not implemented in England at the time.

²⁴⁶ Original in English. See Philanthropic Society, *The Philanthropic Society, instituted September 1788* (London 1794).

²⁴⁷ Original: "Viele jener unglücklichen Abkömmlinge sind gute Bürger geworden [...]" ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [114-118], Michael Gruber an Joseph von Spendou.

minimal effort in the shortest possible time and at the least cost.²⁴⁸ Thinking in economic terms was not the only guiding principle for introducing industrial schools. It was complemented by another crucial strand of argumentation; the moral benefit to be derived from work education in a trade. In both lines of arguments presumptions can be detected, such as gendered views on the subject matters of work and education, considerations of which labour was most appropriate to the social background of the pupil, and ideas about regional necessities in rural and urban settings.

Although a division of space in rural/urban areas and ideas about gender-appropriate skills can be found in all reports, the manner in which the term “children” was used reveals blurred boundaries. The gender division was more prevalent in descriptions about urban settings. In accounts on rural areas, boys and girls were often subsumed under the broad category of “children”, or the term “children” simply referred to boys. The gendered division of space expresses the viewpoint of the aristocratic or bourgeois authors for whom children in urban spaces under consideration for industrial education were often envisioned to be daughters and sons of artisan or even bourgeois parents; it seems that less affluent parents living in the cities were left out of consideration.

The district administration of Hradisch/Uherské Hradiště in Moravia illustrates this line of argument in its report that only distinguished between technical-mathematical occupations and needlework for the urban youth. Boys should be educated in architecture, mechanics, drawing, economy and forestry. Girls on the other hand were to receive needlework education, specifically in sewing, knitting, lace-making, “*Spitz- und Bandweben*”²⁴⁹ [weaving of laces and ribbons] and embroidery. In rural areas education in economy, farming, horticulture and fruit growing [*Obstkultur*], as well as, bee-keeping and silk culture was to be provided and “children”, both boys and girls, were to be engaged in spinning flax and wool. The district authority of Znaim/Znojmo in Moravia had a different opinion on appropriate industrial education based on the urban/rural dichotomy. He considered industrial schools necessary only for urban areas in order to teach the refinement of products of nature, whereas in the countryside the aim was to improve the quality of the teaching in primary schools in general. The governor of Graz in Styria saw the issue yet differently again. He believed that in cities there was no need for industrial schools, especially since Graz already had excellent

²⁴⁸ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [95-108], Hochlöbliche k.k. Studienhofkommission. Brünn am 13ten Jänner 1815. Chorinsky.

²⁴⁹ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [95-108], Chorinsky.

preparation institutes [*Vorbereitungs-Anstalten*] where boys could choose from a variety of subjects.²⁵⁰ In Graz girls received education at the convent run by Ursuline nuns, female teachers provided private education in needlework and professional seamstresses also educated girls. Each district had institutes for the education of girls in sewing, knitting and weaving. The governor explained that the girls learnt “as much as needed for future women farmers; to cook soup each girl learns anyway from her mother.”²⁵¹ For boys, the governor deemed education in fruit-growing and bee-keeping as necessary. Local priests with land were expected to take up the task of educating the rural youth in those subjects. The governor proposed the engagement of the wives of local teachers in the project of instructing girls in needlework. As indicated already, the governor was convinced that every girl learned how to cook soup from her mother; however, it is interesting to note that he subsequently returned to the issue of food preparation later in his report. The teacher’s wife should not only function as the needlework teacher but also as the promoter of food hygiene among the rural communities, “and careful consideration should be given to the country folk’s seldom cleanliness in both, preparation and consumption.”²⁵²

Count Ugarte, chancellor in Prague, painted a grim picture of the capabilities of teachers in rural areas. During the Bohemian government’s discussions, the question of additional tasks for teachers and the use of their wives as educators had come up and the count spoke fervently against the idea in a separate report. The teachers’ wages did not suffice to cover the bare necessities and an additional teaching burden created by adding industrial subjects was asking too much of them, an observation reiterated in other reports. Count Ugarte also emphasised that wives of rural teachers were “mostly from the lower class [*mindere Klasse*]” and could not spare time from their housework duties, and even if they could “only few would have the desire or skill to do so.”²⁵³

²⁵⁰ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [89-93], Hochlöbliche k.k. Studienhofkommission. Grätz am 14ten December 1814, Herr Gouverneur abwesend.

²⁵¹ Original: “[...], so viel eine künftige Landwirthin bedarf, ihre Suppe lernt ohnehin jedes Mädchen von seiner Mutter kochen.” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [89-93], Grätz.

²⁵² Original: “[...] wobei dann auch auf die bei dem Landvolke so seltene Reinlichkeit in Zubereiten sowohl, als im Genusse sorgfältige Rücksicht zu nehmen wäre.” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [89-93], Grätz.

²⁵³ Original: “[...] so werden wenige Lust und Geschick genug haben [...]” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [85-86], Abgeforderte Meinung. Prag den 25. Oktober 1814. Graf Ugarte, Gubernial Rath. Ugarte’s opinions express a mistrust about the abilities of the “lower classes”, and maybe also a mistrust against entrusting women with education.

The Bohemian government emphasised that as a crime preventative measure it was necessary to spread industrial schools in rural regions.

“In this kingdom there is a significant number of girls’ industrial schools in the cities, and each year the numbers are increasing; but these institutes did not cause a decrease in crimes by females, because those schools and their activities do not reach the lower classes in the countryside, which are left to an early idleness because of their destitution.”²⁵⁴

Peter Graf von Goess, the governor in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv, issued a report which applied the language of backwardness to Galicia. The Galician administration had just submitted a three-page report that expressed hesitation about the usefulness of industrial schools for Galicia since the “peasantry seems not to be ready for education in industry.”²⁵⁵ Goess was of a different opinion and voiced his concerns about Galicia’s structural “backwardness” in a ten-page report. Not only primary education had to be enforced but also the proliferation of other institutes, like industrial schools, or else Galicia would always “stay behind” in development. Governor Goess underlined that the education in industrial schools needed to be free for everyone, considering the “ignorance and apathy of the common man in Galicia.”²⁵⁶ The children of small-town inhabitants, who, as Goess noted, differed only slightly from the peasants, were the “most useless members of civil society.”²⁵⁷ How did the governor intend to finance the project of spreading education? Goess’ plan was to gain the support and backing of the local Polish aristocratic elite, the clergy and wealthy citizens for the industrial school project through newspaper articles on the usefulness of such schools in supporting and promoting the textile industry in Galicia. Goess emphasised the potential of industrial education to instil usefulness. In this he joined many commentators in his portrayal of the Galician population as useless and backward and in need of a civilising mission.²⁵⁸ Similarly, in their discussion of industrial schools, the provincial governments below the Manhartsberg and below the Vienna Woods in

²⁵⁴ Original: "Es besteht in diesem Königreich bereits eine bedeutende Anzahl der Mädchen- Industrialschulen in den Städten, und ihre Vermehrung nimmt mit jedem Jahre zu, und demnach hat diese Anstalt auf die Verminderung der Verbrechen, wenigstens weiblicher Seits keinen Einfluß, weil diese Schulen und die dortige Thätigkeit ja, an niedrigen Klaffen auf dem Lande nicht erreicht, die wegen ihrer Mittellosigkeit einem frühzeitigen Müßiggang überlaßen sind." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [76-82], Hochlöbliche k.k. Studienhofkommission. Prag den 21ten Oktober 1814, Graf Kollowrath.

²⁵⁵ Original: "[...] daß hierlandes das Landvolk für die Bildung zur Industrie noch nicht ganz reif zu seyn scheine." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [87-88], Eure Majestät! Lemberg, den 11ten November 1814.

²⁵⁶ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [119-124], Bemerkungen zu den Gubernial Berichte vom 11ten November 1814 Zahl 49579 über die Errichtung von Industrialschulen. Gouverneur Peter Graf Goess.

²⁵⁷ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [119-124], Bemerkungen zu den Gubernial Berichte vom 11ten November 1814 Zahl 49579 über die Errichtung von Industrialschulen, Gouverneur Peter Graf Goess.

²⁵⁸ For a wider discussion and analysis of this "idea of Galicia" see Wolff, *The idea of Galicia*.

Lower Austria emphasised the role of the textile industry but from a slightly different angle. A general implementation of industrial schools, they maintained, was counterproductive since children in rural areas were not confronted with unemployment. On the contrary, additional hands were needed since the Continental Blockade had resulted in increased production which required cheap labour.

The Lower Austrian government and its district administrations issued detailed reports, making referenced to industrial schools outside the Habsburg monarchy in Würzburg, Bavaria and Baden, where industrial education was compulsory. Lower Austrian officials rejected the use of coercion to attend industrial schools. In general, district administrators in Lower Austria disagreed about the usefulness of industrial schools. If industrial schools were to be set up in Lower Austria, they had to be adapted to meet the local conditions. While industrial education was seen to be more necessary in rural areas than in cities, where industrial activity was already concentrated, they nevertheless acknowledged that children in rural areas did not lack occupation. Reports emphasised that children were not only necessary for factory work but also as a source of labour at home. As soon as girls and boys were able to work they were engaged as farmhands and parents in urban areas deployed children for service work. The Lower Austrian government argued that those parents could not do without their children because the children's labour decreased the need for expensive servants.²⁵⁹

In all reports a difference between the envisioned needs of urban industrial education and rural industrial education can be found. This difference also concerned ideas about who should be in charge of teaching. In cities the employment of extra teachers for teaching theoretical subjects to boys, along with craftsmen and artists to teach practical skills, was proposed. For girls a number of possibilities to receive needlework education already existed but a further distribution and promotion of this form of industrial education was encouraged. In the countryside female teachers had to educate girls in needlework. In relation to rural regions, the reports linked the appropriateness of particular skills to the girls' social backgrounds. Again, wives of teachers were proposed as potential instructors for girls, in addition to priests who were only responsible for religious education, but also for the introduction of economic knowledge of budget management for boys and girls. The gender division was similar in the proposal to use craftsmen as instructors of practical knowledge for boys and seamstresses for

²⁵⁹ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Hochlöbl. k.k. Studienhofkommission. Wien am 11ten Okt. 1814, Reichmann.

girls. A common theme in all these reports was the call to better remunerate teachers, for whom financial arrangements had to be made by local communities.

Dangerous freedom and independence

In the industrial school reports of 1814/1815 two female occupations were repeatedly mentioned: female servants and seamstresses. Social anxieties about these two occupations intensified throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is not surprising that calls for a strict monitoring of girls in preparation for their future duties, particularly as servants, were raised. In the quest against idleness the contributors to the survey repeatedly highlighted the importance of keeping children occupied and monitored, not only during school age years from six to twelve but also especially afterwards in the transition period from pupil to worker. The government of Upper Austria even went so far as to propose legal measures in case parents or guardians did not look after the immediate employment of girls and boys following the completion of their primary school education at age twelve. Local authorities and police were to oversee the placement of boys in workshops and girls in service. Factories were also mentioned as a third possibility for employment.²⁶⁰ The administration of the Province below the Manhartsberg voiced similar arguments. School-aged boys and girls from poor backgrounds aged six to twelve, should receive industrial education taught by a female industrial teacher [*Industriellehrerin*]. Additionally, girls who had completed compulsory education should attend industrial education “if they are not really every hour of the day occupied at home.”²⁶¹ In the mind of the authorities, girls should be forced to attend industrial education under threat of penalty, at least until they entered into service [*in den Dienst treten*] or reached the age of fifteen when they “got used to occupation” [*an die Beschäftigung angewöhnt haben*].²⁶² Furthermore the regional authority and the local priest should be forced to take up the girls’ monitoring “in order that they infallibly attend in each work-free hour the industrial school or, as it could be better termed, this occupational institute, so that their morality is monitored.”²⁶³ The district administration report repeatedly threatened punishment

²⁶⁰ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [69-71], Hochlöbliche k.k. Studien Hofkommission. Linz, 29. August 1814.

²⁶¹ Original: “[...] wenn sie nicht zu Hause wirklich jede Stunde des Tages beschäftigt sind.” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Reichmann.

²⁶² ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Reichmann.

²⁶³ Original: “[...] damit dieselben in jeder arbeitsfreien Stunde unfehlbar in der Industrieschule, oder, wie man sie besser benennen könnte, in diesem Beschäftigungshause erscheinen, und deren Sittlichkeit beobachtet werde.” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Reichmann.

and suggested that the priest was to “speak on every other occasion against idleness and non-occupation”²⁶⁴ during his sermons.

The Manhartsberg provincial administration was a strong proponent of the idea of constantly monitoring girls. However, the report was not exceptional in its emphasis on the monitoring and moral guidance, which girls particularly needed. By the time the industrial school survey was carried out, industrial education for girls was already an important part of education for girls from lower-class backgrounds as part of a preparation for a life in service. In this context the general fear of moral decline [*Sittenverfall*] played a role was also prevalent in Emperor Francis’ revised servants’ regulation [*Gesindeordnung*], enacted in 1810. The opening lines of the preamble of this regulation began with: “The complaints often presented by order-loving households about the declining morals of servants persuaded us to revise the existing servants’ regulations [...]”²⁶⁵

It is important to consider that at the time of the Congress of Vienna 1814/1815 the percentage of people employed as servants in Vienna and its suburbs was approximately fifteen percent. This path was a potential avenue for demographic mobility. Education in certain skills was key for moving from a rural to an urban area. A newspaper advertisement from September 1816 shows how the implementation of primary school education and knowledge in needlework was used to leave a rural area: “A single woman [...] well-educated in reading, writing, accounting, cooking, knitting, sewing, washing and other female tasks” searched for employment “*bey einer bürgerlichen Familie*” [in a bourgeois family] for a period of time. This advertisement is exemplary of the frequent advertisements of rural women who were searching for employment as servants.²⁶⁶ Single women who looked for employment also pointed to other personal qualities connected to her skills: “very quiet, moral, obedient and loyal.”²⁶⁷ Industrial education had the potential to instil these qualities such as sitting-still, keeping the hands occupied, bowing head and the additional stamina required for needlework.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ Original: “[...] und bey jeder anderen Gelegenheit gegen den Müßiggang und Nichtbeschäftigung zu eifern.” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Reichmann.

²⁶⁵ Original: “Die häufig von ordnungsliebenden Haushaltungen über die verfallene Zucht des Dienstvolkes geführten Klagen haben Uns von der Nothwendigkeit überzeugt, die bestehende Gesindeordnung in Uebersicht nehmen zu lassen, [...]” Gesindeordnung [Gesindeordnung] für die Stadt Wien und den Umkreis innerhalb den Linien, Wien 1810.

²⁶⁶ For bourgeois authors industrial education for girls was a potential preparation for a life in service. See also Chapter One.

²⁶⁷ Original: “[...] auch sehr stille, sittsam, gehorsam und treu, [...]” Interestingly the young woman refers to her bodily appearance in telling her future employer that her “Exterieur” [exterior] was not very promising, but her education and conduct made up for it. Anon., “Eine ledige Weibsperson,” *Wiener Zeitung*, 16.09.1816, 552.

²⁶⁸ Friedrich, *Mädchenerziehung*.

The provincial government reports repeatedly mentioned industrial schools specifically industrial schools for girls. The summary of Moravia's officials, for example, reported on the practise to send girls to receive private education in needlework outside the home in urban areas, while in rural areas mothers educated their daughters to become housewives.²⁶⁹ The governor of Graz mentioned female teachers offering lessons in needlework and seamstresses taking on apprentices. Count Kollowrath outlined similar provisions for the Bohemian Kingdom: a "significant number of girls' industrial schools exist in the cities and the number increases with every year."²⁷⁰ In the cities *Meisterinnen* [female masters] educated girls in all kinds of needlework "for their future more independent income."²⁷¹ In their assessment of the usefulness of industrial schools, officials from Upper Austria focused mainly on the education of girls. They emphasised that in Linz, Steyer and Wels industrial schools existed already, where girls were mainly educated in knitting.

Education in needlework was not only part of the preparation for girls to become a servant, but also opened up the possibility to become a seamstress. However, some observers saw the possibility that women might earn their own income and potentially remain single as a threat, as illustrated by the example of the Archbishop of Linz, Sigismund von Hohenwart. In his report on the matter he did not object to the idea of promoting of industrial education as long as girls from a lower-class background were only taught the subjects of knitting, spinning and sewing. Girls with well-off parents could learn everything necessary or useful for their later purpose in life, "but for poor girls it is enough if they acquire the necessary skills in knitting, sewing and spinning in order to find employment as servants."²⁷²

"The acquired skill in fine works tempts them to live outside of service and to live from their needlework, in order to assert their dangerous freedom and independence, which leads them usually, as experience shows, to excess."²⁷³

²⁶⁹ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [95-108], Chorinsky.

²⁷⁰ Original: "Es besteht in diesem Königreich bereits eine bedeutende Anzahl der Mädchen- Industrialschulen in den Städten, und ihre Vermehrung nimmt mit jedem Jahre zu, [...]." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [76-82], Kollowrath.

²⁷¹ Original: "[...] oder endlich in den Städten zu den Meisterinnen allerhand weiblicher Arbeiten zu ihrem künftigen, selbständigeren Erwerb." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [76-82], Kollowrath.

²⁷² Original: "[...] für arme Mädchen aber ist es genug, wenn sie in Stricken, Nähen, und Spinnen die erforderliche Geschicklichkeit besitzen, um sich durch Dienen ihr Fortkommen zu verschaffen." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [72-74], Hochlöbliche k.k. Landes-Regierung. Linz, Sigismund Hohenwart.

²⁷³ Original: "Die erlangte Fertigkeit in schönen Arbeiten verleitet sie so leicht ohne Dienst zu bleiben, und von ihrer Handarbeit zu leben, um die ihre so gefährliche Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit zu behaupten, welche sie, wie die Erfahrung lehret, meistens zur Ausschweifung führt." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [72-74], Hochlöbliche k.k. Landes-Regierung. Linz, Sigismund Hohenwart.

The author did not expand any further on the issue but his comments illustrate the social anxieties connected to the possibility of women changing their social status through education and refusing economic dependency on male breadwinners. The bishop immediately linked financial independence to sexuality as the word “*Ausschweifung*” [excess] demonstrates. In reality a life as an independent seamstress entailed for most women not freedom but dependency on customers and price politics. The Society of Aristocratic Women to Promote the Good and the Useful [*Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen*] recognised the need to support women to sell their products and played a role in the promotion of industrial education as the following chapter illustrates.

Charitable women’s support of industrial education

The extensive report of the Lower Austrian government on the matter of industrial schools in 1814 included a note by the Society of Aristocratic Women. The society expressed its willingness to financially support the founding of industrial schools with delight: “The society learned with joy that Your Majesty has ordered as proof of his paternal diligence the submission of a plan for the founding of industrial schools.”²⁷⁴ Financial considerations were behind the successful founding of the Aristocratic Women’s Association in 1810/1811 that could support the bankrupt government in matters of poor relief as the first paragraph of its statutes conveys.²⁷⁵ The support and establishment of charitable institutes together with “the promotion of patriotic industry and support of ingenuity” were the main aims of the society which expanded rapidly. In 1811 the society had forty-four branches in the dominions of Lower Austria, which rose dramatically to 121 by 1812 and reached 149 in 1813. The number decreased to eighty-three in 1814 and steadily remained at around eighty in subsequent years.²⁷⁶ The Society of Aristocratic Women, which changed to The Society of Aristocratic Ladies in 1842, accepted not only aristocratic women but also members of the *Bürgertum* for

²⁷⁴ Original: “Die Gesellschaft hat mit freudiger Rührung erfahren, daß Sr. Majestät durch den Allerhöchsten Befehl einen Plan zur Gründung der Industrieschulen vorzulegen, einen neuen Beweis höchst dero väterlichen Sorgfalt gegeben haben.” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Reichmann. A more extensive statement was reported to have been attached to the report but did not survive the archiving process. Parts of it are recounted Anton Weiss' publication on primary schools. Weiss, *Volksschule 1792-1848*, 490-491.

²⁷⁵ In the Habsburg Monarchy similar associations were founded in Brno/Brünn, Lviv/Lemberg and Salzburg. See Gabriella Hauch, “Politische Wohltätigkeit - wohltätige Politik. Frauenvereine in der Habsburgermonarchie bis 1866,” *Zeitgeschichte* 19, no. 7/8 (1992), 200-214: 202. Margret Friedrich points to similar associational foundations in Prussia 1813 and Salzburg 1814. Margret Friedrich, “Zur Tätigkeit und Bedeutung bürgerlicher Frauenvereine im 19. Jahrhundert in Peripherie und Zentrum,” in *Bürgerliche Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1995), 125-173, 132-133.

²⁷⁶ Ausweise der Einnahme der Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen und der Verwendung 1811-1856.

charitable efforts on a local level. Its members were predominantly Catholic, but the society was, at least officially, not supervised and monitored by members of the clergy.²⁷⁷ Practising charity in the Christian sense was understood to be a core activity, and the first donations were directed at children in need.²⁷⁸ However, from the outset girls' education was also an important part of their agenda, which the society's accounting report from 1811 shows. Donations to girls' schools run by the convent of the Ursuline nuns and the Mary Ward sisters are listed.²⁷⁹ In the context of industrial education the society's founding of an Art and Industrial Institute for fine needlework [*Kunst- und Industrieanstalt für feinere weibliche Handarbeiten*] in 1812 is significant.²⁸⁰ For today's reader the name of the institute is somewhat misleading because it suggests that the society had founded an educational institute. However, the Art and Industrial Institute was established for the purpose of selling needlework products. The institute was founded with the intention to support seamstresses as part of a general effort to offer financial aid to the so-called *verschämte Arme* [literally the shamefaced poor, meaning the deserving poor], also called *Hausarme* [the house-poor].²⁸¹ In the advertisement in the newspaper *Vaterländische Blätter* the society referred to similar projects in England, namely in Bath and Manchester, as well as in Leipzig, Berlin and Würzburg and a "*Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des inländischen Kunstfleißes*" [Society to Promote the Domestic Art-

²⁷⁷ In a celebration speech thanking the society for its activities the Viennese reverend Jakob Frint addressed the women as "christliche Frauen" [Christian Women]. Jakob Frint, *Rede bey Gelegenheit des Dankfestes der Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen in der Kirche der E.W. Ursulinerinnen zu Wien. Den 15. März 1812* (Wien 1812). The Jewish salonnière Fanny von Arnstein who was a board member is usually named as an example, but it is not clear if Arnstein herself converted at a certain point in her life to Catholicism. Margarete Grandner and Edith Saurer, eds., *Geschlecht, Religion und Engagement. Die jüdischen Frauenbewegungen im deutschsprachigen Raum, 19. und frühes 20. Jahrhundert*, L'Homme Schriften 9 (Wien: Böhlau, 2005), 11, Footnote 16.

²⁷⁸ It is important to note that Jewish women founded in 1816 the Jewish Charitable Women's Association which followed similar charitable aims. See Elisabeth Malleier, *Jüdische Frauen in Wien 1816-1938. Wohlfahrt - Mädchenbildung - Frauenarbeit* (Wien: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2003). See also Elisabet Torggler, "Wohltätigkeit bürgerlicher jüdischer Frauen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Geschlecht, Religion und Engagement. Die jüdischen Frauenbewegungen im deutschsprachigen Raum, 19. und frühes 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Margarete Grandner and Edith Saurer (Wien: Böhlau, 2005), 57-78.

²⁷⁹ Caroline Fürstinn von Lobkowitz, *Ausweis der Einnahme der Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen und der Verwendung im Jahre 1811* (Wien 1811).

²⁸⁰ I decided to translate the German "weibliche Handarbeiten" simply with 'needlework' since in English there is no such a thing as 'female needlework'. The use of a gendered version of needlework in German possibly can be attributed to men's strong involvement in dowry production, although there is no such a thing as 'männliche Handarbeiten'. Thanks to Laura Lee Downs for this clarification.

²⁸¹ The Society of Aristocratic Women was not the only philanthropic society engaged in poor relief. Leopold Chimani reports in his textbook about a philanthropic society formed in 1811 by the clerk Joseph Jeckel for the purpose to support the "Hausarmen" [literally the house poor]. Leopold Chimani, *Vaterländischer Jugendfreund: Ein belehrendes und unterhaltendes Lesebuch zur Veredlung des Herzens, Beförderung der Vaterlandsliebe und gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse für die Jugend Öesterreichischen Kaiserstaates*, vol. 2 (Wien: Anton Doll, 1814), 162-163.

Industriousness] in Denmark. Remarkably the society acknowledged the problem of social norms connected to the class background of a seamstress.

“The consideration that in all major cities a significant number of women are obliged to gain their income through needlework, under which there are many who are not able to promote the sales of their work with the necessary activity in protection of their circumstances in which they stand by birth and through the rank of their parents and relatives [...], have initiated public institutions in several cities whose purpose is the promotion and reward of female industriousness.”²⁸²

The description sheds light on the economic difficulties many households, especially of the lower-middle class and families of day labourers, had to deal with during and after the economic crises of the Napoleonic war period.²⁸³ According to the society’s observations, a large number of women were under pressure to sell their products at less than fair value. Under the direction of Countess Marie von Esterhazy, the society organised points of sale in the city of Vienna. The private apartments of four women in the inner city of Vienna operated during the first year until a store at the *Bürgerspital* was set up in June 1813.²⁸⁴ However for the purpose of this chapter it is important to emphasise the element of discretion which played an important role. Women were not obliged to deliver their products to one of four sale points, for example, but could send someone else and label the piece of work with a name and a price. The establishment of this Institute for Art and Industry also entailed receiving orders from customers.²⁸⁵ The society used a system of distribution whereby for every gulden sold a kreuzer went into the society’s fund for industrial schools. The model of the Art and Industrial Institute inspired several business entrepreneurs to offer a similar system of distribution of goods for a percentage of the sale cost. This increasing practice led the society to close its store in 1826.

²⁸² Original: "Die Rücksicht, dass in allen größeren Städten eine bedeutende Anzahl von Frauenzimmern genöthigt ist, sich den Lebens-Erwerb durch Handarbeiten zu verschaffen, dass sich unter selben viele befinden, welche aus Schonung der Verhältnisse, in welche sie durch Geburt, durch den Rang ihrer Ältern und Angehörigen stehen, den Absatz ihrer Arbeiten nicht mit der nöthigen Betriebsamkeit fördern können, daß vielen der Mangel an Bekanntschaften den Absatz erschwert, [...] haben schon in mehreren Städten öffentliche Anstalten veranlaßt, deren Zweck die Beförderung und Belohnung des weiblichen Kunstfleißes ist." Anon., "Kunst- und Industrie-Anstalt für feinere weibliche Handarbeiten," *Vaterländische Blätter*.

²⁸³ Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1974), 242.

²⁸⁴ The four women were Barbara Lösch, a house owner, "Frau von Resch" [likely the actress Julie Resch], Theresia Wrantzky and Marie Anna Umlauf, nee Benko, a house owner in the Breunerstraße. Anon., "Kunst- und Industrie-Anstalt für feinere weibliche Handarbeiten," *Vaterländische Blätter*, 325-326.

²⁸⁵ Franz Franzl, *Die Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen in Wien; deren Entstehen und Wirksamkeit in dem Zeitraume von fünf und zwanzig Jahren* (Wien Carl Gerold, 1836), 9-10.

The concept of such entrepreneurial institutes found great resonance not only in Vienna but also in Prague and Brno where similar institutes opened in 1813.²⁸⁶ By 1814 more than two hundred seamstresses used the society's services. In 1814 the society also started to open industrial schools for girls from poor backgrounds in the Viennese suburbs Rossau and Spittelberg, also known as Spitalberg. In the city centre a woman called Frau Mitterberger provided education free of charge and the association paid the school tuition for four girls in the private girls' school of Frau von Schwind.²⁸⁷ A year later the society reported that sixty-two girls had received industrial education, not only in Vienna "but also in Bruck an der Leitha and Wolkersdorf".²⁸⁸ Whether the society's support for seamstresses caused criticism by commentators who were against female independence, such as the Archbishop of Linz, is not documented.

In the light of its numerous activities the invitation to the Society of Aristocratic Women to provide a statement of opinion about industrial schools as part of the 1814/1815 survey did not come as a surprise. After several years of activities, the society and its numerous branches became a well-established part of social life in Vienna and other towns and cities. A proposal by the Lower Austrian provincial governor Augustin Reichmann shows that the resulting network had a powerful potential. Reichmann proposed establishing female industrial schools "in such a quantity that the entire female youth, especially the girls from poorer classes receive the instruction for free." According to Reichmann's conception, this school form was to be separated from primary schools and, remarkably, was not to be monitored by the Catholic school authorities but by the Society of Aristocratic Women:

"Schools should be generally allowed to exist separately from primary schools; all should be publicly monitored and put under observation of the Ladies-Association without exception."²⁸⁹

Reichmann's assessment was possibly informed by the case of France, where female teachers could volunteer to be a *dame inspectrice* and issue annual reports on girls' schools in their

²⁸⁶ Anon., "Ueber die fortgesetzte, wohlthätige Wirksamkeit der Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen [...]," *Wiener Zeitung*, 04.10.1813, 1.

²⁸⁷ The additional report of the society as an annex to the industrial school reports did not survive in the archives, Anton Weiss however still had access to the additional reports in 1904. Weiss, *Volksschule 1792-1848*, 491.

²⁸⁸ Maria Anna Gräfinn von Dietrichstein, *Ausweis der Einnahme der Gesellschaft adeliger Frauen zur Beförderung des Guten und Nützlichen und der Verwendung im Jahre 1815* (Wien 1815).

²⁸⁹ Original: " Diese Schulen sollten auch abgeschieden von den Literarschulen bestehen dürfen; alle aber sollen der öffentlichen Aufsicht und der Beobachtung der Damen-Gesellschaft, ohne Anstand, untergezogen werden." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Reichmann. It would be interesting to know how such a proposal was received by members of the clergy.

arrondissement.²⁹⁰ The idea of putting women into a position of monitoring female industrial schools reflects the status the society had gained over the years. Although the patriotic engagement of the Society of Aristocratic Women was portrayed with approval in newspapers like the *Vaterländische Blätter*, the *Wiener Zeitung* or the *Österreichischer Beobachter*, the emperor himself did not entirely see the activities of the association with benevolence. This is illustrated by a piece of correspondence from Marianna Gräfin von Dietrichstein, the association's president from 1815 to 1823, to the branch leader of Rohrau, Catharina Luegmayer. Marianna von Dietrichstein sent the annual report on the association's activities to Luegmayer and emphasised how important the continuation of all efforts was in the light of recent developments. The association's president referred to a decree from the 26th of September 1816 titled "Rules for the Founding of Women's Associations." The decree severely restricted the association's possibilities to build networks. Most concerning was the third point which forbade the continuation of the network of associations as had been established since 1810.

"Each of these associations has to stand alone. A connection between the different associations is therefore not possible, there will be no correspondence, no dependence and furthermore no branches."²⁹¹

This point is telling and uncovers the emperor's general fear of any kind of non-governmental networks. The "limitations", as Countess von Dietrichstein called them, were not acceptable to the society. A meeting with Emperor Francis II (I) was subsequently requested, which resulted in the revocation of all new restrictions achieved. This revocation was published as a decree in January 1817 titled "Explanations of a Few Points of the Highest Decision of the Year 1816, Concerning the Aristocratic Women's Associations."²⁹² This was a remarkable feat, since in injunctions against forming local branches of a single organisation generally remained in place for decades.

²⁹⁰ De Bellaigue, *Schooling*, 31. This remained the case until the introduction of Inspectrices Primaires and was debated from 1889. Linda L. Clark, "A Battle of the Sexes in a Professional Setting: The Introduction of Inspectrices Primaires, 1889-1914," *French Historical Studies* 16, no. 1 (1989), 96-125.

²⁹¹ Original: "3) Jeder dieser Vereine ist für sich bestehend. Es kann daher zwischen den verschiedenen Vereinen keine Verbindung, keine Correspondenz, keine Abhängigkeit Statt finden, und es wird weiters keine Filialen geben." Vom 26. September 1816. Grundsätze bey der Bildung der Frauen-Vereine, Politische Gesetze und Verordnungen 1792-1848, Wien 1816.

²⁹² Vom 3. Jänner 1817. Erläuterung einiger Punkte der höchsten Entschliebung vom Jahre 1816, die adeligen Frauen-Vereine betreffend, Politische Gesetze und Verordnungen 1792-1848, Wien 1817.

Vincenz Eduard Milde on industrial education

Apart from promoting industrial activity to contribute to the economic development of the Habsburg Empire, the reports of the industrial school survey also highlighted the moral benefit to be gained through constantly occupying children's time. In the context of industrial education, within the backdrop of the pedagogic discourse evolving from the industriousness/idleness binary, it is important to understand the repeated efforts to implement industrial education throughout the nineteenth century. The School Administration Act of 1805/1806 understood "idleness and poverty as the source of many offenses and industriousness on the other hand as the basis for an honest livelihood and honourable conduct [...]."²⁹³ Teachers were encouraged to team up with local priests or other individuals to promote the teaching of handcrafts like spinning, knitting and sewing to the pupils. In the previous chapter the example of the children's institute in the Pottendorf cotton mill illustrated the extent to which the argument of occupation in opposition to idleness was utilised by the imperial government to promote child labour. Nonetheless Vincenz Eduard Milde used harsh words to criticise this practise in his contribution to the 1814/1815 survey: "Many of those are not educational institutes but work institutes of self-interest, actually houses of forced labour [...]."²⁹⁴ In 1814 the Lower Austrian Government had requested a statement from Milde in his function as representative of Joseph Spendou, the superintendent of school matters. Milde had previously completed a two-volume publication titled "*Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Erziehungskunde*" [Textbook on the Science of General Education] which was highly successful.²⁹⁵ According to Milde, industrial schools promoted only vanity and fashion-addiction [*Modesucht*] while the education of the mind was neglected. Given Milde's negative stance it is surprising that he gave a more positive assessment of the issue in his note for the 1814 survey. On this occasion, Milde was of the opinion that industrial schools had the potential to "provide people with useful occupation, the most secure means against the vice."²⁹⁶

²⁹³ Original: "Da Müßiggang und Armuth die Quelle vieler Vergehen, und Arbeitssamkeit hingegen der Grund eines ehrlichen Auskommens und rechtschaffenen Wandels sind [...]." Elfter Abschnitt, §37, PSchV, Politische Schulverordnung [School administration act], Wien 1812.

²⁹⁴ Original: "Viele derselben sind nicht Bildungsanstalten, sondern Erwerbungsanstalten des Eigennutzes, eigentliche Zwangsarbeits-Häuser [...]." Vincenz Eduard Milde, *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Erziehungskunde im Auszuge, Teil 1* (Vienna: Christian Gottfried Kaulfuß, 1821), 56.

²⁹⁵ Wolfgang Brezinka, *Pädagogik in Österreich. Die Geschichte des Faches and den Universitäten vom 18. bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts. Band 1: Einleitung: Schulwesen, Universitäten und Pädagogik im Habsburger Reich und in der Republik. Pädagogik an der Universität Wien* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 244-245.

²⁹⁶ "Vorschlag des Pfarrers von Wolfpassing, Eduard Milde, welcher in Abwesenheit des Oberaufsehers der deutschen Schulen dessen Stelle versehen hat." as part of ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Reichmann.

Additionally, the clergyman pointed to the potential of industrial schools to open up new ways of gaining subsistence. He emphasised that “[...] especially in mountain areas where individual shepherding is a necessary evil, the introduction of knitting would be beneficial in moral and financial respects.”²⁹⁷

The potential danger of shepherding was also expressed in section fifteen, paragraph seven of the School Administration Act. Based on this notion, solitude caused "early immorality" or was encouraged by companions during animal tending. Milde could rely on common knowledge on the issue of masturbation prevention, only having to mention the topic as “the vice”, and emphasised the usefulness of keeping children’s hands occupied while left unmonitored.

The end of the story

Two aspects dominated the survey responses. On the one hand, industrial education was promoted in order to enhance economic development. On the other hand, industrial education was viewed as playing a critical role for moral disciplining. Officials voiced their mistrust concerning the capabilities of teachers and the potential dangers of class and gender when determining the appropriateness of industrial education. Local and regional authorities also used the report to try to impress the central government in Vienna by displaying their successes in the educational sector. Furthermore, the survey was used to include non-school related requests to the government.²⁹⁸

The final report summarising the provincial reports and expert opinions consisted of a thirteen-page summary dated the 15th of February 1815 and a seven-page decision on the matter, eleven years later, dated the 19th of August 1826. The Imperial Commission on Education concluded that a general implementation of industrial schools was not possible because of financial constraints.²⁹⁹ The promotion of skilfulness was to be encouraged and it was envisioned that the youthful drive to develop strength should be channelled into bourgeois industriousness [*bürgerlichen Fleiß*]. In rural areas skills in spinning and knitting were seen as useful for both

²⁹⁷ Original: “[...] überhaupt in den Gebirgsgegenden, wo das Einzel-Viehhüten ein nothwendiges Übel ist, die Einführung des Strickens in moralischer und finanzieller Beziehung sehr vortheilhaft wäre.” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [23-68], Hochlöbl. k.k. Studienhofkommission. Wien am 11ten Okt. 1814, Reichmann.

²⁹⁸ For example, the district authority of Iglau in Moravia urged the Court Chancellery to keep the regulation in place that a country-man should only receive permission to marry if he had planted several fruit trees in his village. ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [95-108], Chorinsky.

²⁹⁹ Johann Michael Leonhard, clergyman and advisor for educational matters, explained that the bundle of files was lost while being circulated among the provincial governors and only appeared again in 1826. Weiss, *Volksschule 1792-1848*, 505.

girls and boys, education in sewing and monogramming laundry was necessary for girls everywhere. Knowledge in fruit-growing [*Obstkultur*], bee-keeping and silk culture were deemed useful for the male youth in rural areas. In real terms, however, industrial institutes could only ever really be big factories, and surprisingly, those were often deemed to be “the grave of morality.”³⁰⁰

In his 1826 report Johann Michael Leonhard emphasised that no public funding was available for industrial schools but he nevertheless encouraged the promotion of this school form for girls and boys. Ideally boys should receive instruction a few days per week after compulsory education. The instruction preferably consisted of knitting, spinning, basket-weaving and other handicrafts depending on the regional necessities. Girls were to be instructed in all necessary female tasks. Leonhard underlined a lasting result of the industrial school survey; the positive attitude of school authorities towards private industrial school projects. Already the summary report of 1815 had explicitly supported private initiatives.

“Where private individuals apply for permission who have the necessary knowledge, recommend themselves through their morality and can achieve good through conversation during worktime, it should be granted without difficulties.”³⁰¹

With this closing statement on the promotion of private enterprises the reports were filed, industrial education only prevailed in the form of needlework education for girls. The promotion of industrial schools opened possibilities for women from artisan backgrounds and the wives and daughters of civil servants to earn an income with instruction in needlework.

2.5. The School Attendance of Flayers’ Children

In September 1816 the imperial government circulated a decree to all dominions concerning the education and moral wellbeing of the children of flayers, or the so-called *Wasenmeister-Kinder*. The profession, in German also called coverer [*Abdecker*], engaged in the utilization and disposal of animal carcasses.³⁰² The poorly-respected profession was met with superstition for centuries and connected to the handling of dead animal bodies which supposedly caused

³⁰⁰ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [9-12], Note an die löbl. Hofkanzley, Gruber.

³⁰¹ Original: "Wo Private, welche die nöthigen Kenntnisse besitzen, durch Moralität sich empfehlen, und unter der Arbeit auch durch Gespräche Gutes wirken können und dazu sich melden, wäre ihnen die Erlaubnis ohne Schwierigkeit zuzugestehen." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 17a in genere: Industrieschulen [9-12], Gruber.

³⁰² Flayers manufactured, for example, glue, soap, fats, bleach, or animal feed from animal carcasses.

Unehrlichkeit [dishonesty] in a person.³⁰³ From 1753 onwards, flayers were legally termed “dishonest” [*unehrlich*], in the sense of being without honour, as long as they performed their occupation. When they retired or changed profession, their status also changed. In the course of legislating a number of decrees against various forms of superstition during Maria Theresia’s reign, this belief was threatened with punishment. The same decree addressed the education of flayers’ children, since guilds usually hindered members of the *dishonourable* trades from training in a different a trade. This practise of prohibiting training to members of the *dishonourable* trades became outlawed and new legislation also emphasised that marriage between the daughter of a flayer and a member of a trade should be possible without criticism. Despite these measures, police authorities monitored the flayers’ profession and other so-called dishonest professions with suspicion, since members of such occupational groups often inter-married and created reclusive networks. Whether the attempts at social integration of the profession succeeded is questionable, as illustrated by a decree of the 13th of August 1816 expressing deep concern about the moral state and the education of flayers’ children.

“It has been reported that the children of the flayers rarely visit the school in the flat countryside, therefore remain without knowledge of reading and writing, even unaware of the principles of religion, and thus grow up in brutality and immorality.”³⁰⁴

The government’s concrete request to local authorities was characterised by a concern to protect these children which in fact created the impression that they were in need of protection. Local priests, for example, were advised to pay special attention to those “neglected” girls and boys. The decree encouraged local teachers to treat flayers’ children with the same respect as other children and punish verbal abuse by school colleagues. A few weeks after this order a follow-up decree was published requesting annual reports on the situation of the children of flayers. These reports had to be issued in addition to the obligatory school reports on the attendance and studiousness of pupils.³⁰⁵ This specific decree from August 1816 essentially accused all flayers and their families of not obeying existing laws and of neglecting their children. The reason why government officials took the described circumstances for granted instead of launching an investigation can be found in the general widespread prejudices against the profession. Moreover, it is possible that the decree was connected to the sensationalist story

³⁰³ For details see Hans Matschek, "Der verfemte Beruf der Wasenmeister," *Carinthia* I 180 (1990), 401-434.

³⁰⁴ Vom 13. August 1816. Unterricht der Kinder der Wasenmeister, Politische Gesetze und Verordnungen 1792-1848, Wien 1816.

³⁰⁵ The need for an annual report was ordered with a decree on the 3rd of September 1816, and included in the PSchV.

about the robber Johann Georg Grasel who was famous for his activities in the South of Bohemia and Moravia, Lower Austria's Waldviertel and Weinviertel region and in the Viennese suburbs. In these territories he had allegedly conducted 205 offences over a ten-year period. Grasel was finally chased down in a major action by the Viennese municipal authorities and police, and captured in November 1815. The results of the police investigation conducted in the following months showed that the bandit was from a family of flayers in Moravia. In fact, on numerous occasions Johann Georg Grasel had taken shelter in the houses of flayers in the Lower Austrian district Hollabrunn. The profession allegedly constituted a criminal network on the basis of their interrelatedness, low social status within a community, and their houses situated in solitude outside villages.³⁰⁶

In light of previous governmental considerations on the subject of crime prevention through (industrial) education in 1814 and 1815, the special targeting of children of flayers in 1816 had the potential to fulfil two functions. Firstly, annual reports on the school attendance and moral wellbeing of those children provided the government with an annual overview about the particular circumstances of a flayer in a parish, which contain other information than the census. Secondly, the government possibly hoped to counter “brutality and immorality” of flayers and influence the next generation through education and special monitoring. Given the language of the governmental decrees in August and September 1816 the replies by parishes in the Viennese Archdiocese on the matter come as a surprise. Of the thirteen parishes in the Manhartsberg Province only one priest from the village Altenmarkt in the Weinviertel region reported irregularities in the school attendance of the flayer’s children. In the Province below the Vienna Woods only one out of twelve reports contained a negative appraisal of the flayer in the parish Dreistätten. Other than that, school attendance was widely reported to be regular, and many parish priests commended the diligence of the daughters and sons of flayers, who were usually characterised as decent men; their wives were typically not mentioned.

The parish priests of Retz and Seefeld in the district Hollabrunn reported that the flayers’ children had “always attended school diligently.”³⁰⁷ The same was reported by the deanery of the Hainburg district. Dean Augustin Artmann summarised that in Wildungsmauer and Wolfsthal at the Danube, and Pachfurth and Bruck an der Leitha school attendance was diligent

³⁰⁶ This assumption also dominates historical analysis on the topic. For more information on the subject see Michael Pammer, "Randgruppenkriminalität im Waldviertel," in *Johann Georg Grasel - Räuber ohne Grenzen*, ed. Harald Hitz and Bohuslav Beneš (Horn/Waidhofen and der Thaya: Waldviertler Heimatbund, 1992), 51-64.

³⁰⁷ DAW, Schulamtsakten 94/3-6, Berichte über den Schulbesuch der Wasenmeister Kinder 1816.

in the past and currently. He added his opinion that no additional government intervention was needed:

“As in the current regulation the education of these Wasenmeister Kinder is recommended to the pastor and it can be expected that everyone will fulfil their duty diligently, the undersigned emphasises with all his capital that up until now minimal governmental interference is fully calming.”³⁰⁸

Likewise, the deans of Hochleithen and Pottenstein emphasised that no further government intervention was necessary, which was echoed by Maximilian Kollweger, dean and parish priest of Baden, who pointed out that nobody had ever complained about the school attendance of flayers’ children.

“There never even was the smallest complaint about the school attendance of children of flayers by the way. Already 32 years ago the flayer in St. Veit an der Wien sent his children to school and also the children of the then existing Wasenmeister in Erdberg close to Vienna attended school.”³⁰⁹

The parish priest of Orth in the Manhartsberg Province also informed the Lower Austrian government that he and his colleagues “agree unanimously that those never refused to send their children to school and they [the children] never were inferior to the others in their diligence.”³¹⁰ The priest explained that the houses of flayers were usually located outside the village and winter weather occasionally was the reason for children staying at home. The same was true for the situation in Fischamend, where the flayer had sent his children diligently to school except when snow or other bad weather conditions had hindered their school attendance. Not all parish priests were full of praise, however. The parish priest of Dreistätten in the district of Wiener Neustadt complained that the flayer near Starhemberg found numerous excuses not to regularly send his two sons and one daughter to school. During winter-time the excuse to stay away from school was bad weather, and during the summer the children were responsible

³⁰⁸ Original: "Da in der gegenwärtigen Verordnung der Unterricht dieser Wasenmeisters Kinder dem Seelsorger ohnehin an das Herz gelegt ist, und es sich erwarten läßt, daß jeder dieser letzteren seine Pflicht genau erfüllen wird, so glaubt der Unterschriebene mit seinem ganzen Kapital, sich mit den bisher getroffenen wenigen Einbringungen der hohen Stellen gänzlich beruhigen zu dürfen." DAW, 94/3-6.

³⁰⁹ Original: "Übrigens hat es wohl nicht die geringste Beschwerde Kinder der Wasenmeister in die Schule zu bringen, wie denn schon vor 32 Jahren der Wasenmeister zu St. Veit an der Wien seine Kinder dahin in die Schule schickte, und die des ehemals zu Erdberg in Wien existierenden Wasenmeister Kinder in die Schule gingen." Dekanat Baden, DAW, 94/3-6.

³¹⁰ DAW, 94/3-6.

for herding the cattle which resulted in their non-attendance.³¹¹ This particular report on the lack of school attendance because of cattle herding reveals an important detail connected to the social status of flayers in the region. Many flayers not only removed and utilised animal carcasses but also ran a farm business. The parish priest of Haitzendorf in the Manhartsberg Province emphasised this practise in his report. He assured the government that the two school-aged boys of the local flayers attended school diligently and were not treated in any way disrespectfully since their father was not only a flayer but also a farmer.

“Since this flayer, similar to many others [so wie die meisten; emphasis in the original], possesses his own [farm] holding and property, his children are not called names by other children, but attend the school collectively with the others.”³¹²

Local school authorities observed no difference between the social situation of children of flayers and their school colleagues. Moreover, they noted neither abusive nor derogatory behaviour in respect to the social background of the flayers’ children in Lower Austria. The information that flayers in the region enjoyed economic stability and respectability can also be found in reports that were compiled in later years. In the annual report on the Manhartsberg Province for 1817 the flayer in the parish Marchegg was reported for not regularly sending his two children to school. Usually a substantial fine served as a solution but in this case the parish priest proposed other measures since Lackenbauer, the flayer, was wealthy and did not respond to fines. The school attendance of other flayers’ children in this province and also in the Vienna Woods Province was satisfactory in 1817, and in the following year the conflict in Marchegg had been resolved. For 1818 no irregularity in the school attendance was reported.

“It can even be recognised in these reports that some of the flayers’ children are particularly distinct, others attend school even longer than necessary, and in general meet the highest expectations.”

These observations, however, stand in contrast to a governmental decree issued in February 1818 concerning the flayers’ profession. The decree was titled “Betterment of the Moral State of the Flayers’ Class” [*Verbesserung des sittlichen Zustandes der Wasenmeisters-Classe*] and contained six points which partially contained issues addressed in the previous decree of 1816.

³¹¹ This issue was by no means exclusive to this particular flayer who also ran a farm business. School authorities’ reports regularly complained about the lack of school attendance of farmers’ children. Farmers’ sons and daughters were usually heavily involved in the farming business.

³¹² Original: “Da dieser Wasenmeister nebstbey so wie die meisten, eine eigenen Wirthschaft und Grundstücke besitzt, so werden dessen Kinder von anderen Kindern nicht beschimpfet, sondern besuchen gemeinschaftlich mit den übrigen die Schule.” Pfarre Haitzendorf, Dekanat Wagram, DAW, 94/3-6.

The government ordered the school attendance and religious education of flayers' children be closely monitored. The administration, pastors, teachers and local judges were encouraged to treat flayers with careful consideration and not to tolerate disrespect. A new point introduced by the decree was to link sufficient schooling and religious education to the permission to establish a flayers' business, adding in the decree that the number of these businesses should not increase. A flayers' business was a so-called *Realgewerbe* [real trade], which when entered into the land registry was called *radiziertes Gewerbe* [trade]. Such a trade could be sold, given away, pledged or inherited. The government sought to change this status by closing down as many of those trades as possible and incrementally altered the authorisation basing it on personal permission, rather than on property. The last point of the decree referred to an older decree and was a reminder to the local authorities to monitor isolated dwellings.³¹³ Just one month prior to the decree's enactment the robber Johann Georg Grasel had been executed attracting the public's attention. Whether the decree was a timely connection to his execution is unclear, a strong effort to monitor criminal activities clearly underlies the six points of the 1818 decree.

Once again education was seen as a remedy for potential criminal activities. In particular religious education should instil good moral conduct and contribute to the incorporation of societal values. The heightened anxieties about the flayers' profession mellowed in the following years. Detailed annual reports were only submitted until 1820. In the following ten years the clergy submitted their reports on the school attendance of flayers' children in the form of short notes to the Lower Austrian government. In 1831 the authority of Ernstbrunn reported that the family of the local flayer had been placed under police monitoring, "the reason for this close monitoring is the immoral conduct of a few members of the family."³¹⁴ No further details were provided. In 1832 the annual reports were limited to parish priests reporting to the deanery who was no longer obliged to issue a summarising report to the provincial government.

The intense examination of flayers' children from 1816 to 1820 ran parallel to government investigations into the situation that involved a more numerous group of children from poor backgrounds: girls and boys working in factories.

³¹³ Vom 27. Februar 1818. Verbesserung des sittlichen Zustandes der Wasenmeisters-Classe, Politische Gesetze und Verordnungen 1792-1848, Wien 1818.

³¹⁴ Original: "[...] die Ursache dieser näheren Aufsicht der unsittliche Wandel einiger Mitglieder dieser Familie sey." DAW, 94/3-6. Herrschaft Ernstbrunn.

2.6. Two Children in One Bed and the Range of Factory Schools

In spring 1816 the Lower Austrian government issued a letter to the Archiepiscopal Consistory concerning the well-being of children working in factories. The letter contained a copy of Emperor Joseph II's 1786 decree which had legislated minimal requirements for children working in factories and concluded that "over time and changing circumstances this decree was largely ignored."³¹⁵ On the basis of Joseph II's legislation, different authorities were ordered per decree to monitor child labourers.³¹⁶ Published in the form of a health regulation titled "The Regulation Concerning the Better Care of Children in the Factories will be Renewed."³¹⁷ The Lower Austrian governor, Count Ignaz Karl von Chorinsky, expanded the questionnaire of Joseph II and included questions on the level of education of working children. The reports on the "care, cleanliness, intellectual and moral education of factory children" were required in writing and in the form of tables. The seven points of Joseph II's decree entered the tables in a question format, inquiring about the food supply for the child labourers, on which days the district medical officer examined the girls and boys, and how much education the children received. For the new decree four questions about the religious upbringing of the children were added.

- "How many hours per week religious instruction is provided and by whom?
- How often do the children pray together?
- On Sundays and holidays, if and by whom are the children led to mass in the morning, to the review classes and to the [Catholic] Christian instruction?
- On which days did the local pastor or the school district supervisor examine the state of the moral and religious education of the children?"³¹⁸

In their function as a school monitoring authority, clerical authorities emphasised the need to pay special attention to the importance of review classes and Catholic Christian education on

³¹⁵ Original: "Im Laufe der Zeit und durch veränderte Verhältnisse ist diese Verordnung größtentheils unbeachtet geblieben." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, 8226 Copia: Von der k.k.n.ö. Regg.

³¹⁶ Medical officers, for example, were advised to pay close attention to the cause, since factory work posed a doubly high risk of bodily deformity and negligence. The imperial government promised to count the medical officers' efforts as special merits. DAW, 95/8, 8226 Copia: Von der k.k.n.ö. Regg.

³¹⁷ Original: "Die Vorschrift wegen besserer Pflege der Kinder in den Fabriken wird erneuert." Eduard Vincenz Guldener Edlen von Lobes, ed. *Sammlung der Sanitäts-Verordnungen für das Erzherzogthum Oesterreich unter der Enns, als Fortsetzung der v. Ferro'schen Sammlung.*, vol. Vierter Theil, enthaltend die Verordnungen vom Jahre 1814 bis Ende des Jahres 1817 (1825).

³¹⁸ Original: "Wie viele Stunden wöchentlich den Religionsunterricht [erhalten] und von wem? Wie oft die Kinder gemeinschaftlich beten? Ob und von wem sie an Sonn und Feyertagen zur vormittäglichen Gottesdienste zum Wiederholungs-Unterricht, und zur Nachmittägiger Christenlehre geführt werden? An welchen Tagen der Ortsseelsorger oder Schuldistriktaufseher den Zustande der sittlichen, und religiösen Bildung der Kinder zuletzt untersucht habe?" DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, Ignaz Karl Graf von Chorinsky, Freiherr von Ledske: Von der n.öst. Regg.

Sundays. The Archiepiscopal Consistory argued that religious education was particularly important because child labourers received fewer hours of education during the week than school-going children.³¹⁹

The implementation and attendance of review classes was a matter of ongoing discussion following the implementation of the School Administration Act of 1805/1806. In December 1813 the Imperial Commission on Education ordered the regional governments to report on the issue of review classes given that they were increasingly deemed an important part of public education.³²⁰ In 1816 it was made obligatory for children between twelve and fifteen to attend review classes and for apprentices under eighteen to attend religious education on Sundays.

Reports between 1816 and 1820

In subsequent years the Catholic school authorities focused on two specific issues: religious education and the factories' sleeping arrangements for child labourers. Other questions concerning the issues of hygiene or nutrition were rarely addressed. The first reports of 1816 show the reluctance of some local authorities and factory owners to provide any information. According to the Lower Austrian government official Ignaz Karl von Chorinsky the Industrial District's regional authority summarised "that the necessary education of factory children is nowhere neglected; moreover, some factories are particularly praised for their efforts."³²¹ However a closer examination of the individual reports showed that some local governments had completed the questionnaire whereas others, for example in Schönau, had not replied to a single question. Subsequently the regional authority was urged to report again. In May 1816 the still incomplete summary report was discussed in a session of the Lower Austrian government, listing fourteen factories with the number of children working in those factories where numbers were supplied. The Archiepiscopal Consistory argued that only an exact statement about the weekly number of lessons the children received could show if children were possibly withheld from education out of some factory owners' greed. In the particular

³¹⁹ DAW, Schulamtsakten M95/F8, Chorinsky: Zur Sitzung den 28. Februar 1816.

³²⁰ According to historian Anton Weiss the issue of review classes was extensively discussed and the opinions were voiced in the form of reports, with the longest report of fifty pages handed in by the Lower Austrian Government. In a summary of all reports, the Viennese Archiepiscopal Consistory, repeated the most pertinent points. Review classes should entail the preservation of common religious-moral education [Volksebildung], the strengthening of patriotism, measures against commonly harmful preconceptions of the people and "amending of the people's spirit" [Volksegeist] to perform useful state purposes. Education in the sense of scholarly instruction [gelehrte Unterweisung] should not be provided, but instruction which "persuade the people for state purposes without compulsion." Weiss, *Volksschule 1792-1848*, 431-445.

³²¹ Original: "[...] daß man nirgendwo an dem nöthigen Unterrichte der Fabrikskinder gebrechen lassen, vielmehr würden einige Fabriken besonders gerühmt." DAW, Chorinsky, 28. Februar 1816, 95/8.

case of the factory in Teesdorf, where boys and girls received an hour-long lesson every second day, doubts were raised on the sufficiency of the education provided. The clerical authority did not object to the separate education of the ninety-four boys and fifty-four girls; however, each group had to be instructed for one hour per day.³²²

The clergyman Johann Michael Leonhard, who summarised the reports on the situation in suburban Vienna [*Linienwall*], made a similar complaint about insufficient information provided in the questionnaires. According to him, sections left blank indicated the non-attendance of children, which was the case for Sunday school. One issue first mentioned in the 1816 report soon became a focal point in relation to school supervision. Factory owners did not provide enough beds.³²³ This shortcoming usually led to two or more children sharing a bed. Reports on the situation in factories at the Laimgrube, Margarethen, at the Lorenzergrund and in the Josephstadt emphasised dramatically that “two and two persons sleep illegally together.”³²⁴

In reports issued for the year 1817 similar issues arose. The Archiepiscopal Consistory initially rejected the incomplete reports and returned them to the parishes with the request that in the future at least the number of children and their age should be entered into the report. Furthermore, the clergy and local authorities were encouraged to diligently monitor the attendance of review classes and religious education. However, reports continually focused on one topic, the “sleeping together of two children in one bed.”³²⁵ The Archiepiscopal Consistory emphasised that factory owners had to be held strictly accountable for their failure to follow the existing regulations. When resubmitted, the reports were written in greater detail but revealed contradictions. For example, on the one hand local authorities emphasised that no factory schools existed in Vienna and its surroundings since most of the child labourers were beyond the age of compulsory education. On the other hand, the reports showed that children merely attended religious education and review classes on Sundays. Since only two to four

³²² DAW, Chorinsky, 28. Februar 1816, 95/8.

³²³ Beds in this context for example meant wooden beds with sides filled with straw or hay, or straw-filled mattresses.

³²⁴ Original: "[...] zwey und zwey Personen gesetzwidrig zusammen schlafen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/4, Zur Sitzung d. 29. Apr. 1818: Ausweis der Fabrikskinder von sämtl. Dominien innerhalb der Wiener Linien f. d. M. J. 1816.

³²⁵ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/4, Bericht des fürsterzb. Consistoriums über den Zustand der Fabrikskinder in Wien vom Jahre 1817.

children were employed in small urban factories, "it would be not worth the trouble to introduce instruction."³²⁶ The age of these child labourers had in fact not been provided.

"To be able to provide a judgement if the factory children should receive instruction during the week it would be necessary to order the factory owners to indicate the age of the children to see if they are already past the years of compulsory education."³²⁷

Another contradiction was that most of the children allegedly lived with their parents, and yet the sleeping situation in the factories was heavily criticised. Fifty-two small factories in the parishes Schottenfeld, Mariahilf, Alservorstadt, St. Margarethen and Wieden did not meet the requirements for sleeping arrangements of child labourers: "Everywhere boys and girls are separated but in nearly all factories two and two boys are sleeping together [...]."³²⁸

The Archiepiscopal Consistory criticised the lack of information on religious education and incomplete or non-returned questionnaires in the Lower Austrian Industrial District. However, the focus of attention once again lay on the sleeping arrangements.

"In the factories Steinabrückl, in Neusteinhof and Fischamend, in the cotton mill in Neustadt a cohort of children sleeps two and two in one bed, which was acknowledged by the medical district officer in the factory in Neustadt. He excused it with the argument that only the younger children of nine to ten years of age would sleep in double-paired [zweispännigen] beds together. It is well-known that some children have the misfortune to be early corrupted and therefore it is not advisable to grant an exception of the law."³²⁹

Another report from 1817 criticized the living environment and health status of children working in factories in Steinabrückl and Schönau. Additionally, it warned of the moral danger of two boys in one bed [*zwey Knaben in einem Bette*] in the textile factory of Christoph Andrae in Wiener Neustadt. In Steinabrückl the living environment of the children was reported to be

³²⁶ DAW 95/4, Bericht des fürsterzb. Consistoriums 1817.

³²⁷ Original: "Um aber hierüber ein wohl gegründetes Urtheil geben zu können, ob den Fabrikskindern auch wöchentlich einen Unterricht genießen sollen, so wäre den Fabriksinhabern aufzutragen, das Alter ihrer Kinder anzugeben, um zu sehen, ob sie die Jahre der Schulfähigkeit schon überschritten haben." DAW 95/4, Bericht des fürsterzb. Consistoriums 1817.

³²⁸ Original: "Daß die Knaben von den Mädchen wohl überall in abgesonderten Gemächern schlafen, aber daß beinahe in allen Fabriken zwey und zwey Knaben beysammen schlafen [...]." DAW 95/4, Bericht des fürsterzb. Consistoriums 1817.

³²⁹ Original: "Bey der Fabrik zu Steinabrückl, zu Neusteinhof zu Fischamend in den Gespunstfabrik zu Neustadt, zum Theil schlafen zwey und zwey Kinder in einem Bette, welches der Kreisarzt bei der Neustädter Fabrik selbst bemerkt und damit entschuldigt, daß nur die jüngsten Kinder von 9 bis 10 Jahren in zweispännigen Betten beysammen schlafen. Es ist bekannt, daß manche Kinder das Unglück haben, schon früh verderbt zu werden, und deshalb keine Ausnahme vom Gesetze zu gestatten rätlich sein dürfte." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/3, Zur Sitzung den 12. Hornung [Februar] 1817: Zustand der Fabriks-Kinder-Institute.

damp and therefore a health risk. The care for child labourers in the cotton mill in Schönau was reportedly insufficient with respect to their education and hygiene.

Reports from the following years show similar patterns. The living situation and health status was of secondary importance. The information provided was usually incomplete and it seems that nobody was quite sure what to do with the results of the investigations, especially since the idea of worker's protection was unheard of at the time. The main focus of these reports was the attendance of review classes and religious education as well as the issue of sleeping arrangements. This particular obsession with the sleeping arrangements of children working in factories was an Austrian-specific phenomenon. In England it was not found objectionable for two children of the same sex to share one bed as long as it were not more than two children.³³⁰ Interestingly two girls sharing a bed was for the clerical authorities not as objectionable as the idea of two boys in one bed.³³¹ The special attention paid to the sleeping situation reveals more about the mind-set and possible fantasies of the supervising authorities than about the situation of the children. Moreover, as suggested, the focus on the sleeping situation and the language with which it was reported, drew attention away from the actual appalling working conditions in factories. The issue of children, particularly boys, sharing a bed was a clear focal point. It was seemingly easy to remedy and it was clear that the factory owners had to provide this remedy. Other matters, like education or health-care, were more complicated. Johann Slokar points to the vagueness of the 1816 decree for medical officials who were ordered to pay special attention to the physical status of children working in factories. However, the physicians were not provided with instructions about which measures to take in case they in fact discovered abuse or physical ailments.³³² During the 1820s and 1830s the concern about the sleeping situation of child labourers vanished from the reports, a fact that illustrates how the 1810s was a period of heightened social anxieties influencing the perception of authorities.

2.7. Examples of Factory Schools in Fahrafeld and Neustein Hof

When factory owners employed school-aged children, they were obliged to provide education.³³³ In order to open a school on the factory grounds the same procedures as for every private school had to be followed, starting with a petition for permission to do so. Many factory

³³⁰ B. L. Hutchins, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 16.

³³¹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/3, Zur Sitzung am 18. März 1818 über den Zustand der Fabriks-Kinder-Institute im Jahre 1817.

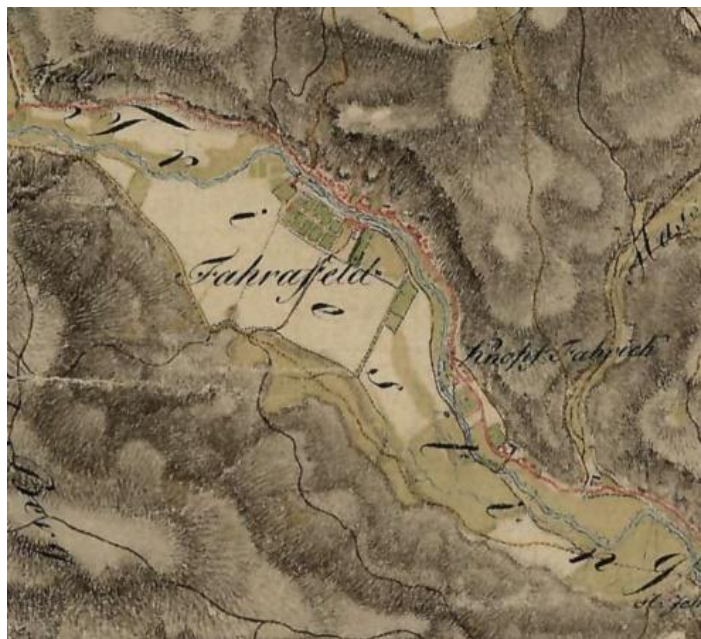
³³² Slokar, *Geschichte der österreichischen Industrie*, 102.

³³³ For more detailed information on the introduction of factory schools see Chapter 1.5.

owners did not formally apply for permission out of a lack of knowledge and employed a teacher for their child labourers under the age of twelve without formal application. The local teacher of the nearby town or village usually reported this infraction of the law. Children were often previously registered at the local public school, regardless if they attended it or not, and their parents withdrew them in order to place them in the factory. A consequence of this withdrawal was a financial loss for the local teacher who was not remunerated fully by the imperial state but had to rely on school fees from his pupils' parents. Becoming a factory schoolteacher potentially promised more stable employment, depending on the wage and living conditions in the factory. The education provided in a factory school varied greatly and was reduced to a couple of hours per week.³³⁴ The following examples of factory schools in Fahrafeld and Neusteinshof show how differently the establishment of a private factory school was handled, which ultimately depended on the respective factory owner.

The factory school in Fahrafeld

In 1820 the Protestant wholesaler Christian Heinrich von Coith established a cotton mill on the estate of a former button and needle factory [*Knopf-und Nadel-Fabrik*] in Fahrafeld.³³⁵ At the time Fahrafeld was a village with forty houses and 300 inhabitants along the river *Triesting*.³³⁶ The factory was located not far from the village on the way to Pottenstein. In the early 1820s Coith's cotton mill used seventy-two fine spinning frames



6 Close-up of the Land Register of Francis II (I). WStLA, Staatliches Finanzwesen, Franziszeischer Kataster (1817-1833).

³³⁴ In 1839 the parish priest of Günselsdorf explained, for example, that in the local factory the lessons were provided in a large, "often very cold hall on a long table." Original: "[...] in einem sehr großen, oft sehr kalten Saale an einem langen Tische." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Pfarre Günselsdorf, Joseph Rohn.

³³⁵ Ingrid Mittenzwei, *Zwischen gestern und morgen. Wiens frühe Bourgeoisie an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie 7 (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1998), 85-86. The Englishman Matthäus von Rosthorn founded the button factory in 1790. His sons transferred the factory in 1818 to the village Öd. Slokar, *Geschichte der österreichischen Industrie*, 506.

³³⁶ Herausgegeben von einigen Freunden der Geschichte, *Historische und topographische Darstellung der Pfarren, Stifte, Klöster, milden Stiftungen und Denkmähler im Erzherzogthume Oesterreich. Band 4 Pottenstein* (Wien: 1826), 142-147.

and employed 350 workers.³³⁷ Soon after the factory was opened in 1821 the local school teacher addressed a letter to the deanery of Pottenstein:

“Honorable Dean!

The undersigned sees it as his duty to notify you obediently that several school-aged children from his school have gone to [work in] the cotton mill of Mister von Koit [sic] in Fahrafeld and are employed there.

This not only causes harm to his [the teacher’s] income but also these children are deprived of an education that the emperor himself has ordered, since in this factory there is no school. With this obedient notification it is requested that the dean takes steps and informs him if he has the right to demand the school fee from those children.

Georg Fallenbüchel, schoolteacher,
Market town Pottenstein”³³⁸

When the teacher was asked to provide further details, he submitted a list with five names, two sons of carpenters and three sons of small farmers [*Kleinhäusler*]. All were over the age of nine and had three years of education behind them. Three more children, who had initially been employed in the factory, had returned to school since the teacher had notified the deanery. When the case was presented to the Lower Austrian government in March 1822, the request of Georg Fallenbüchel to receive the school fee from the children’s parents was denied. The school supervisor and parish priest David Kainz quoted the School Administration Act of 1805/1806, “[...] the opting out of school in order to earn money in a factory cannot be hindered according to §10 section 15.”³³⁹

One and a half years later the number of children working in Christian Heinrich Coith’s cotton mill had increased more than six-fold. The custodian of Pottenstein J. Bayer notified the Lower Austrian government in September 1823 of the shortcomings of educational provision in

³³⁷ Stehan Edlem von Keeß, *Darstellung des Fabriks- und Gewerbswesens in seinem gegenwärtigen Zustande, vorzüglich in technischer, mercantilischer und statistischer Beziehung* (Wien: Mörschner und Jasper, 1824), 24.

³³⁸ Original: "Hochwürdiges Dekanat! Unterzeichneter hält es für [seine] Pflicht, seine gehorsamste Anzeige zu machen, daß schon mehrere schulfähige Kinder aus seiner Schule, in die Spinn-Fabrique des Herrn von Koit nach Fahrafeld gehen, und daselbst aufgenommen worden sind. Da ihm auf diese Art nicht nur ein Schaden an seinem Einnahmen zuwächst, sondern diese Kinder auch, den von Sr. Majestät selbst anbefohlenen Schulunterricht, indem in benannten Fabrique mit seinem Wissen nach keine Schule besteht, die doch nach den bestehenden Gesetzen bestehen sollte entzogen werden, so unterlegt er diese gehorsamste Anzeige einem hochwürdigen Dekanate zur zweckmäßigen Amtshandlung mit der unterthänigsten Bitte, ihn gnädigst in Kenntniß zu setzen, ob er das Recht habe, von jenen Kindern die unter den Schuljahre in die Fabrique aufgenommen werden, das bestehende Schulgeld abzufordern. Georg Fallenbüchel, Schullehrer, Markt Pottenstein." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/4, Hochwürdiges Dekanat! Georg Fallenbüchel, Schullehrer.

³³⁹ Original: "[...] kann der Austritt derselben von der Schule zum Behuf eines Verdienstes in der Fabrik nach dem 15. Abschn. § 10 d. g. V. d.d. Sch. nicht gehindert werden." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/4, Zur Sitzung den 20. März 1822. An Hr. David Kainz, Decanats Verweser, Pf. zu Pottenstein.

Coith's factory. Although the factory owner had been notified to arrange a teacher for the child labourers, nothing had changed.

*"[...] it is completely left to the whim of the parents if and when they want to have their children taught. The teacher is not paid by the factory and the factory has not yet provided an effective order concerning the religious education of the children."*³⁴⁰

Bayer urged action and ended his letter by saying that the local manor was not indifferent to the situation. The local manor entrusted the school supervisor David Kainz with the task of thoroughly investigating the situation. He reported that no religious education was provided, but assured Bayer that the factory owner Coith intended to contact the priest of Pottenstein as soon as possible. For the education of the school-aged children the factory employed the teacher Stephan Limm; however, this was done without knowledge of the school authorities. The teacher's remuneration was free lodging and firewood as well as three gulden weekly, "[...] in addition each child has to pay him six kreuzer weekly."³⁴¹ The arrangement with the teacher for his remuneration was not unusual for the time. With three gulden weekly, the teacher earned approximately 150 gulden per year in addition to lodging and firewood for the winter. A negative point was that David Kainz himself had not yet been permitted to inspect the factory school, and his information was based on the factory owner's disclosure. The children were divided in two groups according to their age. Each group received education in alternative classes, which were always from one to two o'clock in the afternoon. A list with the names and ages of the children was attached. The school supervisor's annual report illustrates the sufficiency of this kind of education. According to the School Administration Act of 1805/1806, a public exam, held twice a year, was to gather knowledge about "the usefulness of the subjects taught, the purposefulness of the way of instruction, the progress of the pupils and the skilfulness and industriousness of the teacher."³⁴² In autumn 1823 the local government of Pottenstein informed the factory directorate of the cotton mill in Fahrafeld about the upcoming public exam to take place in the Pottenstein school. The teacher of the factory school was supposed to attend with his thirty-seven pupils on exam day. However, the factory

³⁴⁰ Original: "[...], daß es ganz von der Willkür der Eltern abhängt, ob und wann sie ihre Kinder unterrichten lassen wollen, daß ferner der Lehrer nicht von der Fabrik erhalten werde, und daß die Fabrik wegen den Rlgsunterricht der Kinder bis jetzt noch keine wirksamen Verfügung getroffen habe." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/4, Bey der am 23. Sept. d. J. vorgenommenen Schulprüfung zu Pottenstein ist von Seite des Hr. Oberbeamten zu Fahrafeld [...].

³⁴¹ Original: "[...] überdieß muß ihm jedes Kind wöchentlich 6kr bezahlen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/4, Hornstein den 29. November 1823.

³⁴² Section 7, §13, PschV.

directorship urged the local administrator of Pottenstein to revoke the order as it would be “most disgraceful for the factory” if the children were tested.³⁴³ The child labourers were apparently completely without any school knowledge. After discussing the issue in a session in December 1823, the Lower Austrian government formulated four points to remedy the shortcomings. First and foremost, the children had to be instructed in religious education. Moreover, the government emphasised that it was forbidden to hinder the school district supervisor from monitoring the school. On the contrary, the factory staff had to support any monitoring activities. In particular, the factory school teacher was requested to show deference towards the supervisor and to comply with the existing regulations. At least once a year a public exam had to be held in the factory school. If this was not possible, the children had to be examined together with the youth of the parish school in Pottenstein. The local dominion had to inform the factory directorship about the regulations and suggestions for the improvement of the school.³⁴⁴ Whether these measures were implemented is not documented since no further reports about the school have been preserved.³⁴⁵

The factory school in Neusteinhof

The factory school in Neusteinhof is an example of how the implementation of education for factory children functioned successfully on a local level. In 1809 the Protestant businessman Johann Kaspar Dieticker opened an “Imperial Royal Privileged Oriental Printing and Cotton Spinning Factory” in Neusteinhof, a village in the parish Inzersdorf.³⁴⁶ The factory school in Neusteinhof was opened in 1812/1813.³⁴⁷ When the application for permission to open the school was submitted in 1812, the district government did not simply grant permission but explained the conditions in detail. The living and classroom arrangements were similar to a public primary school. The teacher had to be provided with firewood and an apartment

³⁴³ DAW, Hornstein den 29. November 1823, 95/4.

³⁴⁴ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/4, An das löbl. k.k. Consist. V.U.W.W.

³⁴⁵ Two decades later, in 1843, the factory school was the last factory school to close in the deanery. DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/7, Bericht über den Zustand der in den Fabriken des Pottensteiner Dekanats-Bezirktes verwendeten Jugend vom Jahre 1843 von Cajetan Geyer. For more detailed information see Chapter Three of this thesis.

³⁴⁶ How the ownership structure of the business was organised is unclear; Johann Kaspar Dieticker was until the 1820s named as business owner in schematic and statistical presentations of industry in Lower Austria, however the name Drasso Lago appears from 1810 as owner of the cotton mills. Regina Dieticker, wife of Johann Kaspar, appears as the owner of the printing factory from 1815 until bankruptcy in 1826. Herbert Matis, “Die Manufaktur und frühe Fabrik im Viertel unter dem Wiener Wald. Eine Untersuchung der großbetrieblichen Anfänge vom Zeitalter des Merkantilismus bis 1848” (Dissertation, Universität Wien, 1964), 310.

³⁴⁷ For the first year the first teacher was Anton Schedling, who was replaced by Nikolaus Spins when he moved to Jedlesee in 1814. DAW, Schulamtsakten 36/5, Unterzeichneter bittet ganz gehorsamst um den in der Spinnfabrik am Neusteinhof erledigten Schuldienst.

connected to two classrooms. The annual wage of the teacher was set at 200 gulden. The district government was not satisfied with two hours of education per day and deemed at least three hours per day, divided into two classes, were necessary for the one hundred children. The children also had to attend Sunday school, because three hours of instruction per day did not amount to the required number of hours for school-aged children. Another condition was

“that the children in this school, as they only receive two hours of religious education per week but are entitled to five hours according to the School Administration Act, should attend education in Catechism at the parish church in Inzersdorf; the teacher is obliged to bring them to the church and back.”³⁴⁸

Over the following decade the only complaint concerning the factory school in Neusteinshof was the issue of religious education. The parish priest of Inzersdorf was negligent in providing religious education classes in the factory school although the factory owner paid him two hundred gulden per year. With this amount he received the same wage as the factory school teacher despite the fact that he was only responsible for two hours of religious instruction per week.³⁴⁹

Production in the cotton mill and the printing factory thrived. In the mid-1820s the first steam engine of the region was established in the factory in Neusteinshof.³⁵⁰ The financial crisis of 1825 caused financial difficulties and many factories faced bankruptcy. The factories in Neusteinshof were affected. After the school was closed due to the bankruptcy, the Dieticker couple does not appear again in the records. In 1828 the business re-opened with a new owner, Peter Vordoni, who reportedly did not employ school-aged children. However, it was soon detected that thirty-three school-aged children who were supposed to attend the parish school in Inzersdorf actually worked in the factory. Since there was no schooling provided on the factory grounds, the children were urged to attend the local primary school. Records show that school attendance was very sporadic. Ferdinand Künstler, the parish priest of Inzersdorf,

³⁴⁸ Original: "[...] daß die Kinder dieser Schule, da sie wöchentlich nur 2 Stunden Religionsunterricht bekommen, nach der polit. Verf. aber 5 Stunden zu bekommen hätten, verhalten werden, an Sonntagen dem katechetischen Unterrichte in der Pfarrkirche zu Inzersdorf beyzuwohnen; und von ihrem Lehrer dahin, und wieder zurück zu begleiten wären." After bankruptcy the factory reopened in 1829, but the former factory school remained closed although school-aged children were employed again. DAW, Schulamtsakten 36/5, Regg. Dekret d. 2./11. July Z. 17995/1715 mit der Resolution über die Einrichtung der Schule zu Neusteinshof nächst Inzersdorf.

³⁴⁹ The civil engineer who had built the machine reported that Johann Kaspar Dietiker was apparently delighted with the machine and enjoyed to experiment with it. DAW, Schulamtsakten 36/5, Dechant Seyrer überreicht das Schul-Gestions-Protokoll vom letzten Quartal des Schuljahres 1815 zur Einsicht.

³⁵⁰ R. Reinscher, "Alles noch nur Dampf! (Schluß)," *Allgemeines Wiener Polytechnisches Journal*, 15.01.1842. The first steam engine in the Habsburg Empire was built in Brno/Moravia in the fine cloth factory of J. H. Offermann in 1816. Slokar, *Geschichte der österreichischen Industrie*, 179.

maintained that the lack of warm clothes was responsible for the non-attendance of most children. He also criticised the work performed on Sundays which hindered the children from attending Sunday mass, review classes and religious education.³⁵¹ According to his account all pupils working were the children of factory workers. The children were either working in the factory themselves or being unmonitored during the day. The priest explained that the new factory owner was not inclined to stop employing school-aged children as he knew he would have to pay an adult to do the work instead. Moreover, the parents who were themselves employed in the factory needed the additional income to survive. The priest pointed to this cycle determined by factory labour.

“The philanthropist is hurt when he sees these poor little ones, who are not inheriting a capital from their parents but have always more abilities and predispositions than common village children, growing up in a completely natural state.”³⁵²

The complaint of the priest bore fruit. The local government decided to force the factory owner to open a factory school if he wanted to employ school-aged children. The government announced a penalty of fifty gulden for every school-aged child found working in the factory.³⁵³ After this decision no further complaints were made. It seems, in this case at least, the threat of a fine proved to be an effective way to implement regulations.

2.8. Summary

The period of the Napoleonic Wars and the years after the Congress of Vienna were characterised by heightened social anxieties which forced the issue of education at governmental level. Anxieties were the driving force for governmental authorities who dealt with diverse issues from anti-Napoleonic prejudices against French in private schools to anxieties concerning the allocation of sleeping spaces in factories. The main aim of surveys and specific legislation was to prevent crime and moral offences. The specific danger of moral decline [*Sittenverfall*] was repeatedly discussed during this period.³⁵⁴ In this light the idea to

³⁵¹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/10, Löbliche Schuldistricts-Aufsicht! Inzersdorf am Wienerberg den 5ten Oktober 1829, Ferdinand Künstler.

³⁵² Original: "Dem Menschenfreunde thut es wehe, wenn er diese armen Kleinen, die kein Vermögen von ihren Eltern ererben, die immer viel mehr Anlagen und Fähigkeiten als gewöhnliche Dorfkinder zeigen, so ganz im Naturzustande aufwachsen sieht." DAW, Inzersdorf, 95/10.

³⁵³ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/10, Verordnung an das k.k. Kreisamt V.U.W.W., 23. Mai 1830.

³⁵⁴ The danger of a moral decline was discussed by the Archiepiscopal Consistory already in 1810 with the outcome that police measures, preachings and education were countermeasures against it. DAW, Schulamtsakten 75/2, *Sittenverfall* als Gefahr für die Jugend.

establish a network of industrial schools throughout the empire had the potential both to remedy this moral danger on a larger scale and to promote industrial development at a time when the economy was in deep crisis. The different reporting bodies on the subject, however, did not communicate with each other but only addressed the central government in Vienna. This lack of communication between different provinces possibly hindered the development of regional policies tackling specific issues, since local authorities had to wait for an order from the central government. For the same reason, information gathered in reports on the situation of children working in factories did not lead to any improvements.

3. *Ora et Labora* – Pray and Work

During the 1830s, Dürnkrot, a small village in the Lower Austrian Weinviertel region situated at the March river close to the Hungarian (today Slovakian) border, gained considerable attention. The new railroad, the Emperor Ferdinand Northern Railway [*Kaiser Ferdinand Nordbahn*], was extended to the village in order to connect the border region with Vienna. In 1839 the train started operating: “In Dürnkrot an incredible crowd of people greeted the approaching waggons, amongst the crowd the picturesque costumes of the Slavs and the Hungarians were standing out.”³⁵⁵ Visitors and workers from other regions were not unusual in the village Dürnkrot with approximately five hundred inhabitants.³⁵⁶ In 1836 female servants from Hungary briefly became the object of school authorities’ attention. The local parish priest Georg Wolf reported:

“Here and in the region, are servant girls from Hungary aged seven to twelve and fifteen to eighteen who are not attending any education. Their employment is preferred, to the disadvantage of the poor domestic children, since the locals have to attend school.”³⁵⁷

The Viennese Archiepiscopal Consistory asked the local dean Karl Gößmann to handle the matter. He decided that Hungarian girls working as servants in Dürnkrot, or other villages and towns in the region had to attend school: “Since they are situated in Austria they have to comply with the customary laws.”³⁵⁸ Another interesting detail of the case was a conflict between the priest Georg Wolf and the local school teacher. The priest complained about the school teacher Felix Steindorfer, whose lax practise concerning the age of school enrolment and duration of school attendance, was not acceptable for Wolf.³⁵⁹ He vented his anger in his letter to the dean:

³⁵⁵ Anon., "Eröffnung der Fahrten auf der Kaiser Ferdinands Nordbahn nach Dürnkrot," *Wiener Zeitung*, 11.05.1839, 673.

³⁵⁶ Many women and men had come from Bohemia for the railroad works; for example the village Kraschowitz /Krašovice in the Prachiner Kreis or the Budweis region as the death registry's entries document. Sterbebuch der Pfarre Dürnkrot, Ignaz Gaschler, Eisenbahnarbeiter aus Budweis, +20.08.1837; Rosalia Czappek, Eisenbahnarbeiterin aus Kraschtowitz, +21.10.1838, Sign. 03-04, 138, 140.

³⁵⁷ Original: "Es befinden sich hier u. in der Gegend überhaupt [Dienst] Mädchen aus Ungarn von 7 bis 12 und 15 bis 18 Jahren, die keinem Unterrichte beywohnen. Erstere werden zum Abbruche leichter Unterkuft der armen Landeskinder um so lieber aufgenommen, weil die Einheimischen die Schule besuchen müßen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 201/32/2, Dürnkrot, Schulpflicht ungarischer Mädchen.

³⁵⁸ Original: "Da selbe sich in Österreich befinden, so sollen sie auch dem landesüblichen Gesetzen entsprechen." DAW, 201/32/2.

³⁵⁹ In the particular case of Dürnkrot the complaint regarded two children who had with permission of the teacher left school a few months earlier than foreseen and were sent by their parents to Hungary in order to learn the Slovak language. It would be interesting to know if children in this border region were possibly exchanged for the purpose of gaining language knowledge. Michael Mitterauer has described this practise in the example of the border of Carinthia and Krain, today a part of Slovenia. Michael Mitterauer, *Ledige Mütter. Zur Geschichte illegitimer Geburten in Europa* (München: Beck, 1983), 128. The practise of sending children to a different place

“It is hard for the priest to be zealous for patriotism with such a non-subordinate educator. I am without protection!!!”³⁶⁰

Conflict between local priests and teachers, which was often a competition for authority and to a certain extent attention, led to a mutual questioning of competence. A similar situation can be found in disputes between local parish priests and factory owners, which will be illustrated in this chapter. Employing Hungarian children in order to circumvent the law on compulsory education was a widespread practise not only in the service but also in the industrial sector. The case of underage servants in 1830s Dürnkrot at the beginning of this chapter serves to emphasise that child labour was not confined to factories but was also common in domestic service, not to speak of agriculture or the mining industry. The living conditions and school attendance of children working in factories, however, is far better documented. The tensions between the need for subsistence, employers’ exploitative practises and educational demands were impossible to reconcile, as the following examples will demonstrate.

3.1. The Incompatibility of Workdays with School Education

In England, or the “country of factories” as it was called in a report by a parish priest, several investigations into the conditions of factory workers had led to intense parliamentary debates about the conditions of workers, especially child workers. However, the first protective labour legislation called the “Health and Morals of Apprentices Act” of 1802 was poorly enforced. In the early 1830s a renewed attempt was made to improve factory working conditions in the form of a committee under the lead of the Tory politician Michael Sadler. The committee investigated the situation in cotton textile factories and confirmed that the working conditions for underage and adult factory workers were in dire need of improvement. Cotton mills were the focus of this investigation, where excessive hours, over-heated room temperatures, “impossibility of education and lack of time for play and exercise” and “in some cases, shocking cruelties”³⁶¹ prevailed, according to the commission report. The reports on “shocking cruelties” entered the German language press. The trade journal, *Polytechnisches Journal*, for

in order to learn a second language became highly contested by nationalists around 1900. For a detailed study see Tara Zahra, *Kidnapped souls. National indifference and the battle for children in the Bohemian Lands, 1900-1948* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

³⁶⁰ Original: "Hart ist es dem Seelsorger, mit einem un subordinaten Schulmanne für Patriotismus zu eifern. Ich bin ohne Schutz!!!" The priest Wolf issued during his time as parish priest of Dürnkrot between 1830 and 1840 numerous complaints on various subjects to the local dean and the Archiepiscopal Consistory. DAW, 201/32/2.

³⁶¹ B. L. Hutchins, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 33-34.

example, reported with the headline: "Abuse and homicide of children as they prevail in the English factories."³⁶² However, not only negative reports entered the news. In the same year an article in the same journal reported on schools in factories, which were provided by several factory owners in Leeds. The provision of schooling was emphasised as a charitable undertaking, especially in the light of the fact that compulsory education had not yet been implemented in England. In 1833 a Factory Act, which was supported by Michael Sadler's successor Lord Ashley, was passed.³⁶³ It contained several clauses that regulated the hours of factory labour and other improvements, but left many social reformers unsatisfied since the regulations still permitted working hours of twelve hours per day for children from the age of thirteen. An important section of this new legislation was the enforcement of school attendance. It turned out that the factory schools in Leeds were in fact isolated cases. Apart from the difficulties to combine schooling and factory work, Britain did not have mandatory education and therefore a lack of schools in general.³⁶⁴ Four factory inspectors were put in charge of enforcing the law and their findings occasionally entered the German-speaking press in appalling headlines: "Abuse of Children in the English Needle Factories."³⁶⁵

In the following years the number of children under twelve working in factories declined, at least on paper. In his study on child workers in Britain Peter Kirby points to the difficulties in judging the accuracy of statistical material as "there was little formality in the granting of age certificates and most were issued in the residences of surgeons with no witnesses as to the identity or appearance of a certified child."³⁶⁶ While findings about the working conditions of child labourers in England attracted sensationalist attention, similar developments were unfolding in France. In the 1830s social investigations by Jean Jacques Bourcart and Louis Villermé highlighted the condition of children working in factories. In March 1838 the health journal *Gesundheits-Zeitung* dedicated the first four pages to Villermé's findings under the title: "The Work Hours of Children in the Manufactories of France."³⁶⁷ The anonymous author expressed dismay over the number of children's work hours.

³⁶² Anon., "Mißhandlung und Todtschlag von Kinder, wie sie in den englischen Fabriken betrieben werden," *Polytechnisches Journal* 47 (1832), 400. In 1829 an article titled "Hardship of factory workers in England.": Anon., "Elend der Fabrik-Arbeiter in England," *Polytechnisches Journal* 33 (1829), 414.

³⁶³ A detailed presentation of the Ten Hours Movement is provided by: B. L. Hutchins, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 43-70.

³⁶⁴ B. L. Hutchins, *A History of Factory Legislation*, 77.

³⁶⁵ Anon., "Mißhandlung der Kinder in den englischen Nadelfabriken," *Polytechnisches Journal* 55 (1835), 71.

³⁶⁶ Peter Kirby, *Child Workers and Industrial Health in Britain 1780-1850* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 102.

³⁶⁷ Anon., "Die Arbeitszeit der Kinder in den Manufacturen Frankreichs," *Populäre österreichische Gesundheits-Zeitung*, 05.03.1838.

“It is hard to believe but [...] beyond doubt that those young unfortunate creatures are spending fifteen to fifteen and a half hours in the manufactories and are working thirteen hours per day. Whose pity would not awake even when only a cursory glance is taken on the destiny of those children?”³⁶⁸

Ironically commentators of the Austrian press depicted child labourers in France and England as exploited victims although fourteen to sixteen work hours per day were not unusual in the Habsburg monarchy. The question of schooling and its incompatibility with factory life also concerned French legislators when in 1841 the first French Factory Law was passed. The French law took the English factory legislation as a model. In her comparative study of the three French factory towns – Lille, Mulhouse and Rouen – Katherine Lynch provides valuable insights into the ways social policies and ideas clashed with the reality of daily practice in factory towns. In Mulhouse, for example, evening classes for factory children were already introduced a decade prior to the 1841 law but with little success, and attendance of the evening school remained low even after the enactment of the 1841 law.³⁶⁹ Following a decade of preparatory work and negotiation, the Prussian government published the "Rules on the Employment of Young Workers in Factories" [*Preußisches Regulativ*] at the end of the 1830s. The act regulated the work hours of children under sixteen, reduced them to less than ten hours per day, prohibited night shifts, and implemented compulsory school attendance. If no factory school was provided, only children who had received at least three years of education were permitted to be employed. The employment of children under the age of nine was generally prohibited.³⁷⁰ Similar legislation was passed in the Kingdom of Bavaria and Grand-Duchy of Baden in 1840.³⁷¹ In practise these laws were barely enforced but the new legislation produced many inspection reports, which provide information on the working conditions and literacy of children working in factories.

³⁶⁸ Original: "Es ist kaum glaublich, aber durch Thatsachen außer Zweifel gesetzt, daß diese unglücklichen jungen Geschöpfe täglich 15-15 1/2 Stunden in den Manufacturen zubringen, und durch dreizehn Stunden jeden Tag arbeiten müssen. Wessen Mitleid muß nicht bei einer nur oberflächlichen Betrachtung des Schicksals dieser Kinder erwachen?" Anon., "Die Arbeitszeit der Kinder in den Manufacturen Frankreichs," *Populäre österreichische Gesundheits-Zeitung*, 05.03.1838, 154.

³⁶⁹ Katherine A. Lynch, *Family, Class, and Ideology in Early Industrial France. Social Policy and the Working-Class Family 1825-1848* (London, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 210-212.

³⁷⁰ Günther K. Anton, *Geschichte der preussischen Fabrikgesetzgebung bis zu ihrer Aufnahme durch die Reichsgewerbeordnung* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1891), 50-51.

³⁷¹ Seebauer, *Kinderarbeit*, 153.

Investigations and Legislative Attempts in Lower Austria in the late 1830s

In 1837 a local district doctor, whose identity was unknown, complained to the Lower Austrian government about the working conditions of children in factories. In the context of contemporary developments in other countries which were published in journals and newspapers, the complaint found resonance and led to a series of investigations. The government took the complaint seriously. In March 1838 it sent an official notice to all school district supervisors in Lower Austria: "On the occasion of a complaint about the burdensome detention of children to work in factories [...] the education of the children employed in factories came up [...]."³⁷² The school supervisors were urged to report their views on the subject and assess whether new regulations were necessary. The example of the regional government of Vorarlberg demonstrates how much enforcement of the law depended on the willingness of the government to implement these measures.³⁷³ In Vorarlberg, a decree had been issued as early as 1834 that prohibited the physical punishment of children and the employment of school-aged children.³⁷⁴ The decree put an end to the practice of evening schools and lessons on Sundays or holidays for child labourers; only the obligation to attend Sunday mass was upheld. Although this decree faced strong opposition from factory owners, the local government showed determination during the following years to enforce the law.³⁷⁵

The parish priests and local deans in their school monitoring function began to seriously investigate the situation of child labourers and detailed their views and ideas for future legislation in long reports. These reports provide invaluable accounts on the working and living conditions of factory workers at the time. For the purpose of this chapter reports by parish priests and deans will be analysed for the districts Fischamend, Hainburg, Klosterneuburg, Neunkirchen, Pottenstein, Wiener Neustadt and Weigelsdorf in the Province below the Vienna Woods and the deanery of Laa in the Province below the Manhartsberg. The length and detail of the reports suggest that this was a somewhat long-awaited opportunity for the Catholic

³⁷² Original: "Aus Anlaß einer Beschwerde über zu beschwerliche Anhaltung der Kinder zur Arbeit in den Fabriken, kam [...] auch der Unterricht der in den Fabriken beschäftigten Kinder zur Sprache [...]." DAW, 95/9, Von der k.k.n.ö. Regierung! Wien, den 20. März 1838.

³⁷³ Whether the Lower Austrian government contacted other centres of textile production in the Habsburg Empire, such as the Bohemian regions of Bunzlau, Elbogen and Leitmeritz or the districts of Bregenz, Feldkirch, Dornbirn and Sonnenberg in Vorarlberg, to exchange views is subject for future investigation.

³⁷⁴ In exceptional circumstances children could already be employed after four years of school attendance; however, this had to be approved by the parish priest and the local government.

³⁷⁵ Hubert Weitensfelder, *Industrie-Provinz Vorarlberg in der Frühindustrialisierung 1740-1870*, Studien zur historischen Sozialwissenschaft 29 (Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag, 2001), 254-260.

clergy in those regions to voice their concerns. This is illustrated by the opening statement of the dean of the Neunkirchen district, Franz Trnka:

“Following the order of the high government [...] the undersigned put his perceptions of the last nine years densely together and went for greater confirmation again to the premises in Neunkirchen during working hours [...].”³⁷⁶

Similarly, the dean of the Weigelsdorf district, Franz Treiber hoped that his concerns reached the government, and offered advice as to what the “high paternal government should direct its gracious attention.”³⁷⁷ The Lower Austrian government posed six questions to be answered. The first question concerned the number of factories in the district and asked about how many school-aged children and other children were obliged to attend Sunday school. The second question addressed the number of work hours and included the request to give an estimation of an ideal amount of work hours per day for children. School attendance was approached in the third question inquiring into the time of the day and the amount of teaching hours the children received in the compulsory subjects reading, writing, arithmetic and religious education. The fourth and fifth questions were dedicated to the attendance of review classes and religious education on Sundays and whether Sunday work was performed. The government also inquired into the persons who accompanied the children to school and monitored their attendance in the parish or in a factory school on the factory grounds. In addition to answering these questions on the basis of their own observations and reports by parish priests, the deans gave their own personal insights into the children’s physical condition, daily and weekly routines and work hierarchies at the workplace.

Daily and Weekly Routines

In many factories the work days started at four or five in the morning and usually lasted until eight or nine in the evening. In cotton mills especially, work days of up to sixteen-hours were more the rule than the exception. In other factories, such as producers of brass goods or printing factories, the work hours ranged from eight to thirteen hours. In some factories, like the tobacco factory in Hainburg, the duration of work hours depended on the season; for this factory dean

³⁷⁶ Original: "In Folge hohen Regierungsauftrages [...] hat Gefertigter seine 9 jährigen Wahrnehmungen zusammen gedrängt, zur größeren Vergewisserung sich noch einmal an Ort u. Stelle verfügt, die Fabriken in Neunkirchen zur Zeit der Arbeitsstunden nochmal besucht [...]." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Dekanat Neunkirchen, Franz Trnka.

³⁷⁷ Original: "[...] eine hohe väterliche Landesregierung ihr gnädigstes Augenmerk richten möchte." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Dekanat Weigelsdorf zu Himberg, Franz Treiber, Dechant.

Jakob Reinberger noted that during the warmer months ten-hour work days were standard while in the wintertime children worked approximately eight hours.³⁷⁸ Usually the urgency to reach a certain delivery date also played a decisive role. The work day was ideally only interrupted by lunch-break of one hour. School-aged children had to attend an hour of school per day. In some factories this hour was held before lunch-break or in the evening after work. In other factories the employers decided that a lunch-break was not necessary for children, which was the case in the cotton yarn spinning mills in Münchendorf along the river Triesting. The parish priest reported on this practise without any objection: "School education is provided daily between 12 and 1pm, deducting a quarter hour which the children need to eat."³⁷⁹

Generally, the deans recommended that school education should not take place in the evenings, because the children were too exhausted to learn. Children for whom the factory owners did not provide a factory school and therefore had to walk from the factory to the parish school relied on the good will of the skilled worker [*Geselle*] they were assigned to, who allowed them to leave work in order to attend school. A child usually worked for the same duration as her or his immediate superior since the work steps were synchronised. In the case where no schooling was provided on the factory grounds, girls and boys employed in one factory frequently walked to and from school in groups, mostly unaccompanied and without adult supervision. Government authorities frowned upon this practise and emphasised the necessity that for an adult to accompany children in order to monitor them. Tying in with this point, an observation of Hieronimus Österreicher, dean of the Klosterneuburg district, is relevant as he described in his report how the child labourers in his deanery loudly marked the start and end of a work day. In the deanery of Klosterneuburg a few smaller factories and many workshops of weavers and printers existed, where, depending on the volume of sales, up to four hundred children were employed.

"The morality of such children expresses itself through exuberance and noisy wilfulness with which they move in the mornings and evenings through the streets. People, also some moral skilled workers, are surprised about the obscene songs sung by those children, girls and boys alike."³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Dekanat Laa, Hilarius Urban.

³⁷⁹ Original: "Der Schulunterricht wird täglich von 12 bis 1 Uhr erteilt, eine kleine Viertel Stunde abgerechnet, die die Kinder zum Speisen nothwendig haben." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Pfarre Münchendorf, Emanuel Zoisl.

³⁸⁰ Original: "Die Sittlichkeit solcher Kinder spricht sich durch die Ausgelassenheit und den lärmenden Muthwillen aus, mit welchem sie Morgens und Abends die Straßen durchziehen. Leute, auch einige sittlichen

This scene is remarkable since it shows how girls and boys, about whose agency little is known due to the lack of sources, were in groups that were not only visible but also audible. Unaccompanied groups of children became a great concern to parish priests since similar group appearances were also made by children working in the vast cotton mills close to the Hungarian border; including Pottendorf, Sollenau, Schönau or Teesdorf. Workers from Hungary usually walked on Saturday evening to their home town in West Hungary and returned to the factory on Sunday evening or early Monday morning. Children often were unaccompanied as illustrated by the cotton mill in Teesdorf. Joseph Rohn, parish priest of Günselsdorf, provided a vivid account of such children, who often came from Croatian minorities in West Hungary and whose employment was incredibly difficult to monitor. This was particularly true since factories had one-by-one closed all children's institutes [*Kinderhäuser*]. In 1831 for example the institute of the Teesdorf cotton mills had closed: "This for the state and the private interest laudable and very beneficial institution for poor children has a while ago, eight years, - I don't know why? – ceased! [sic]"³⁸¹

When factories with high numbers of children had such children's institutes, they often also had factory schools connected to them. In factories where this was the case, like in Schönau, Sollenau, Teesdorf or Wiener Neustadt, the local priest entered the factory grounds once a week to provide religious education. This also possibly allowed the local priest to exercise some influence and control. One reason for closing children's institutes was that the provision of board, lodging and education was in the eyes of factory owners an expensive undertaking. From its very conception, the idea of children's institute had a familial, even monastic ethos which is encapsulated by the common term *Kindervater* [children's father] for the head of such an institute.³⁸² The parish priest of Günselsdorf describes how the vast majority of children coming from West Hungarian villages were left to their own devices since the children's institute in Teesdorf had closed. This "herd without shepherd" was, according to Rohn, like "a nomadic tribe which defies when even slightly rejected, wandering from one factory to the other, scarcely becoming known because of the ongoing change and much less registered."³⁸³

Gehülfen, staunen über die zothigen Lieder, welche von derlei Kindern, Mädchen ebenso, wie den Knaben, gesungen werden." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Dekanat Klosterneuburg, Hieronimus Österreicher.

³⁸¹ Original: "Diese löbliche dem Staate und dem privat Interesse der armen Kinder so vortheilhaft entsprechende Einrichtung hat sich vor etlichen acht Jahren, weiß nicht warum? aufgehört!" DAW 95/9, Günselsdorf 1839.

³⁸² The parish priest of Sollenau, Valentin Wiesner, states the term "Kindervater" would be a common term for heads of children's institutes. DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/10, Beilage zu dem von der Herrschaft Schönau [...] aufgenommenen Protokollen, 19. März 1838.

³⁸³ Original: "[...] gleichsam ein Nomadenvolk, welches bey der leisesten Zurückweisung trotzts, von einer Fabrik zur anderen wandert, und während dem ewigen Wechsel kaum bekannt wird, viel weniger verzeichnet werden kann." DAW 95/9, Günselsdorf 1839.

The parish priest emphasised that since the children's institutes were closed, the employment and dismissal of child labourers happened without his knowledge. When on Saturday evening the work-week ended, the children then walked "whole nights back to their regions."³⁸⁴ The frequent changes of the workplace for groups of children, as described by the parish priest, contains an element of independence. This element of autonomy has only recently been acknowledged in studies on child labour.³⁸⁵ For factory owners this group action was a phenomenon difficult to control, which is exemplified by the concerns of the factory owner Ludwig Pacher in a meeting with the parish priest Valentin Wieser in May 1838. During the 1830s Wieser demanded a change in the way workers, particularly child workers, were treated in the Sollenau and Schönau cotton mills. Pacher requested that if he was obliged to comply with the regulations, all factories should also be subject to them, "in order that the school-aged children are not prompted to leave the local factory because it applies stricter measurements and [they] find employment in another factory, as it was the case when the institute was closed."³⁸⁶

This statement also contains a contradiction since the factory owners, both junior and senior Pacher, had on other occasions emphasised that they did not employ children under the age of twelve to work in their factories. Looking at the 1839 reports, the number of school-aged children working in factories was high and employing under nine-year-olds was not unusual.³⁸⁷ Only in the Pottendorf cotton mill there was no Sunday and holiday work, according to Treiber, who drew an enthused parallel between this cotton mill and the situation in England:

"England, the fatherland of factories comes spontaneously to the undersigned's mind where – as far as the undersigned knows – no Sunday work is performed but the industry in general or the prosperity of the individual does not suffer."³⁸⁸

Excessive Hours and Bodily Condition

When the work day and school education were over, the night provided new challenges for adults and children alike. Getting rest and sleep in factories was difficult. In previous reports

³⁸⁴ DAW 95/9, Günselsdorf 1839.

³⁸⁵ See Jane Humphries, *Childhood and child labour and the British industrial revolution*, 1. publ. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Nigel Goose and Katrina Honeyman, eds., *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

³⁸⁶ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/10, Erhebungs Protokoll. Sollenau den 10. Mai 1838.

³⁸⁷ Legislation technically foresaw that children under nine were only permitted to be employed in circumstances of outermost poverty, a circumstance easy to argue at the time. §316 PSchV.

³⁸⁸ Original: "Unterzeichnetem steht hier unwillkürlich England vor Augen, England, dieses Vaterland der Fabriken, in denen /: nach des Unterzeichneten Wissen :/ an Sonntagen nie gearbeitet wird, ohne daß deshalb der Industrie im Allgemeinen und dem Wohlstande des Einzelnen Abbruch geschieht." DAW, 95/9.

between 1816 and 1820, the sleeping situation of children working in factories had been heavily criticised. Leopoldine Hokr presents a vivid account of the sleeping conditions of children in her analysis of factory workers' inventories. She points out that because cots and smaller beds for children were completely absent from the inventories, children in workers' households were sleeping on the floor or with the adults.³⁸⁹ The dean of the Fischamend district described a similar lack of space for foreign workers, most of whom came from West Hungary. They were not able afford to rent accommodation and were put into basements or sheds without separating the sexes. The dean found this fact particularly appalling.

“[...] what kind of mischief is happening there one can imagine, the factory owners only care about cheap labour and everything else is not important, the working children are roaming around on the factory grounds and hear from those things, or they trace those localities which must give the worst impression to their morality.”³⁹⁰

The concerns of school supervisors were not restricted to the sleeping situation of workers. The clergymen also reported their observations of medical ailments, including the prevalence of pulmonary diseases, swollen feet, hoarse voice and paleness. Six days in a closed environment without fresh air, constantly inhaling oily vapour and, in the case of cotton printing factories, harmful paint fumes were certainly harmful to anybody. The dean of the Wiener Neustadt district, Karl Gößmann, summarised his opinion on the bodily condition of children working in factories with the sentence: “People who grew up like that are not even suitable as cannon fodder.”³⁹¹ To his knowledge the military only recruited little “useful material” from factories.³⁹² The incredibly long work days clearly damaged the physical development of children: “One can be only convinced by the negative influence of these excessive work hours on the bodily development of the children, their strength and growth.”³⁹³ With the language of

³⁸⁹ Leopoldine Hokr, "Pottendorf. Historische Studien zur Arbeit, Kultur und Lebensweise einer Industriearbeitergemeinde im 19. Jahrhundert" (Dissertation, Universität Wien, 1984), 105.

³⁹⁰ Original: "[...] welch Unfug da geschieht, läßt sich denken, allein die Fabriksherren kümmern sich nur um wohlfeile Arbeit, an übrigen ist ihnen wenig oder nicht gelegen, indem nur die Arbeitskinder in dem Fabrikslocale öfter herumkommen, und von solchen Dingen sprechen hören, oder auch diese Localitäten aufspüren, es dürfte solche auf ihre Moralität den schlimmsten Eindruck machen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Dekanat Fischamend, Georg Freystadtler.

³⁹¹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Dekanat Wr Neustadt, Karl Größmann.

³⁹² Wolfgang Häusler examined the issue of fitness for military service during the reign of Emperor Ferdinand and showed that only half of the recruits from factories were found suitable during the physical examination before entering military service. Wolfgang Häusler, *Von der Massenarmut zur Arbeiterbewegung. Demokratie und soziale Frage in der Wiener Revolution von 1848* (Wien: Jugend u. Volk, 1979), 50.

³⁹³ Original: "Von dem nachtheiligen Einflusse dieser unmäßigen Arbeitszeit auf die Körperbildung der Kinder, auf Kraft und Wachsthum kann man sich jeden Augenblick überzeugen." DAW, Wr. Neustadt 1839, 95/9.

abolitionism, Gößmann hoped for the emancipation of children from the pressure of factory labour.

“This emancipation would bear the most wonderful fruit; it would not only bring a blessing to the child’s world but also act like the dew of heaven over the whole country; parents, culture, morality, State and Church would benefit!”³⁹⁴

The dean listed more bodily defects, like deformities resulting from a certain position while carrying out work or early death as a consequence of numerous ailments.³⁹⁵ Members of the clergy expressed their opinion about fourteen to sixteen-hour work days very clearly. Three of the eight reporting deans used the word slave or slavery when it came to the work hours resulting in bodily exhaustion of the children and the adult workers. Franz Trnka, dean of the Neunkirchen district, requested a daily maximum of nine to ten work hours: “Even for slaves this overtly long forbidden work duration of fourteen to sixteen hours is reduced to nine to ten hours for working children.”³⁹⁶

In his report on the district Fischamend, Dean Georg Freystadtler reported that factory owners randomly demanded extra hours from their workers and threatened them, adults and children alike, with dismissal in cases of disobedience. According to Freystadtler this was a practice similar to the “old slavery” [*alte Sklaverey*].³⁹⁷ The dean described cotton mills as zones without law and compared them to “colonies” where despotism prevailed and even Sunday worship was abolished. The word despotism [*Willkür*] was often used by the clergy in the context of factory labour. Josef Neuwirth described the condition of child labourers in his deanery as a “a sad picture concerning their physical condition as well as their intellectual and moral education.”³⁹⁸ Neuwirth reported that the children worked “like slaves” with a daily work routine of fourteen to fifteen hours. The workers received only a meagre amount of food and

³⁹⁴ Original: "Diese Emancipation würde die herrlichsten Früchte tragen; sie wird nicht nur über die Kinderwelt Segen bringen, sondern wie der Thau des Himmels wohlthätig auf das ganze Land wirken; es werden Eltern, Kultur und Moralität, Staat und Kirche dadurch gewinnen!" DAW, Wr. Neustadt 1839, 95/9.

³⁹⁵ Dean Gößmann was possibly familiar with the observations of the German educator Adolph Diesterweg who had visited cotton mills in the German Wuppertal region during the 1820s and published his findings. He used the expression of slave-children [*Sklavenkinder*] in reporting his observations which read very similar to the report by the school supervisor. Renate Seebauer quotes in her publication on child labour excerpts of Diesterweg's observations. See Seebauer, *Kinderarbeit*, 151-152.

³⁹⁶ Original: "Daß die überlange, selbst für Sklaven verbotene Arbeitsdauer von 14 bis 16 Stunden auf höchstens 9 bis 10 Stunden täglich, bezüglich der Arbeitskinder reducirt werde." DAW, 95/9.

³⁹⁷ DAW, Fischamend 1839, 95/9.

³⁹⁸ Original: "[...] ein trauriges Bild, sowohl in Betreff der physischen als auch intellektuellen und sittlichen Bildung bei den Arbeitskindern in den Fabriken zu schauen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Dekanat Pottenstein, Josef Neuwirth.

were surrounded by stuffy, oil-tainted air, “and become the prey of early death.”³⁹⁹ From today’s perspective death can be seen as part of the daily business for parish priests. Looking at death records of factory towns like Teesdorf (parish Günselsdorf), Sollenau, Schönau and Pottendorf in the first half of the nineteenth century, common causes of early deaths of children and workers, in many cases in their twenties, were emaciation, scrofula (tuberculosis infection) and water in the head [*Wasserkopf*], a sickness which was also a common cause of death in the new-borns of factory workers.⁴⁰⁰ The critical observations of overtly long work hours was shared by Valentin Wieser. In his report the parish priest of Sollenau mentioned that factory directories even installed a system of incentives and punishments for work hours. Workers who did not reach the required number of hours were punished with a deduction in their salary or even laid-off if the transgression was repeated. Others who worked longer hours were rewarded with additional wages.⁴⁰¹ Wieser urged the Lower Austrian government to legislate at least the reduction of work days from sixteen to fourteen hours per day.

The clergy was not only concerned about the exhaustive working conditions but they also took issue with the practice of masturbation. In reports this “secret sin” [*geheime Sünde*] was strongly condemned and a direct link was drawn between the “mental neglect” of children working in factories and the “secret sin” children made themselves “guilty of”.⁴⁰² The moral health of such children was seen as potentially contagious. In this context Hieronimus Österreicher, dean of the Klosterneuburg district, voiced his concern about the mingling of factory children with “regular” schoolchildren. According to Österreicher these “depraved factory children”⁴⁰³ needed separate monitoring in order not to mislead others.

In cotton printing factories the work hours were generally less extensive than in cotton mills, possibly because even older workers could not last longer than twelve hours in such toxic work environment. Fifty-six cotton printing factories were operating in Lower Austria in 1841.⁴⁰⁴ The poisonous dyes used in the process frequently caused lung infections and eye inflammations. Children working in these factories and workshops were called “striker

³⁹⁹ Original: “[...] und frühzeitig eine Beute des Todes werden.” DAW, Pottenstein 1839, 95/9.

⁴⁰⁰ This observation is shared by a district medic in an article from 1840. The reason for this prevalence amongst children of factory workers is unclear. Med. Dr. Knassl, “Einige Bemerkungen über Furcht bei Epidemien, mit besonderer Beziehung auf das jetzt an einigen Orten vorkommende Nervenfieber,” *Neue Folge der Gesundheitszeitung*, 23.04.1840, 266.

⁴⁰¹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, Bericht Pfarre Sollenau. [...] geeignete Vorschläge zu machen zur Abstellung der in den Spinnfabriken zu Sollenau und Schönau bestehenden Mißbräuche.

⁴⁰² DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht. Cons. äußert sich über mehrere das Wohl der in den Fabriken arbeitenden Jugend betreffende Punkte, 7. May 1839.

⁴⁰³ DAW, 95/9 Klosterneuburg.

⁴⁰⁴ Slokar, *Geschichte der österreichischen Industrie*, 284.

children” [*StreicherKinder*] as their task was to strike the paints in preparation for the cotton printers. In his report Hieronimus Österreicher described a lunch scene in a printer’s workshop where protective clothing was non-existent. The lunch meal was a piece of bread “which they take out of the pot with dye dripping hands, and therefore the meagre estimated lunch is not even clean, but mixed with likely harmful colours.”⁴⁰⁵

The dean’s use of the subjunctive “likely” is telling and suggests that the clergy was careful not to give the impression to be overstepping their competencies or interfering with the medical profession. Hilarius Urban, dean of the Laa district, clearly expressed his opinion on the work environment in printing factories. He described how children worked in rooms with trapped air in the midst of “sharp vapours of poisonous dyes.”⁴⁰⁶ Urban added that it was the duty of the health officers [*Sanitätspolizei*] to determine the effect of this environment on children’s bodies. Georg Freystadtler described the difficulties of the *StreicherKinder* in Kettenhof, a factory and estate next to Schwechat, where sixty to seventy school-aged children were employed. Freystadtler observed that the children were weak and tired after work and their eyes were irritated from the sharpness of the colours. The eyes of the child labourers additionally suffered from the meagre lamplight at school.⁴⁰⁷

Power Relations between *Gesellen* and their Subordinate Workers

Dean Georg Freystadtler explained in his report that the reason why children in Kettenhof had their school lesson in the evening was because the skilled workers protested against a school hour between eleven and twelve in the day. The skilled workers argued that without the children assisting, they were forced to stop working for an hour. Freystadtler added that in fact the work process usually suffered from “moderate Mondays” [*mäßige Montage*] and Tuesdays, when skilled workers extended their weekends or worked less. He emphasised that when they worked with perseverance, they would not lose any time.

A diary entry by Josef Wurth, who later became teacher after working from age twelve to sixteen in a cotton mill in the Industrial District town Trumau provides a valuable account of

⁴⁰⁵ Original: “[...] das sie mit an Farben triefenden Händen aus den Topfe hervorholen, und so ist ohnehin schon karg zugeschnittenes Mittagsbrot auch noch nicht einmahl rein, sondern mit wahrscheinlich schädlichen Farben übertüncht gemischten genießen.” DAW, 95/9 Klosterneuburg.

⁴⁰⁶ Original: “[...] mit scharfen Dünsten giftiger Farbstoffe reichlich vermischter Zimmerluft [...]” DAW, Laa 1839, 95/9.

⁴⁰⁷ DAW, Fischamend 1839, 95/9.

the power relations between a skilled worker and his assigned child. Josef Wurth wrote retrospectively about the relationship between factory work and school attendance.

“It is true that those children have a school hour, but how interrupted is the school attendance! One time the pupil has just at school time the duty of ‘putting’ and cannot leave the spinner’s machine, another time the spinner doesn’t let him out of his own whim (!) [sic] not away, the next time he is not finished with the work yet, and so forth.”⁴⁰⁸

Notably Wurth wrote his account in the third person so as to distance himself from that period of time in his life. By calling workers “those people” [*diese Leute*] earlier in the entry he marked his own transformation from a working class to a middle-class position. The dean of the Laa district, Hilarius Urban, described similar circumstances. Nobody escorted the children from the factory to the school, which resulted in groups arriving at different times for education, since skilled workers completed their day-shift whenever it suited them or whenever their work-load was finished. In cotton print factories the children had the additional task of washing the printing plates in the river’s stream after work. School attendance was therefore sporadic and the low lighting of the school room made it difficult for the children to follow the teacher. Very different levels of previous knowledge made it necessary to teach the children in different units, “because also children with ABC chalkboards are already used in factories and attend evening school.”⁴⁰⁹ In his experience many children left school without being able to read or understand what they were taught in religious classes. Hieronimus Österreicher made a similar observation when he complained that “many cannot name the letters, and if then only from hearsay, nor can they write their name; some reach age fifteen and never received the holy Sacrament of Penance.”⁴¹⁰

The lack of piety in skilled workers was heavily criticised by the clergy. The children who operated as subordinate workers only were able to attend penance and communion if the skilled workers gave them permission. The deans concurred in their view that most skilled workers and older already “degenerated” [*entartete*] children were of harmful influence on the younger

⁴⁰⁸ Original: "Zwar haben diese Kinder eine eigene Schulstunde doch wie unterbrochen ist ihr Schulbesuch! Bald hat der Schüler gerade zur Schulzeit das „Aufstecken“ und kann daher von der Maschine des Spinners nicht weg, bald lässt ihn der Spinner wieder aus Laune (!) nicht fort, bald wird er mit der Arbeit nicht fertig u.s.w." Excerpts of the diary are quoted in an account by Karl Landsteiner on Franz Wurth's life: Karl Landsteiner, "Ein österreichischer Schulmeister," in *Jahres-Bericht über das k.k. Josefstädter Ober-Gymnasium für das Schuljahr 1872* (Wien: k.k. Josefstädter Gymnasium, 1872), 3-91.

⁴⁰⁹ Original: "[...] indem auch Kinder mit ABC Täfelchen schon in Fabriken verwendet werden und nur die Abendschule besuchen." DAW, Laa 1839, 95/9.

⁴¹⁰ Original: "[...] viele wissen daher außer etwa vom Hörensagen, weder einen Buchstaben zu nennen, noch können sie ihren Namen schreiben; ja es ereignet sich, daß manche das 15. Jahr erreichen, ohne das heilige Sakrament der Buße empfangen zu haben." DAW, 95/9 Klosterneuburg.

children. In their opinion school-aged children were still connected to an aura of innocence even though they participated in the labour force of factories for many years. In his report dean Hieronimus Österreicher described an important aspect of the power relations between a skilled worker and his subordinate. The weekly salary was, according to Österreicher, handed out by the skilled worker, which meant that the child not only depended on him for working hours and school attendance but also in respect of money. The dean described sexual abuses in factories. The adolescent girls would “spark the lasciviousness” [*Lüstertheit*] of the skilled workers, “and they [the girls] think they have to give themselves to them willingly as their weekly salary depends to a great extent on the discretion of these skilled workers.”⁴¹¹

In such a relationship of dependency it is likely that most sexual assaults were not reported. Especially owners of large factories outsourced any responsibility for the working conditions of their factories. The factory owner did not employ workers but left this task to the foreman or the skilled worker to employ their helpers. For this reason, the Archiepiscopal Consistory demanded that factory owners should be held accountable for the provision of the compulsory education even if skilled workers actually employed school-aged children.

3.2. “The mob is not on this level of enlightenment.”

The Cotton Mills in Sollenau and Schönau

From the 1820s, local deans who functioned as school supervisors did not hesitate to complain to the local government in cases involving factory owners who forced their workers to work on Sundays or holidays. Concerns over religious and moral education seemed to be the driving force behind this active engagement since children often did not attend Sunday mass and were prevented from attending religious education and review classes. Illustrative examples of the power struggle between factory owners and local clergymen are the disputes between the cotton mill factory owners of Schönau and Sollenau and the school district inspector of the deanery of Pottenstein. The factories were founded in 1811 by Peter Anton Freiherr von Braun, a

⁴¹¹ Original: “[...] und sich denselben um so willfähriger hingeben zu müssen glauben, da ihr wöchentlicher Lohn größtentheils von dem Ermessen dieser Gesellen abhängt.” DAW, 95/9 Klosterneuburg. Leopoldine Hokr describes in her dissertation a case that occurred in the cotton mill in Pottendorf in 1815. Two girls (nine and eleven-year-old) were assigned as subordinate workers to the spinner Joseph Dombrovsky. The police record specifically states that the girls had to act in accordance to their superior’s orders, and their salary, called “pocket money” [Taschengeld], was dependent on him. Dombrovsky abused both girls and he was found guilty of raping the nine-year-old; who reported him was not revealed. The alleged rape of the eleven-year-old girl could not be substantiated. The spinner was laid off but only jailed for six days, with a beating three times each day. Hokr, “Pottendorf,” 30.

Viennese businessman who started his career as court secretary and opened a silk-ware factory in 1789. Later in 1796 Peter von Braun acquired a large estate in Schönau along the river Triesting, which was then a village with forty-five houses and a castle.⁴¹² The Viennese wholesaler was a theatre enthusiast who had been the director of the court theatre, until 1807.⁴¹³ The factory owner's dedication to the arts by the factory owner can also be found in the curriculum of the factory school, which formed part of the cotton mill during this early period. In addition to compulsory subjects reading, writing, arithmetic and religious education, music was taught. A report from 1817 criticised this music education, arguing that it dominated the school hours; what exactly this music education entailed is not preserved. To his criticism of the content of education the dean added a comment about the physical condition of the child labourers: "The children often suffer from scabies thereby losing the serenity of the mind and their body gets damaged for their whole life."⁴¹⁴

By the time this report was issued, Peter von Braun was already in severe financial difficulties. He sold the estate in 1817. Braun died in 1819 and Johann Martin Pacher, a Bohemian wholesaler and creditor of the factories, received the factories in 1823 from Braun's estate. Johann Martin Pacher was ennobled with "von Theinburg" for his earnings from "patriotic skilfulness and trade" in 1824.⁴¹⁵ By the mid-1820s the factory in Sollenau employed 250 workers, a third of them were children.⁴¹⁶ Remarkably an 1829 report on the working conditions in Schönau and Sollenau, which was signed by the local administrator, the director and the local medical doctor, did not express the slightest critique of healthcare and education of the child labourers.⁴¹⁷ The local parish priest and school supervisor Valentin Wieser did not share the same opinion, however. On the 17th of April 1829 Johann Martin Pacher received a

⁴¹² Anon., *Historische und topographische Darstellung von Pottenstein und dessen Umgegend* (Wien: Anton Doll, 1826).

⁴¹³ His dedication to the arts is reflected in his use of the vast garden area that accompanied the castle: he created a Lustgarten [pleasure garden] with a main attraction called temple of the night. C. U. D. Freyherr von Eggers, *Reise durch Franken, Baiern, Oesterreich, Preußen und Sachsen*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer d. J., 1810), 219.

⁴¹⁴ Original: "Die Kinder leiden häufig unter Krätze, wodurch dieselbe die Heiterkeit des Geistes verlieren und oft für ihr ganzes Leben Sicherheit des Körpers sich zuziehen." DAW, *Fabriks-Kinder-Institute im Jahre 1817*, 95/3.

⁴¹⁵ Similar to Peter von Braun he held a state administrative function as part of the directory board of the national bank, which had been founded in 1816. Anon., "Sr. k.k. Majestät haben den k.k. privil. Großhändler und Bankdirektor, Johann Martin Pacher, [...] in den österreichisch-erblichen Adelsstand [...] zu erheben geruht," *Österreichischer Beobachter*, 01.02.1824. Johann Martin Pacher von Theinburg was also part of the earlier mentioned first Fire Insurance which had three directors and four committee members. Five of those men, Wayna, Pacher von Theinburg, Geymüller, Puhton and Henikstein were also in the directory board of the national bank. Privil. österr. National-Bank, Anon., *Hof- und Staats-Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthums*, 709-710.

⁴¹⁶ Anon., *Darstellung von Pottenstein*, 171.

⁴¹⁷ DAW, *Schulamtsakten 95/3, Über den Bericht des k.k. Kreisamtes V. U. W.W. über den Zustand der Fabrikskinder im J. 1829*.

letter of complaint about the lack of attendance of Sunday mass and he replied immediately.⁴¹⁸ “I only can acknowledge your complaint letter from today with the utmost gratitude.”⁴¹⁹ Pacher wrote the letter in a submissive tone and was eager to emphasise his religious conviction. The factory owner addressed the priest as an “enlightened citizen and a reasonable man”⁴²⁰ and urged him to understand that circumstances can occur in which

“a part of the workers at unusual times are occupied, in order to assure that several hundred people in the parish are not disturbed [in their work] during the week. The divine teachings of the mighty human church cannot regret those necessary endeavours of their fellow believers. [Emphasis in the Original.]”⁴²¹

In the next line of defence, the factory owner tried to bond with the priest arguing that a common understanding existed between them: “The mob is not on this level of enlightenment to judge whether certain ecclesial actions are probable or unwell, but Your Reverend is, so I scorn the prattle of the people and worship your advice.”⁴²²

He assured the priest that his workers would, “if possible”, refrain from Sunday work in the future, and emphasised his willingness to comply with the laws of “my monarch and the church.”⁴²³ Whether more correspondence ensued is not documented. The issue of work performed on Sundays had been previously tackled by the authorities; the Lower Austrian government had issued decrees in 1803, 1823 and 1825, reminding factory owners of the regulations for work-free Sundays and holidays, which were reserved for mass attendance and religious education. Already in 1833, the deans of the Viennese Diocese had issued a complaint to the Lower Austrian government about the frequent violation of this regulation. The governments reaction was to issue another decree: “These days dedicated to God and devotion

⁴¹⁸ Only the letter in reply by Johann Martin Pacher survived as a fragment of the conversation.

⁴¹⁹ Original: "Ich kann Ihre sehr gefällige Zuschrift vom heutigen Tage, nur mit dem größten Danke anerkennen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Euer Hochwürden! Schönau 17. April, ergebenster Pacher Theinburg.

⁴²⁰ Original: "[...] mit Rücksicht eines aufgeklärten Staatsbürgers und eines verständigen Mannes [...]." DAW, 95/9, Euer Hochwürden!

⁴²¹ Original: "[...] wo ein Theil der Arbeiter zu außergewöhnliche Zeit in Anspruch genommen werden müssen, damit mehrere hundert Menschen in ihrer Gemeinde, die Woche hindurch nicht gestöht werden, so kann es göttliche Lehre unserer so überaus humanen Kirche diese nothwendige Bemühung ihrer Glaubensgenossen nicht bedauern." [Emphasis in the original.] DAW, 95/9, Euer Hochwürden!

⁴²² Original: "Der Pöbel ist nicht auf dieser Höhe der Erkenntnis, und beurtheilen zu können, ob gewisse Handlungen in kirchlicher Beziehung wohl oder unwohl sind, wohl aber sind es Euer Hochwürden, daher verachte ich das Geschwätz des Volkes, und ehre Ihren Rath." DAW, 95/9, Euer Hochwürden!

⁴²³ DAW, 95/9, Euer Hochwürden!

should not be used for all kinds of businesses and menial labour like the workdays, but should be worshiped in accordance to the Christian Catholic religion.”⁴²⁴

For a few years there was silence on the matter of Sunday work in Sollenau and Schönau. This changed in August 1838 when an intense dispute arose between the local parish priest and the factory owners Johann Martin Pacher and his son Ludwig.

Pacher Junior

“Your Reverend,

In devoutly replying to your letter from today I thank Your Reverend for Your kind message and have the honour to mention that the unpleasant cause is remedied which has put us in the necessity to use a part of the workers on a few Sundays. In future, as it was in the past, only urgent repair work will be done on Sundays and the workers who are occupied are free to select the hours of their work time with the result that they are not hindered from attending church.”⁴²⁵

This quotation is from the first lines of a letter in reply to the parish priest Valentin Wieser, who had recently sent a letter of complaint to Pacher. With the approval of the township the priest had voiced his concerns about work performed on Sundays in the Sollenau and Schönau cotton mills.⁴²⁶ According to Ludwig Pacher all children under the age of twelve had been dismissed as soon as he took over the factory in Sollenau in 1835. Similar to other factory owners at the time, Ludwig Pacher closed the factory’s children’s institute [*Kinderhaus*] which had provided education in the form of a factory school, board and lodging. Although the factory school had been closed months ago, the factory owner had continued to pay remuneration for the school teacher and for the parish priest Valentin Wieser, who had provided religious education. On occasion of his statement about Sunday work in his and his father’s factories, he

⁴²⁴ Original: “[...] daß die Gott und der Andacht geweihten Tage nicht zu allerlei Gewerbsgeschäften und knechtlichen Arbeiten gleich den Werktagen benützt, sondern den Geböthen der christkatholischen Religion gemäß geheiligt werden.” Wildner von Maithstein, *Das österreichische Fabrikenrecht*, 154.

⁴²⁵ Original: “Hochwürdiger Herr Pfarrer! In ergebener Beantwortung Ihrer Zuschrift von heute, danke ich Euer Hochwürden für Ihre geneigte Mittheilung, und habe die Ehre dagegen zu bemerken, daß sich die unangenehme Veranlassung, die uns in die Nothwendigkeit versetzte, einen Teil des Arbeits Personals durch ein paar Sonntage in Anspruch nehmen zu müßen, nunmehr behoben hat, und demnach in der Zukunft auf nur wie bisher, die dringenden Reparaturen an Sonntagen werden vorgenommen werden, nur die hiebey beschäftigten Arbeiter die Wahl der Stunden freigestellt bleibt, selbe somit auch von dem Besuche der Kirche nicht abgehalten wird.” DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Hochwürdiger Herr Pfarrer, In ergebener Beantwortung Ihrer Zuschrift von heute [...].

⁴²⁶ Interestingly the attention of the township was sparked by parents whose children worked in the factories and not by the parish priest himself. The circumstances which led to the complaint in August 1836 are detailed in a later report, see DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/10, Löbliches k.k. Kreisamt! Decanat Pottenstein zu Sollenau, am 10. April 1838.

pointed to the money voluntarily paid to the school teacher and parish priest, who he thanked for his duty.

“By most devotedly thanking your Reverend for your monitoring and giving lessons in the former factory school I just want to add that the until now customary remuneration to the religious educator and the school teacher will be paid until the last quarter of this year, although no lessons are given any more.”⁴²⁷

The tone of the letter is different from the one Ludwig Pacher’s father had written on the same issue six years previously. Addressing the complaint of the parish priest in the two opening sentences, Pacher junior shifted the focus from Wieser’s complaint to explanations about the former children’s institute and the ongoing remuneration of Wieser and the local teacher. Remarkably his explanation takes up two-thirds of the letter. Ludwig Pacher’s emphasis on the continuance of payment was possibly intended to silence the priest on the matter of Sunday work in his factory. However, Valentin Wieser’s reaction was to continue and intensify monitoring the factory’s activities in the following months. In March 1837 a meeting was called with the township in the parish office. A day prior to the meeting Valentin Wieser received a notice from Ludwig Pacher informing him that only a small part of the staff performed preparatory work on the Sunday morning from five to seven o’clock. However, the workers were instructed to complete their duty on time so they could attend Sunday mass. Wieser did not mention this note in his report at the meeting with the township. The township argued that in the past Sunday work was rarely performed; however, this had changed in recent years.

“Currently and since a few years ago work is not only done nearly every Sunday and often on high holy days at the production plants, but also carding and winding was done and it has even gone so far that apartments and the factory building were painted on those days.”⁴²⁸

The township expressed their anger about the practice to the parish priest who had tried “on friendly terms to stop this abuse.”⁴²⁹ According to the protocol, Ludwig Pacher’s assurance in

⁴²⁷ Original: "Indem ich Euer Hochwürden für Ihren Eurer in Überwachung und Ertheilung des Unterrichtes in der ehemaligen Fabriksschule meinen ergebensten Dank erstatte, füge ich nur noch bey, daß das bisher gebräuchliche Unterrichts-Honorar an den Herrn Katecheten u. Schullehrer, obwohl kein Unterricht mehr ertheilt wird, noch bis zum künftigen Rechnungs-Termin als dem dritten Quartal dieses Jahres entrichtet werden wird." DAW, Hochwürdiger Herr Pfarrer, 95/9.

⁴²⁸ Original: "Gegenwärtig und seit einigen Jahren ist beynahe alle Sonntag und oft auch an den hohen Festen nicht nur an Werken ausgebessert, sondern auch in der Kratz, Vorspinnery und Hasplerey gearbeitet worden und es komme schon so weit, daß selbst Wohnungen und das Fabriksgebäude an diesen Tagen gewisset werden von außen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Protocoll. Aufgenommen im hiesigen Pfarrhofe vom Pfarrer Valentin Wieser.

⁴²⁹ DAW, Protocoll 1837, 95/9.

his letter from August 1836 to perform only the most urgent repair work on Sundays were not truthful. Already on the following Sunday the same work rhythm continued. The protocol concluded that the township would repeat the charge against Ludwig Pacher. Valentin Wieser promised to do everything in his power to stop the factory work on Sundays and holidays. The ping-pong between the factory owners and the parish priest continued. The township of Schönau underlined in a letter, four months later, that Sunday work was performed not only in the factory of Sollenau but also in the cotton mill in Schönau, which Ludwig's father Johann still owned. According to the township's report an oral promise had been made by the Sollenau factory to stop Sunday work; however, nothing had changed. In the opinion of the local authorities only the introduction of a substantial fine in cases of illegal Sunday work would remedy the situation.⁴³⁰

New Living Arrangements and a long Report

During the 1830s one after another the so-called *Kinderhäuser* (children's institutes) on factory grounds closed in the Archdiocese of Vienna. Officially factories stopped employing school-aged children. In 1835 Ludwig Pacher had made a new arrangement after he closed the children's institute for children who did not live with their parents in Schönau and Sollenau and commuted to their villages in West Hungary. Boys were kept in a dormitory under the watch of the local medical doctor Franz Agenauer who moved with his wife into an apartment near the dormitory. Girls were placed in a shelter for single female workers in an entirely different part of the factory estate. After the children's institute was closed, the factory stopped providing free food for child labourers. Instead a separate arrangement for boys and girls was implemented. Interestingly the factory provided board for boys and charged thirty kreuzer per week.⁴³¹ Girls, on the other hand, had to rely on self-sufficiency. According to Ludwig Pacher every week a carriage was provided to transport the foodstuff for the girls from their villages to the factory.⁴³² Although each week the boys and girls commuted many miles together from their work place to their homes, they were completely separated in their living arrangements. Despite the fact that girls and boys managed to carry out the same work-load, the preparation of food was considered a female activity. The preparation time was surely not deducted from their work hours. Whether such an arrangement was in place in other factories in the region is

⁴³⁰ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Euer Höchwürden! Schönau den 23. 7. 1837.

⁴³¹ One gulden equals 60 kreuzers. Children in cotton mills earned on average one and a half to three gulden per week. It would be interesting whether workers from West Hungary generally earned less than workers from Lower Austria.

⁴³² DAW, Erhebungs Protokoll. Sollenau den 10. Mai 1838, 95/10.

not documented. The practise of increasingly employing children from West Hungary had the advantage that their education was “not regulated by the [Austrian] school laws”⁴³³ [*außer den Schulgesetzen stehend*] and therefore out of reach of the school supervisors.⁴³⁴

The conflict between the factory owners Ludwig and Johann Pacher von Theinburg and the parish priest Valentin Wieser intensified in 1838. Wieser who acted not only as school supervisor but also as investigator for the township, requesting detailed information on the children working in the factory. As a result, Johann Martin Pacher generated a detailed list of the workers under the age of eighteen. Pacher added a note informing the priest and the township that the children themselves had provided the information about their age. This list titled “Index of Boys and Girls Situated in the Sollenau Factory on the 10th of May 1838”⁴³⁵ gives an idea of the geographical origins and social background of the children. Rather than dating the index with “in May 1838” the exact day of the assessment was provided, which is an indicator of the constant fluctuation of the factory personnel even within one month. Categories listed included name, age, birthplace, responsible dominion and province as well as residence of the parents and their occupation.⁴³⁶ In a separate column the duration of their stay in the factory was indicated. As the cotton mills in Schönau and Sollenau were, similar to Pottendorf, situated in close proximity to the Hungarian border, eighty-four of the 142 workers under eighteen were from West Hungary. Most of the Hungarian children came from Hornstein, Pötsching, Forchtenau, Eisenstadt, Sigles, Stinkenbrunn [today’s Steinbrunn] and Zillingtal. Some were from Andau, Ödenburg/Sopron and Preßburg/Poszony/Bratislava. The rest of the children came from Sollenau, Schönau or other places in the Viennese Archdiocese. In three cases children came from entirely different parts of the monarchy. The fifteen-year-old Maria Hauer, originally from Kudentz in Bohemia, had at the time of the survey been working in the factory for three weeks. She was likely accompanied by one or both of her parents who were factory workers themselves. The sixteen-year-old Tilius Anton was originally from Silesia and had been working for three years and nine months in the cotton mill; his father worked as a tinsmith in Vienna. Lorenz Weis, a native of Nikolsburg/Mikulov in Moravia, was an orphan and his parents had been farmers. In May 1838 Lorenz was thirteen

⁴³³ DAW, Bericht Consistorium 7. May 1839, 95/9.

⁴³⁴ Further research is necessary to determine whether this practise was limited to child labour or if the number of Hungarian workers of all ages increased. In several reports unaccompanied children from Hungary are mentioned which indicates that at least during this period the described change concerned under-aged Hungarian labourers.

⁴³⁵ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/10, Verzeichniß der am 10ten May 1838 in der Sollenauer Fabrik befindlichen Knaben und Maedchen.

⁴³⁶ If the child was not illegitimate or an orphan the name and occupation of the father was usually recorded.

years old and had been working in Pacher's cotton mill for the past six weeks. The strong fluctuation of workers is documented in the column about the duration of employment in the factory. The timeframe of employment varied dramatically from a few days to eight years, as was the case of Maria Kaindl, the eighteen-year-old daughter of a farmer from Sollenau. The occupation of the parents, or mainly the fathers, shows great variety. Half of the children came from a rural farm background (fifty-three children of farmers and twenty children of small farmers [*Kleinhäusler*]). Eleven children lived on the factory grounds with their parents, who were also factory workers.⁴³⁷

In his report Valentin Wieser was highly critical of the practice of closing the children's institutes during the 1830s. Without those institutes it was impossible to determine whether a child was under the age of twelve or not. This was also true for the children of factory workers, who in their frequent change of employers did not bother to register their children with the local priest or even indicate their children's age to their employer. Wieser suspected that parents were not willing to provide accurate information since the income of their children was important for the family economy. In his seven-page long report based on a school visitation in the year 1837 the parish priest expanded in great detail on these shortcomings, particularly the lack of education and piety among factory workers.⁴³⁸ In this report the priest seems to have been determined to settle the score with the factory owning Pacher von Theinburg family once and for all. Remarkably Wieser portrayed every actor involved in the case in a negative light including the factory owners, the parents, factory workers and child labourers whose spirits needed elevation through a return to true religiosity. The priest created a binary space; he positioned himself as the defender of Catholic values while positioning the numerous immoral and corrupted people in his parish in need of rescue and salvation. For Valentin Wieser girls only played a marginal role. He dedicated considerable more time and attention to the education and upbringing of boys. Wieser explained that since the children's institute and the factory school had been closed, the children were left to their own devices. Boys of every age were employed without consideration of their moral background,

⁴³⁷ It is unclear why the number was so low, possibly not all children were registered on the list.

⁴³⁸ From today's point of view it is impossible to determine which role piety played for factory labourers. In her analysis of inventory protocols of workers' apartments in the cotton mill of Pottendorf, Leopoldine Hokr found that even in apartments of the poorest workers pictures of religious representations were found. The factory worker Michael Artmann (†1836) for example kept in his house three pictures depicting the Sorrowful Mother, the Resurrection and a big picture of the Virgin Mary. Hokr, "Pottendorf," 107.

“[...] outside of their work time they enjoy the most unbound freedom, don't have any school lessons and on Sundays and holidays they are spending their time with gluttony and play instead of attending holy mass, whose [attendance] is left to their own free will.”⁴³⁹

The parish priest repeatedly pointed to the lack of monitoring of boys. Remarkably Wieser used the language and examples of the anti-masturbation campaign when he argued that older boys were leading the younger boys down the “immoral path.”⁴⁴⁰ He concluded his report with the grim outlook that those young people who were the next generation of parents of future factory workers would not only repeat but also intensify immorality and irreligiosity: “The undersigned does not think it is too hard to label this institution [the factory] as it is now, as school of seduction and vice [...]”⁴⁴¹ Wieser's impression of the circumstances in the cotton mills reads like a list of sins, starting off with the original sin of gluttony and excess followed by greed. Already in 1830, the practice of Sunday work had slowly expanded; the author argued that he then had tried to counter this practice in a friendly manner. The parish priest had observed that the workers were required to work on Sundays for the purpose of producing a higher quantity of products within a certain period of time. However, this practise not only affected the factory workers who were involved in preparatory work for the production process – mainly women and children –, but also craftsmen who were supplying factories. According to Wieser this “total frenzy of industrial zeal”⁴⁴² suffocated Christianity in the common man. It was Easter time when the priest wrote his report which was possibly influenced by the Easter liturgy. Wieser drew similar conclusions about the relationship of the factory owner and himself as described in the bible story of the devil who tried to tempt Jesus into the wilderness⁴⁴³: “The factory owner is speaking very alluringly and in fine phrases [...], and tries to win the undersigned over and lull him to sleep through sweet words and powerful praises.”⁴⁴⁴

In the last section of the report, Valentin Wieser shifted his perspective to a more charitable viewpoint paralleling human workforce with machines. The workforce of the “poor people and

⁴³⁹ Original: “[...], die außer der Arbeitszeit der ungebundesten Freyheit genießen, keinen Schulunterricht haben, und die Sonn- und Feyertage, wenn sie ja dieselben frey von Arbeit haben, statt der Besuchung des Gottesdienstes – was ihren freyen Willen überlassen ist – in Völlerey, Spiel u.d.gl. zubringen.” DAW, Löbliches k.k. Kreisamt 10. April 1838, 95/10.

⁴⁴⁰ DAW, Löbliches k.k. Kreisamt 10. April 1838, 95/10.

⁴⁴¹ Original: “Der Gefertigte glaubt daher nicht zu hart zu urtheilen, wenn er diese Anstalt, wie sie gegenwärtig besteht, als eine Schule der Verführung und des Lasters bezeichnet, [...]” DAW, Löbliches k.k. Kreisamt 10. April 1838, 95/10.

⁴⁴² Original: “[...] bis zur Raserey gesteigerte Industrie-Eifer [...]” DAW, Löbliches k.k. Kreisamt 10. April 1838, 95/10.

⁴⁴³ Matthew 4:1-11, New International Version Bible.

⁴⁴⁴ Original: “Wohl sehr schmeichelnd und in schönen Phrasen spricht der Fabriks-Eigenthümer [...], und sucht den Gefertigten durch süße Worte und übertriebener Lobeserhebungen zu gewinnen und einzuschläfern.” DAW, Löbliches k.k. Kreisamt 10. April 1838, 95/10.

children” was excessively used during the week, “like insensitive machinery”, and therefore Sundays were necessary for rest and recreation. The clergyman harshly condemned the new solution in Pacher’s factories to allow workers perform duties during early Sunday morning hours. The workers needed one hour before mass to prepare themselves for mass attendance which entailed washing, cleaning and dressing. Furthermore, many workers were not in the mood to attend Sunday mass or fell asleep as soon as they arrived at the church. The factory workers were for the priest only a mirror of the factory owner, who prevented them from performing their religion and piety.

A Struggle of Influence? – An Excursion

The intensity with which Valentin Wieser emphasised Ludwig Pacher’s irreligiosity might have to do with the fact that in 1831 Ludwig married Julie Ehlers, a member of the Augsburg Confession whose mother came from the industrialist Coith family. Christian Heinrich von Coith, who was one of the witnesses at the wedding⁴⁴⁵, owned a cotton wool factory together with his brother in Fahrafeld.⁴⁴⁶ The Coith family was very active in the community in the region.⁴⁴⁷ The Patent of Tolerance of October 1781 granted religious freedom and almost equal status to all non-Catholic Christians, which was followed by the Edict for the Toleration for Jews in 1782 that lifted restrictions, for example when it came to business ownership. At the same time Joseph II issued the first decree to start the process of dissolving all religious congregations that were solely of a contemplative character. Within four years seven to eight-hundred congregations were liquidated. Manfred Hösch has pointed out that the empty buildings were often offered free of charge to business men who intended to set up a company.⁴⁴⁸ In the Province below the Vienna Woods five of seven businesses founded were textile factories in former monasteries. Three of the buildings were by the end of the 1780s in the hands of the Protestant business owner Christoph Andrä, a trader from the Rhine region who had specialised in producing silk-ware.⁴⁴⁹ The former building of the Carmelites in Wiener Neustadt was left to Andrä free of charge. Whether these expropriations played any role in later

⁴⁴⁵ Pfarre Maria Rotunda 1820-1851 Trauungsbuch, Trauung Ludwig Moritz Pacher von Theinburg und Juliana Maria Ehlers, Sign. 02-04, 0094.

⁴⁴⁶ For more information on the factory in Fahrafeld see Chapter Two.

⁴⁴⁷ Ingrid Mittenzwei discusses the development of the Protestant community and its protagonists after the Patent of Tolerance by Joseph II in detail. Mittenzwei, *Zwischen gestern und morgen. Wiens frühe Bourgeoisie an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert*, 82-87.

⁴⁴⁸ Manfred Hösch, "Lagetypologie der Industriebetriebe im Viertel unter dem Wienerwald bis 1850" (Technische Universität Wien, 1984), 54.

⁴⁴⁹ Herbert Matis points to a continuity of Protestant business owners in the Province below the Vienna Woods since Maria Theresa’s reign. Matis, "Manufaktur und frühe Fabrik," 145-149.

rhetoric against the spread of factories in the region is not documented.⁴⁵⁰ Parish priests had difficulties in keeping track of their parishioners and reaching out to them in industrial areas, like the centres of textile production in the Province below the Vienna Woods. This situation was exacerbated by the concentration and frequent fluctuation of workers.⁴⁵¹

That the religious background of the factory owner was not completely insignificant is evident in a quote from an 1839 report discussing the welfare of children working in factories.

“Additionally, many factory owners, amongst whom are many Jews and other fellow believers such as in Guntramsdorf, Schwechat and Reindorf, let their staff work on Sundays and holidays out of greed and therefore also the youth is used. The reverends generally complain about the prevalence of the desecration of Sundays especially in factories in which through manifold excuses – for an urgent order or necessary repair work – during several hours, often even during mass, work is done.”⁴⁵²

However, the emphasis on Jews as greedy factory owners divulges more about the anti-Jewish sentiments of the reporting priests whose statements were summarised in these documents, than about the actual economic situation.⁴⁵³ This is illustrated by a series of detailed reports gathered in 1843 on the condition of factory schools. Entries of Jewish factory owners were marked with the addition “Jew” [*Israelit*] after their name, whereas Protestant business owners were not explicitly singled out.⁴⁵⁴ While a local Catholic factory owner was seen as an potential ally in upholding piety amongst their factory workers, the numerous foreign factory directors and members of other denominations were seen as a potential threat. The repeated emphasis on the charitable aspect and the ongoing advocacy of the importance of the Catholic doctrine signify a struggle for influence of the Catholic clergy. The large proportion of children working in

⁴⁵⁰ William David Bowman emphasised that such reforms were intended to strengthen the industrial development in Lower Austria and also underlines the role of undermining the “perceived power” of the Catholic clergy. William D. Bowman, *Priest and parish in Vienna, 1780 to 1880*, Studies in Central European Histories (Boston, NJ: Humanities Press, 1999), 36.

⁴⁵¹ Bowman, *Priest and parish in Vienna, 1780 to 1880*, 36.

⁴⁵² Original: "Dazu kommt noch, daß die Fabriksherren, unter denen viele Israeliten u. andere Glaubensgenossen sind, wie zu Guntramsdorf, Schwechat u. Reindorf, aus Gewinnsucht die Sonn- und Feyertage arbeiten lassen, und dazu die Jugend verwenden. Allgemein beklagen sich die Seelsorger über die besonders in Fabriken überhandnehmende Entheiligung der Sonntage, wo unter allerley Vorwänden, bald wegen einer dringenden Bestellung, bald wegen einer nothwendigen Reparatur u. dg. durch mehrere Stunden selbst während der Pfarrgottesdienstes gearbeitet wird." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, 7. May 1839. Cons. äußert sich über mehrere das Wohl der in den Fabriken arbeitenden Jugend betreffende Punkte.

⁴⁵³ Jewish entrepreneurs were more strongly involved as creditors, publishers, military suppliers and traders according to Herbert Matis. Matis, "Manufaktur und frühe Fabrik," 149-152.

⁴⁵⁴ Out of seventy-four factory owners in the deaneries Baden, Fischamend, Pottenstein, Laa, Klosterneuburg, Hainburg and Neunkirchen only five were Jewish (four were owners, one a tenant). DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/7, Ausweise über den Stand der Fabriksschulen und der in den Fabriken befindlichen Schuljugend. Tabellen Baden, Fischamend, Pottenstein, Laa, Klosterneuburg, Hainburg und Neunkirchen. As Herbert Matis pointed out, Jews were seldomly factory owners themselves but often creditors or otherwise involved in the economic process.

factories created a possibility for Catholic parish priests and deans, who were the entrusted with school supervisory authority, to have even further influence. In reports from the late 1820s the wellbeing or education of child labourers was addressed, as well as other grievances such as a lack of sufficient clothing or hygiene measures.

Further Investigations

Following Valentin Wieser's detailed report in April 1838 a meeting was called by the district authority, which took place one month later. The purpose of the meeting was to investigate the children's working conditions in the local cotton mills. Ludwig Pacher was called upon to attend the meeting together with Valentin Wieser and two civil servants. The meeting participants discussed four specific points.

- a) "Who is monitoring the children?"
- b) How are the children separated and lodged?
- c) In which way is their board and education taken care of?
- d) A list of all children of [the cotton mill in] Sollenau is to be prepared in which their name, place of birth [...] are stated."⁴⁵⁵

Ludwig Pacher replied to all questions at great length, emphasising the good care that the children received in his and his father's factories. "Only healthy and nutritious food" was provided for the more than sixty boys employed in the factory, who had to pay a weekly contribution for their meals. Pacher explained that girls by contrast relied on self-sufficiency with the help of a handmaid. The number of school-aged children was in fact very small according to the factory owner and these children usually only stayed for a short period at the factory. Pacher indicated that it was not worth the effort to see after their school attendance. If his factory had to adhere to the rules and implement strict school attendance, the factory owner demanded all other factories had to follow suit. The factory owner repeated this argument concerning the attendance of review classes. Most children visited their hometowns on Sundays and the remaining children could not be aggravated by stricter treatment. Pacher repeated that all factories should be urged to adhere to the rules. Concluding his statement, the factory owner agreed to ensure the regular Sunday school attendance of his child labourers. The township decided to leave it at that. Valentin Wieser added that he was willing to supply the local government with his investigations on the progress of Ludwig Pacher's assurances within

⁴⁵⁵ DAW, Erhebungs Protokoll. Sollenau den 10. Mai 1838, 95/10.

fourteen days. Ludwig Pacher replied that he wanted to be informed about Wieser's statement in order to be able to present his case if necessary.

Six days after the meeting Ludwig's father Johann put his opinion down on paper and submitted his letter as an addition to the protocol. Pacher senior voiced his anger about the whole investigation and attacked Valentin Wieser personally by accusing him of not fulfilling his duties.

"Church and school was diligently attended at the time when the respectable local parish priest Theodor Brunner lived, as he was having a salutary influence on them through his teachings and admonitions. To the true regret of the undersigned factory owner this salutary influence has completely stopped since the dignified clergyman has died, yes, the youth cannot even enjoy the common mass on Sundays and holidays in the local church [in Schönau] as on those days only very seldom mass is held only if the parish and the factory workers are collecting [money] to get a strange clergyman."⁴⁵⁶

As an additional step Pacher provided insights into the production process of the cotton mill in order to address the accusation of Sunday work. He divided the workers into three classes: class A was the most numerous group, which was composed of the weavers and their families together with the inserters [*Einleger*] and piecers [*Andreher, Anknüpfher*], followed by class B, the workers who undertook preparatory works. These preparatory processes contained production steps from carding to the pre-spinning and, according to Johann Pacher, it was mainly carried out by women. Class C in Pacher's scheme was made up of professionals [*Professionisten*] who were artisans including blacksmiths, carpenters, locksmiths and turners. Class A never worked on Sundays according to the factory owner. Class B only occasionally performed work on Sundays in order to prevent the spinners and their families from unemployment during the week. The artisans only performed the repeatedly mentioned necessary repair works on machinery. This work step could only be performed when all machines were at a standstill. Johann Pacher emphasised how exaggerated the accusations against the factory were and mentioned an anonymous complaint which had been made to high

⁴⁵⁶ Original: "Zur Zeit als der hierortige Pfarrer Theodor Brunner, ein achtungswürdiger Priester, lebte, wurde Kirche und Schule von der Fabriks-Jugend fleißig besucht, da er auf dieselbe, durch Lehren und Ermahnungen, einen sehr heilsamen Einfluß ausübte. Zum wahren Bedauern des gefertigten Fabriksbesitzers hat mit dem Ableben dieses würdigen Geistlichen diese wohlthätige Einwirkung ganz aufgehört, ja, der Jugend genießt an Sonn- und Feyertagen in hiesigen Kirche nicht einmal den gewöhnlichen Gottesdienstes weil and diesen Tagen und höchst selten und nur dann Messe gelesen wird, wenn sich die Gemeinde und die Fabriksarbeiter durch Sammlungen einen fremden Geistlichen holen lassen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/10, Die Schoenauer Fabrik betreffend gibt sich der Gefertigte die Ehre folgendes zu Protocoll zu erklären. Schoenau am 16. May 1838.

authorities. This appeal about the “seldom repair works” amounted to a penal offence since it was in disregard of Pacher’s social standing [*seinem Stande*] and profession.⁴⁵⁷

The letter by Johann Pacher from May 1838 is the last sign of the dispute as far as it was documented and archived. The conflict concerning Sunday work and school attendance of children working in the factories of Sollenau and Schönau has several layers. The issue of Sunday being a day of Catholic worship and the question of attending review classes were not limited to this discussion. Ludwig Pacher’s marriage to a Protestant likely played a role in Valentin Wieser’s accusation that the factory owner prevented his workers from performing their religion and piety. On a personal level the confrontation between Valentin Wieser and Ludwig Pacher also contains an element of generational conflict. Ludwig Pacher was born in 1807 and at the time of the dispute he was in his late twenties and early thirties, the priest was in his mid-50s. At one point, Valentin Wieser even underlined that in earlier days things had been more orderly and pious in the Sollenau factory. The same argument but in reverse was made by Johann Pacher with his reference to Wieser’s predecessor. The dispute, however, did not undermine Valentin Wieser’s clerical position and career. On the contrary the parish priest was promoted to a school district supervisor of the deanery of the Pottenstein district, given that he “had during his several years of pastoral care performed his duty to the satisfaction of the Archiepiscopal Deanery” and had shown “particular preference for the school sector.”⁴⁵⁸ Wieser was for another two and a half years parish priest in Sollenau until he was moved to the parish of Leobersdorf in 1841.⁴⁵⁹

More Reports without Consequences

The 1839 report series by the school supervising clergy in the Viennese Archdiocese contains detailed information on the conditions of child labour during the first half of the nineteenth century. Judging by the length and depth with which most reports were written the government’s request to report on the moral and intellectual wellbeing of children working in factories touched a nerve. Twelve to sixteen-hour work days with little sleep in uncomfortable places made it impossible for children to concentrate on school education. Another reason for a lack of school attendance, especially during the winter months, was the issue of insufficient

⁴⁵⁷ DAW, 95/10, Protocoll Schoenau am 16. May 1838.

⁴⁵⁸ DAW, Schulamtsakten 39/1, Ansuchen des f.e. Consist. um Bestätigung des Valentin Wiesner, Dechantes und Pfarrers zu Sollenau, als Schuldistrikt-Aufseher des Pottensteiner Dekanates.

⁴⁵⁹ Anon., "Die k.k. vereinigte Hofkanzlei hat die erledigte landesfürstliche Pfarre Leobersdorf im V.U.W.B. dem Dechante und Pfarrer zu Sollenau, Valentin Wiesner, verliehen," *Linzer Zeitung*, 15.01.1841.

clothing for children working in factories. Moreover, the work rhythm had to be maintained without proper nutrition, not to speak of a daily warm meal. Durable food, like bread and chicory coffee, often formed the basic diet of factory workers.⁴⁶⁰ Women who usually earned half and children who earned about a quarter of the male worker's wage were officially assigned to undertake preparatory work and to support male workers in their tasks. However, it is worth acknowledging that the actual division of labour is difficult to determine, since their alleged role as support personnel justified a lower status and less remuneration. Relationships of dependence were created by small organisational units where skilled male workers recruited and paid their subordinate workers. This practice resulted in a potentially abusive environment particularly for female workers. In cases where no schooling was provided by the factory owners, whether a child attended school or not also depended on the good will of skilled workers.

The summarising report of the Archiepiscopal Consistory placed the demands voiced by parish priests and deans on the same footing. The following points were noted concerning the intellectual education of child labourers. Children aged between nine and fifteen should not be permitted to work more than ten hours per day.⁴⁶¹ The School Administration Act's prohibition of the employment of children under the age of nine should be strictly adhered to: "nowadays where there are plenty of working hands available this would not harm the industry [...]."⁴⁶² The strict monitoring of the amount of school years attended, confessions and holy communion was demanded for each working child. Each factory owner should ideally provide the local priest with a detailed list of school-aged children and children (between twelve to eighteen) who were obliged to attend review classes. Factory owners in fact should take full responsibility of school attendance, even if it meant that they outsourced the recruitment, work rhythm and payment to other factory workers or foremen.

Concerning the moral and religious education of children working in factories the Viennese Archiepiscopal Consistory once more criticised the lack of Sunday rest and called for an enforcement of the prohibition on Sunday work. The extent to which knowledge was made available about the situation of factory workers, especially children, was superimposed by a binary conception of good versus evil. This good/evil dichotomy is best illustrated by how the need of religious education was emphasised.

⁴⁶⁰ Hokr, "Pottendorf," 115. In the 1839 reports only bread is mentioned as foodstuff.

⁴⁶¹ An inspiration for this idea was possibly the Ten-Hour Bill in England.

⁴⁶² DAW, 95/9, Bericht Consistorium 7. May 1839.

“What effect can the little religious education have on the youth who are anyway prone to evil, who is without supervision, observes the evil examples and mischief of the older workers, listens to their conversations, some of whom even laugh about one or the other Christian or pious statement.”⁴⁶³

The 1839 reports clearly show that Sunday work was the rule rather than the exception in factories. To contain the danger of “increasing immorality” among working children in factories, the Archiepiscopal Consistory proposed that Catholic adult workers should be put in charge as “moral guardians” [*Sittenwächter*] who led the children to Sunday mass and watch over the behaviour of workers in “word and deed.” The factory school of the Pottendorf cotton mill, which was attended by 185 school-aged child labourers and forty-nine review class attendants⁴⁶⁴, was once more mentioned as a commendable example. Another good example was the tobacco factory in Himberg. Both factories were apparently under the leadership of “very Christian men.”⁴⁶⁵

The Lower Austrian government issued a decree on the 16th July 1839 which contained many of the recommendations the Archiepiscopal Consistory had made on the basis of reports submitted by deans and parish priests. The decree contained concessions to the industry by granting a maximum of thirteen work hours per day while the Church authorities had pushed for ten hours. The suggestion to install a moral guardian was dropped. However, suddenly an urgent question concerning the competence of the Imperial Commission on Education to deal with these matters was raised. Since the content of the decree not only contained school issues but also employment matters involving the Court Chancellery [*Vereinigte Hofkanzley*], which did not fall under the remit of the Imperial Commission on Education. As a result, the carefully-drafted decree was in fact never enacted. The Court Chancellery decided to start its own investigation on the subject of factory children and for a period the matter was put aside.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶³ Original: "Und was kann der wenige Religions Unterricht bey der ohnehin zum Bösen geneigten Jugend wirken, welche ohne Aufsicht ist, die bösen Beyspiele und Unfuge der erwachsenen Mitarbeiter sieht, ihre Gespräche hört, und von denen manche christliche und fromme Äußerung noch verlacht werden." DAW, Bericht Consistorium 7. May 1839, 95/9.

⁴⁶⁴ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/9, Bericht Pfarre Pottendorf, Joseph Radetzky.

⁴⁶⁵ DAW, 95/9, Bericht Consistorium 7. May 1839.

⁴⁶⁶ Mises, "Fabriksgesetzgebung," 247-249.

3.3. The Medical Expertise

In summer 1837 the readers of the newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* learnt about the opening of a “Sanatorium and Daily Consultation Hours for Poor Sick Children”⁴⁶⁷ in the Viennese suburb Schottenfeld. Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner, a former military doctor, had opened the sanatorium on the 26th of August 1837. The institute offered twelve beds for sick children between the age of four and twelve, in addition to daily consultation hours for “children of all ages and social standing” in the afternoon. To be eligible for the free of charge treatment, evidence of incapacity had to be provided. Schottenfeld was at the time an industrial hotspot, which was populated to a large degree by workers engaged in numerous factories and workshops of different sizes.⁴⁶⁸ In an article series to introduce the need for children’s hospitals Ludwig Mauthner presented a case study of the sickness and death of two children in a worker’s family. He used stereotypes about the incapacity of labourers to fulfil their role as parents. In Mauthner’s account of a worker’s household the father spent his income on alcohol, while the mother, who was also an alcoholic, made serious mistakes in childcare. Most notably her bad parenting decisions were influenced by the bad advice of her female neighbours.⁴⁶⁹ Ludwig Mauthner not only discussed the shortcomings of female caretakers but also contrasted them with professional female children’s caretakers [*Kinderkrankenwärterin*] in his children’s hospital. These professional caretakers were the personification of the bourgeois ideal motherhood demonstrating an “innate love for children”⁴⁷⁰ and never-ending patience. Mauthner deployed another binary by contrasting the shabby worker’s household environment with the clean hospital environment.

“He [the boy] now exchanges the dark, damp room with the light, dry hall, the focus of dirt with a place where cleanliness is the prior concern, the hard straw bed transforms into a comfortable bed, the bad, indigestible food into an appropriate diet, and out of the smoke of vapours and the dangers of an unhelpful, wailing environment he moves into a clean atmosphere under an attentive and strictly monitored care.”⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁷ Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner, "Heilanstalt und tägliche Ordination für arme kranke Kinder," *Wiener Zeitung*, 30.08.1837.

⁴⁶⁸ A newspaper article states an increase to 303 factories/workshops in 1843. Anon., "Fabrikzunahme in Schottenfeld," *Der Österreichische Zuschauer. Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und Unterhaltung*, 04.10.1843.

⁴⁶⁹ Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner, "Ueber das Bedürfnis von Kinderspitälern überhaupt, mit Rücksicht auf die hier in Wien neu errichtete erste Anstalt dieser Art," *Neue Folge der Gesundheits-Zeitung*, 30.11.1837, 349-352.

⁴⁷⁰ Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner, "Ueber das Bedürfnis von Kinderspitälern überhaupt, mit Rücksicht auf die hier in Wien neu errichtete erste Anstalt dieser Art. Beschluß," *Neue Folge der Gesundheits-Zeitung*, 04.12.1837, 357-360.

⁴⁷¹ Original: "Er vertauscht nun seine finstere, feuchte Stube mit einem lichten, trockenen Saale, den Herd des Schmutzes mit einem Orte, wo Reinlichkeit die erste Sorge ist, das harte Strohlager verwandelt sich in ein

In 1839 Ludwig Mauthner started a lecture series called “Public Collaborative Education. How to Care for Healthy and Sick Children.”⁴⁷² Every Sunday from ten to eleven in the morning, the physician welcomed “mothers, foster mothers, midwives, children’s care takers and everybody who engages in childcare”⁴⁷³ to learn about the subject. The *Gesundheits-Zeitung* reported after the first session on the 6th of October 1839 that the number of listeners was still small, but amongst them was remarkably “an honourable, tender mother. She was the first one to give the beautiful example [of attending], it should find soon imitation.”⁴⁷⁴ The emphasis on the attendance of one “tender mother” shows the paediatrician’s mission to reach mothers, especially mothers from the lower classes, and to instruct them in proper childcare. On several occasions the medical doctor strongly criticised uninformed women as the source of health threatening knowledge and created a binary between male knowledgeability and female ignorance.

“Most people let themselves be educated by the first available superstitious woman about the most important questions of upbringing or trust without questioning what they heard from their mother, grandmother and what they have seen and heard from other elderly women in the family.”⁴⁷⁵

By the 1830s ideas about the care and development of children, which were popularised by medical practitioners, spread rapidly. Historian Ute Frevert emphasised that physicians directed their criticism at the woman in her role as caretaker, who was made solely responsible for the wellbeing of her family.⁴⁷⁶ The middle-class discourse on motherly care, which pedagogues and reformers had propagated since the end of the eighteenth century, trickled down to the sphere of working families. Frevert showed how absurd some demands were in the light of the working and living conditions of workers. When it came to children a change in authority slowly took place. Previously the priest and clerical pedagogues had been the

bequemes Bett, die schlechte, unverdauliche Nahrung in die zweckmäßigste Diät, und aus dem Qualm von Dünsten und den Gefahren der unbehilflichen jammernenden Umgebung gelangt er in eine reine Atmosphäre und unter eine sorgfältige, streng beaufsichtigte Pflege." Mauthner, "Ueber das Bedürfnis von Kinderspitälern," *Neue Folge der Gesundheits-Zeitung*, 30.11.1837, 349.

⁴⁷² The physician continued to give this lecture for nearly two decades. Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner, "Oeffentlicher gemeinfaßlicher Unterricht, wie man gesunde und kranke Kinder pflegt," *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.09.1839, 709.

⁴⁷³ Original: "[...] Mütter, Pflegemütter, Hebammen, Kindswärterinnen, und Alle, die sich mit Kinderpflege befassen." Mauthner, "Oeffentlicher gemeinfaßlicher Unterricht, wie man gesunde und kranke Kinder pflegt," *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.09.1839, 709.

⁴⁷⁴ Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner, "Die Kinderpflege," *Neue Folge der Gesundheits-Zeitung*, 24.10.1839.

⁴⁷⁵ Mauthner, "Die Kinderpflege," *Neue Folge der Gesundheits-Zeitung*, 24.10.1839, 706.

⁴⁷⁶ For more information see Frevert's analysis of the hygienic civilising mission targeting the working-class family by the medical profession in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Ute Frevert, "'Fürsorgliche Belagerung': Hygienebewegung und Arbeiterfrauen im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 11, no. 4 (1985), 420-446.

knowledgeable counsellors; however, now medical experts were prescribing behavioural imperatives.⁴⁷⁷

A Perfect Storm

In June 1841 Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner held a lecture at the assembly of the Lower Austrian trade association. The medical doctor had already gained a reputation in the developing field of paediatrics for his efforts to promote better health conditions and remedies for children. In his lecture Mauthner described the working conditions of children in different kinds of silk-ware and ribbon factories, cotton-weaving mills [*Baumwoll- und Schafwebereien*], production sites of ornamental trimmings, printing factories and cotton mills. The physician's observations shared commonalities with the conclusions of the school monitoring clergy. However, concerning issues of education the physician was careful not to accuse business owners, who were likely to be sitting in the audience, of withholding children from school attendance. Instead he made the greed of the child labourer's parents responsible for the lack of factory children's school attendance. The medical doctor presented his observations on the children's physical conditions and ailments in the different branches of factory production. Interestingly Mauthner described child labourers as unruly and immoral.

"Ingratitude to the parents and benefactors, ignorance towards the factory owners, excesses and consumption of spirits and indulgence in the venereal desire are unfortunately not uncommon for children of factories and the consequences come often enough to the observation of the medical doctor."⁴⁷⁸

Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner was not opposed to child labour. He phrased his concern diplomatically and even acknowledged the difficulties in implementing any kind of legislation. On the contrary, he did not doubt that child labour was necessary for the maintenance of a factory. Because of "private interest and locality" different measures applied for each factory owner and for this reason the implementation of a general law was deemed infeasible. Following this lecture, the Lower Austrian trade association made a serious attempt to terminate the debate. It was customary practise to print all lectures in full in the regular publication of the trade association. However, Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner's report was only

⁴⁷⁷ Frevert, "Hygienebewegung und Arbeiterfrauen," 421.

⁴⁷⁸ Original: "Undank gegen Eltern und Wohltäter, Gleichgiltigkeit gegen die Fabriksherren, Ausschweifungen und Genüsse geistiger Getränke und des Geschlechtstriebes sind bei den Kindern der Fabriken leider nicht selten zu beklagen, und die Folgen davon kommen oft genug zur Beobachtung des Arztes." Manuscript of the lecture quoted in: Mises, "Fabriksgesetzgebung," 254-257.

entered in summary format although he pushed several times for its publication of the whole lecture. The only original quote left from the lecture were the four carefully formulated questions the medical doctor had posed to his audience at the end of his lecture.

- “1. Would it be possible, if factory owners could find an agreement, to reduce the working hours of children?
2. Could not two children instead of one be assigned to handle the spinning wheel?
3. Would it not be possible to maintain the normal factory work if children would receive school education?
4. Could savings be accumulated to protect the workers from poverty in case of sickness or unfitness to work through collecting a small contribution of the employees’ wages (children and adults)?”⁴⁷⁹

The summary of the lecture and these four points were also printed in the newspaper *Wiener Zeitung*. Mauthner’s summary was published not as a separate announcement but embedded in other short reports about the activities of the trade association. It is important to note that the summary account in the *Wiener Zeitung* replaced the word “children” with “factory workers” and generalised Mauthner’s concerns. The summary was only broadly concerned with Mauthner’s arguments but emphasised his point that factory work negatively influenced the workers’ moral behaviour, “which is most evident in the behaviour of factory workers towards their parents and factory directors.”⁴⁸⁰ Two weeks later the trade association appointed a committee to investigate the possibilities for improving the situation of children working in factories in order to further diffuse possible concerns. This committee was composed of six medical practitioners and nine factory owners. Three businessmen owned large cotton mills in the Industrial District of Lower Austria: Karl Wilhelm Brevillier, tenant of the cotton mill in Schwadorf; Christian Heinrich von Coith, factory owner of the cotton mill in Fahrafeld and Ludwig Pacher, heir of the cotton mills in Sollenau and Schönau. The initial plan was that each of these three factory owners was to receive assistance for their investigations from a district medical officer. In the following meeting the factory owners were adamant that they only had agreed to being accompanied by one medical doctor. Not surprisingly the trio picked their own

⁴⁷⁹ Original: "1. Ob nicht durch Uebereinkunft der Fabriksbesitzer die Zahl der Arbeitsstunden für Kinder vermindert werden könnte? 2. Ob nicht bei großen Spinnmaschinen statt Eines Kindes zwei Kinder zum Andrehen verwendet werden sollten; 3. Ob es, ohne Beeinträchtigung des Fabriksbetriebes, nicht ausführbar sey, den beschäftigten Kindern den Schulunterricht nebenbei angedeihen zu lassen? und 4. Ob nicht durch einen unbedeutenden wöchentlichen Abzug vom Lohne der Kinder und Fabriksarbeiter ein Kapital gegründet werden sollte, welches zweckmäßig verwaltet die Arbeitenden bei Erkrankung und Erwerbsunfähigkeit vor Noth sichern würde." Niederösterreichischer Gewerbe-Verein, "Auszüge aus den Protokollen der monatlichen Versammlungen des Vereines, 7. Juni 1841," *Verhandlungen des niederösterreichischen Gewerbe-Vereins* 5 (1841): IX.

⁴⁸⁰ Original: "[...] welcher sich am deutlichsten in dem Verhalten der Fabriksarbeiter gegen ihre Aeltern und Fabriksherren kund gebe." Gewerbe-Verein, "Auszüge, 7. Juni 1841," IX.

factory physicians for the task.⁴⁸¹ The possibilities for a serious investigation were in the upcoming months further diluted. Neither the trade association nor factory owners were interested in shedding light on the working conditions of children and adults in factories.

First Counterstatement to Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner's Lecture

On the 8th and 9th of September 1841 the *Wiener Zeitung* published a counterstatement to Ludwig Mauthner's lecture to members of the Lower Austrian trade association, which he gave in June 1841. The author of this extensive two-part article was Joseph Johann Knolz, a senior civil servant [*Regierungsrat*] of the Lower Austrian government and a physician with the title *Protomedicus*. In this function Knolz was in charge of supervising and directing sanitary arrangements and functioned in many ways as a control authority. Although Mauthner's full lecture was never published or discussed in newspapers, Knolz wrote a devastating rebuttal to Mauthner's observations, which he called "one sided and untrue."⁴⁸² Knolz emphasised that it was not the physician's place to voice demands on the industry. The senior physician announced that only he himself presented facts on the condition of children working in factories drawing his information from reports by district governments, the magistrate, the police and the Viennese Archiepiscopal Consistory.

Children working in cotton mills in the industrial district were according to the *Protomedicus*, usually above the age of twelve, their daily workload did not exceed twelve or maximum thirteen hours, and the occupation these young people performed demanded little physical exertion. In fact, children worked closely together with an adult, often one of their parents, and physically demanding tasks were assigned solely to adults. The people of Lower Austria had, according to Knolz, a genial character [*gemütlichen Charakter*] and it was absolutely unheard of to treat children barbarically, which is the case in English factories. The senior physician Knolz vehemently emphasised the physical wellbeing of the children and adults working in factories. Knolz estimated that approximately 21,600 had worked in the Industrial District's cotton mills during the last thirty-six years and assured his readers that all of them had grown up to be healthy and well.

"This number provides evidence that the labour in cotton mills is not harmful for children like one wants to make-believe; because given this high number of people who were used

⁴⁸¹ Mises, "Fabriksgesetzgebung," 258-259.

⁴⁸² Joseph Johann Knolz, "Die moralisch religiöse und physische Behandlung der in den Nieder-Oesterreichischen Fabriken zur Arbeit verwendeten Kinder, aus actenmäßigen Daten dargestellt," *Wiener Zeitung*, 08.09.1843, 1841-1842, 1841.

for the production process within one district of Lower Austria, the adverse influences on the health state of these people, which was described as highly dangerous, would surely have shown, [...]."⁴⁸³

Concerning school education Knolz highlighted that factory schools were not inferior to public schools. According to Knolz, factory school even had some advantages; notably the author did not expand on the type of advantages. The senior physician argued emphatically against limiting the children's work hours as they would be left unmonitored for half of the day. He repeatedly emphasised the truthfulness of his account, which was based on investigations by authorities. Knolz also pointed to existing factory legislation, namely the decree by Joseph II in 1786 and the subsequent amendments passed from 1816. In Knolz' opinion this legislation provided child labourers with adequate protection.

The senior physician, who was fifty at the time, used the last paragraphs of his text to lecture his colleague, who was around fifteen years his junior. He repeated that Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner did not have the authority to publicly voice his opinion on the matter. And even more appalling for Knolz was the fact that Mauthner did this without knowledge of the circumstances. For the next two years Knolz' article was the only publication addressing the situation of child labour in Lower Austria. It is not documented whether this silence on the issue was directly connected to Joseph Johann Knolz' was a *Protomedikus*. In this role he was responsible for approving or rejecting articles for publication in medical journals.

Pacher revisited

Two months later, on the 2nd of November 1841 Ludwig Pacher, owner of the cotton mills in Sollenau and Schönau, was supposed to present the results of the committee's investigation. These results had been collected in June of the same year and included an examination of the situation of children in factories and proposals to improve the working conditions. Ludwig Pacher's speech to the assembly of the trade association suggests that no investigation had taken place. Similar to Joseph Johann Knolz, Ludwig Pacher introduced his presentation with a short assessment of the situation in cotton mills. He then quickly moved to the situation of children in English and French factories: "The English and French papers are describing the

⁴⁸³ Original: "Den bey einer so bedeutenden Anzahl Menschen, die nur in einem einzigen Viertel Nieder-Oesterreichs diese Arbeiten durchgegangen sind, müßten die nachtheiligen Einflüsse auf den Gesundheits-Zustand dieser Menschen, welcher als im hohen Grade gefährdet geschildert wurde, schon längst auffallend bemerkt worden sey [...]." Knolz, "Die moralisch religiöse und physische Behandlung der in den Nieder-Oesterreichischen Fabriken zur Arbeit verwendeten Kinder, aus actenmäßigen Daten dargestellt," *Wiener Zeitung*, 08.09.1843, 1841-1842.

physical and moral misery of factory workers in shrill ways. These conditions cannot even remotely be compared to the local workers."⁴⁸⁴ The cotton mill owner explained that factory workers in Lower Austria were properly nourished, decently dressed and lived in clean apartments. Moreover, some were even able to afford items of furniture from their small savings. Pacher addressed Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner's primal concern about the health of children working in factories with the assurance that factory workers and their children enjoyed a satisfactory level of health. While pointing his audience's attention to the worker's family unit, he omitted child labourers who were commuting from villages and towns in West Hungary. Instead the factory owner focused on the family unit and described the workers as "rational, industrious, orderly, corrigible and a loyal human class."⁴⁸⁵ Ludwig Pacher created a binary opposition when he contrasted the commendable Austrian situation with the "deplorable appearances" in other countries. He characterised the national [*vaterländische*] industry as being not old-fashioned but deliberately developed and resisting the "confusing urge to imitate and innovate"⁴⁸⁶ [*verwirrende Neuerungs- und Nachahmungssucht*]. The idealised picture of the loyal worker and his caring employer was made complete when Ludwig Pacher appealed to those members of the audience and the physician Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner himself, to "trust the foresight of the public administration, the healthy mind and good nature of the Austrian worker and the clear-thinking and humanity of the Austrian factory owner."⁴⁸⁷ When Pacher had concluded his speech, the physician Ludwig Mauthner asked for the floor and addressed the audience in an attempt to reconcile the different points of view: "It cannot be denied that the conditions of children working in factories also have their dark sides and if I pointed those out then it happened out of a humanitarian intention."⁴⁸⁸ He thanked the audience for the attention paid to his lecture and the subject matter, and expressed the hope that further investigations may lead to useful results. Maybe the physician had already sensed that

⁴⁸⁴ Original: "Die englischen und französischen Blätter schildern zwar das physische und moralische Elend der Fabrikarbeiter auf eine grelle Weise. Dieser Zustand könne jedoch mit dem der hiesigen Arbeiter nicht im Entferntesten verglichen werden." Niederösterreichischer Gewerb-Verein, "Auszüge aus den Protokollen der monatlichen Versammlungen des Vereines, 2. November 1841," *Verhandlungen des niederösterreichischen Gewerb-Vereins* 6 (1841): XIV.

⁴⁸⁵ Original: "[...] nüchternen, arbeitsamen, ordnungsliebenden, lenksamen und ergebenen Menschenklasse." Gewerb-Verein, "Auszüge, 2. November 1841," XIV.

⁴⁸⁶ Gewerb-Verein, "Auszüge, 2. November 1841," XIV.

⁴⁸⁷ Original: "Vertrauen Sie dießfalls der weisen Vorsorge unserer hohen Staatsverwaltung, vertrauen Sie dem gesunden Sinne und der guten Natur des österreichischen Arbeiters, vertrauen Sie auch etwas der Denkart und Humanität des österreichischen Werkbesitzers." Gewerb-Verein, "Auszüge, 2. November 1841," XV.

⁴⁸⁸ Original: "Es könne nicht bestritten werden, daß die Verhältnisse der in den Fabriken arbeitenden Kinder auch ihre Schattenseite haben, und wenn er nur diese in seinem Vortrage hervorzuheben bemüht war, so sey dieß aus menschenfreundlicher Absicht geschehen." Gewerb-Verein, "Auszüge, 2. November 1841," XV.

Ludwig Pacher's presentation marked the end of the Lower Austrian trade association's investigations, which had not even seriously taken place.

Intermission

Earlier in the same year, 1841, the Lower Austrian government approached the Viennese Archiepiscopal Consistory again with the request to propose legislative changes concerning child labour. On this occasion the Viennese Archiepiscopal Consistory not only voiced its opinion, but also recounted the content of reports on the situation of child labourers produced by medical officers, the police court and district governments in 1840. The provincial governments, especially in the most industrialised regions in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, Tirol and Vorarlberg and Lower Austria handed in the most extensive proposals according to Ludwig Mises' study on factory legislation.⁴⁸⁹ The Consistory urged the government to finally enact proper legislation and pointed to the decree of October 1839 which had made the intended legislation from July of the same year obsolete. In comparison to the Archiepiscopal Consistory's 1839 report, which did not plead for stronger state intervention, the new opinion report was formulated as an appeal and contained twelve references to the state and its administration. The potential new legislation was put on an international footing.

"With the background of currently stricter and more useful regulations being issued abroad, now an understanding is forming that the industry of a state cannot develop on the price of the health and morality of its subjects. The industry cannot be the single and highest consideration of the state, therefore the Archiepiscopal Consistory has not the slightest doubt that also in our lands [Staaten] the physical, intellectual and moral wellbeing of the children will be assured by appropriate regulations."⁴⁹⁰

While the actual content of the legislative proposal was similar to the one in 1839, it went a step further: the employment of children under twelve was generally prohibited. If exceptions existed, the work hours for nine to twelve-year-old children should not exceed eight hours. In addition, the Consistory demanded that factory owners provide two hours of education per day for school-aged children. While in 1839 a ten-hour day for up to fifteen-year-old workers was

⁴⁸⁹ The government reports Ludwig von Mises used in 1904 for his analysis are no longer available.

⁴⁹⁰ Original: "Da gerade gegenwärtig in mehreren Staaten des Auslandes strenge u. zweckmäßige Verordnungen zu diesem Zwecke erlassen worden sind und nun ein Zusehen anfängt, daß die Industrie des Staates nicht auf Kosten der Gesundheit und der Moralität seiner Unterthanen erhöht werden dürfe u. daß der primäre Vortheil einer erhöhten Industrie nicht der einzige u. höchste Gesichtspunkt der Staatsverwaltung seyn kann, so zweifelt das f.e. Konst. nicht im geringsten, daß auch in unseren Staaten das physische, intellektuelle u. moralische Wohl der Kinder durch [eine] zweckmäßige Verordnung sichergestellt werden wird." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, Gutachten über die in den Fabriken arbeitenden Kinder.

proposed, the 1841 report demanded a maximum of twelve hours for twelve to fifteen-year-old children. These twelve hours were to be interrupted by two hours of rest. Earlier demands voiced by two Viennese medical district officers to prohibit employment of girls in factories were dismissed by the Consistory on the basis that this prohibition was non-executable. However, a strict segregation of male and female workers, together with the regular attendance of holy mass and confession four times a year was to provide sufficient opportunity to influence the conscience of factory workers.

On the basis of proposals by the clergy, the police authority and the provincial government, the Court Chancellery drafted a new legislative proposal in 1842. This new piece of legislation contained long-demanded provisions regulating age which set the minimum working age at twelve years but conceded that nine to twelve-year-olds were permitted to work if their circumstances made employment necessary. Maximum work hours were set to ten hours per day for twelve to fifteen-year-olds and twelve hours for twelve to sixteen-year-olds with at least a one-hour break in-between. Night-shifts were prohibited under the age of sixteen. Specially appointed factory inspectors should monitor the strict adherence to these restrictions. Interestingly the new decree contained only one concession to the Catholic clergy: business owners were encouraged to watch over the “preservation of good morals”⁴⁹¹ [*Bewahrung der guten Sitten*]. However, the 1842 decree proposal did not mention the necessity of Sunday mass attendance or other church-related matters. Remarkably the legislative proposal was not converted into legislation but forwarded to the two industrial associations in the Habsburg Empire which existed at the time; the Lower Austrian Trade Association and the Association to Encourage the Spirit of Trade in Bohemia [*Verein zur Ermunterung des Gewerbegeistes in Böhmen*].

Ludwig Mises documented the reactions of the Lower Austrian trade association in detail. Within the association the members were divided between factory owners who were eager to maintain the *status quo* and to gloss over arguments in favour of the new protective legislation. On the other hand, members not belonging to the industrial sector welcomed the Court Commission’s proposal. The cotton mill owner Karl Wilhelm Brevillier, a former member of the 1841 committee who was supposed to investigate the situation of children working in factories, submitted a lengthy reply to the Court Commission. He emphasised that changes to the *status quo* would have negative consequences for both the workers and the industry. The

⁴⁹¹ The legislative proposal is published in: Mises, "Fabriksgesetzgebung," 251-252.

businessmen not surprisingly strongly opposed the implementation of factory inspectors with the argument that “every kind of interference would hinder the free development of the industry.”⁴⁹²

The Court Chancellery pursued the procedure for new protective legislation notwithstanding the critique of the trade association. However, fractions within the government against the legislation were strong; many factory owners were also government officials and well-connected. It took more than a year until the draft was ready. In June 1843 the proposal for protective legislation was forwarded to Emperor Ferdinand. However, in December 1844, Ferdinand requested another extensive report on the issue before he was willing to sign the legislative proposal into law. This request ended the renewed attempt for legislation. Moreover, in the years that followed industrialists successfully lobbied for their cause, since no legislative draft found approval.

The Power of Interpretation

The narrative about child labourers in the Industrial District would be incomplete without a detailed discussion of the most influential publication on the topic, discussed above, which was compiled by the *Protomedicus* Joseph Johann Knolz in 1843.

“Presentation of the state and organisation of the cotton mill factories in Lower Austria. Particularly related to the moral-intellectual and physical education of the children used and the existing regulations.”⁴⁹³

For historians of child labour and industrialisation this publication constitutes one of the main sources of knowledge on the living and working conditions of children and adult workers in Lower Austria. However, Ludwig Mises and Wolfgang Häusler, for example, pointed to the obvious deceptions, erroneous depictions and false calculations in the report.⁴⁹⁴ The senior physician Joseph Johann Knolz and likely the Lower Austrian trade association seemed dissatisfied with his devastating rebuttal to the Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner’s lecture on child labour in 1841. With his ninety-six-page publication Knolz sought to create a lasting impression of factory working conditions in Lower Austria.

⁴⁹² Mises, "Fabriksgesetzgebung," 260.

⁴⁹³ Joseph Johann Knolz, *Darstellung der Verfassung und Einrichtung der Baumwoll-Spinnerei-Fabriken in Niederösterreich : mit besonderer Beziehung auf die moralisch-intellectuelle und physische Erziehung der daselbst verwendeten Kinder und die diessfalls bestehenden gesetzlichen Vorschriften* (Wien: Kaulfuß Prandel, 1843).

⁴⁹⁴ Häusler, *Von der Massenarmut zur Arbeiterbewegung*, 52-53; Mises, "Fabriksgesetzgebung," 260-261.

“In the interest of society, it would be desirable that writings which appear about the imagined misery of the working classes should be strictly monitored, not because true evils should be covered up but to suppress provocative descriptions about a non-existing evil, also because such descriptions rarely or not at all offer any remedies for the denounced condition.”⁴⁹⁵

Knolz divided his publication in two parts. The first part consisted of sixty-four paragraphs where the author addressed a range of issues. He recounted the history and location of cotton mills, the number, origins and income of factory and finally the wellbeing of child labourers. In paragraph thirteen Joseph Johann Knolz estimated the number of workers employed in cotton mills in Lower Austria to be 10,000 workers: “Among those 10,000 people, men, women and young people from twelve to eighteen years of age of both sexes, the number of the latter amounts to 2,500 in total.”⁴⁹⁶ The use of the term “young people”, as well as the exclusion of child labourers under twelve from the picture serves as an example of the content for Knolz’ discussion. In paragraph fifteen the author assured his readers that children under twelve were only employed out of charitable reasons. However, this point stood in contradiction with his discussion on the issue of education. Knolz dedicated fourteen pages of his report to educational concerns, basing his exploration on legal measures of the time. The local governments and parish priests were obliged to ensure that the regulations were obeyed, but, as Knolz elegantly inserted in four separate paragraphs, monitoring should not be exaggerated. He explicitly included the opinion of the Lower Austrian Trade Association on the issue of employment of children under twelve years:

“The Trade Association in Vienna [...] notes that the industry would be hereby too constricted and that besides the School Administration Act it would be, at most, relevant to determine that children from nine to twelve only can be taken on if they can provide evidence of three years of school attendance.”⁴⁹⁷

Children from Hungary constituted according to Knolz the larger proportion of child labourers in Lower Austria.⁴⁹⁸ As proposed by the Trade Association, the physician recommended these children be exempt from school attendance. In the second part of his paper the author described

⁴⁹⁵ Original: "Im Interesse der Gesellschaft wäre es daher zu wünschen, dass Schriften, die über das eingebildete Elend der arbeitenden Classe erscheinen, strenge bewachtet würden, nicht etwa, um wahrhaft bestehende Übel im Verborgenen zu lassen, sondern um aufreizende Schilderungen eines nicht vorhandenen Übels zu unterdrücken, zumahl da diesen Schilderungen selten oder gar nicht die Mittel zur Verbesserung des beklagten Zustandes beigegeben sind." Knolz, *Baumwoll-Spinnerei-Fabriken in Niederösterreich*, 48.

⁴⁹⁶ Original: "Unter diesen 10000 Personen, Männer, Weiber und junge Leute von 12 bis 18 Jahren beiderlei Geschlechtes, beläuft sich die Zahl der letzten Classe auf 2,500." Knolz, *Baumwoll-Spinnerei-Fabriken in Niederösterreich*, 13.

⁴⁹⁷ Knolz, *Baumwoll-Spinnerei-Fabriken in Niederösterreich*, 30.

⁴⁹⁸ Knolz, *Baumwoll-Spinnerei-Fabriken in Niederösterreich*, 15.

details about twenty-five cotton mills in a table-format, specifying the number of children and adults employed, the origin of the workers, the work environment, the work hours for children, the hours and kind of education, existing diseases among factory workers and healthcare provided in case of illness. The last section was dedicated to the workers' income. For this section Joseph Johann Knolz consulted reports by authorities of the previous years and results of his own investigation. In 1843 he had inspected several factories in the district Pottenstein. For example, according to the medical doctor, the cotton mills in Schönau and Sollenau in the district Pottenstein employed approximately 700 people, which included 175 children aged twelve to sixteen and most of them were Hungarian. Knolz underlined that it was impossible to determine the exact number of working hours, since working hours depended on the season; sometimes work lasted only a few hours per day, other times it lasted twelve to thirteen hours: "The main result is that children never have less than eight hours' night rest and during the day two hours for eating and recreation, whereby they feel comfortable."⁴⁹⁹

On the topic of frequent illnesses, the medical doctor emphasised that similar to other factories, catarrhs (build-up of mucus in an airway or other cavities), scrofula (tuberculosis infection) and gastroenteritis and "other small ailments" were prevalent. Although nobody publicly challenged Joseph Johann Knolz and his observations, this does not mean that there was no criticism. Knolz' investigations on the situation in cotton mills are mentioned in a report by the dean of the district Pottenstein. Cajetan Geyer informed the Lower Austrian government in 1843 about the practice of concealing workers during the physician's inspections.

"When the imperial royal Lower Austrian senior civil servant Dr. J. Knolz visited a couple of factories the order was given to all weak looking, emaciated and wretched workers to stay away on the day of his visit."⁵⁰⁰

The cover-up was never made public. The dean also expanded on other ailments and made some remarks on the issue of excessive work hours. He was aware of a factory where work was performed over forty-eight hours at a time. According to Geyer the workers were given wine in order to keep them going. In another factory all foreign children were registered as aged twelve in order to avoid school attendance. The dean emphasised that children's

⁴⁹⁹ Original: "Als Hauptresultat kann man annehmen, dass Kinder nie unter 8 Stunden zur Nachtruhe und unter Tages 2 Stunden zum Essen und zur Erholung geniessen, wobei sie sich recht wohl fühlen." Knolz, *Baumwoll-Spinnerei-Fabriken in Niederösterreich*, 59.

⁵⁰⁰ Original: "Als der k.k.n.ö. Herr Regierungsrath Dr. J. Knolz einige Fabriken visitierte, so ist an dem Tage, an welchem er in der Fabrik erschien, allen übel aussehenden, abgemagerten, preßhaften [elenden] Arbeitern befohlen worden, sich entfernt zu halten." DAW, Pottenstein 1843, 95/7.

education, if received, was at the lowest level. In his opinion this practise would not change so long as there was no properly paid teacher employed and “the whole thing be monitored by an authority which can impress them [the factory owners].”⁵⁰¹ Columban Landsteiner, dean of the Baden district, attested that the condition of children working in factories in 1843 was not better than in previous years but at least it was not worse. He called for stricter measures against the “mischief” of Sunday work.⁵⁰² The dean of the Wiener Neustadt district, Karl Gößmann explained that the work days of fourteen to fifteen hours were still too long and Sunday work was still common.⁵⁰³ Hieronimus Österreicher, dean of Klosterneuburg, described how more than three hundred school-aged children worked in the cotton printing factories in his district in 1842. Since 1839 the number of evening classes for factory children had indeed increased but the lessons were “sparsely attended, interrupted, at different times” and the children arrived “overtired and hungry.”⁵⁰⁴ Sunday work was common in factories and the police authority was fully aware of these circumstances. Österreicher urged for a stronger implementation of the regulations concerning Sunday work and the age of the children, because “six-year-old children are already taken on.”⁵⁰⁵ Calls for regulation went unheard. The paediatrician Ludwig von Mauthner cancelled his membership of the Lower Austrian Trade Association in December 1843.

⁵⁰¹ DAW, Pottenstein 1843, 95/7.

⁵⁰² DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/7, Bericht über den Zustand der in den Fabriken des Dekanats-Bezirktes Baden verwendeten Jugend vom Jahre 1843.

⁵⁰³ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/7, Ueber den Zustand der Arbeitsschulen in den Fabriken des Wr. Neustädter Bezirktes wird pro 1843 folgender Bericht erstattet.

⁵⁰⁴ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/7, Bericht über den Zustand der in den Fabriken des Dekanats-Bezirktes Klosterneuburg verwendeten Jugend vom Jahre 1843.

⁵⁰⁵ Original: “[...] denn es werden schon Kinder von 6 Jahren aufgenommen.” DAW, Bericht Klosterneuburg 1843, 95/7.

3.4. Summary

School attendance from age six to twelve fulfilled a key socialising function which was separate from family life. However, against common perception and historiography public primary schools did not cater to all children. For child labourers in the expanding industrial sector the state was reluctant to provide education. Furthermore, the mingling of factory children with ordinary school children was in some cases even seen as harmful to other children. In this chapter I have shown that the factory was for a long time fashioned as a charitable institution and was, at least in theory, made responsible for providing private education in the form of factory schools. In a way, two versions of paternalism clashed when it came to the question of the education of child labourers. Factory owners created structures of dependency and inequality within the factory and local priests fervently promoted Sunday mass attendance and moral education. From the early 1830s organisational structures within factory estates changed from segregated spaces for workers, such as children's institutes [*Kinderhäuser*], to organisation in a family unit.⁵⁰⁶ At the same time factories in the Lower Austrian Industrial District increasingly sought cheap labour of workers who commuted weekly from the Hungarian border regions.⁵⁰⁷ The particular view of child labour presented in this chapter is drawn from the perspectives of factory owners, school authorities and medical experts. The children's perspective did not leave any traces in the archives. Significant is the lack of differentiation between the children's gender in the factory context. Moreover, factory owners avoided viewing child labourers as children at all. The term "*Fabrikskinder*" [factory children] usually used in discussions illustrates the denial and reduction of identity. The term implied that the children belonged to the factory, that they were without gender, and significantly that they were also without parents who are hardly mentioned in official documents. Precisely the absence of parents suggests that it would be a mistake to reduce working children solely to exploited victims.

⁵⁰⁶ Judy Lown has impressively analysed the power relations and mechanisms of capitalism in Judy Lown, *Women and Industrialization. Gender at Work in Nineteenth-Century England, Feminist Perspectives* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

⁵⁰⁷ Further research is necessary in order to analyse the differences made between workers living permanently at the factory grounds and workers commuting.

4. Stitch by Stitch

The acquisition of needlework skills was an integral part of girls' education for centuries. Strict hierarchies applied to both the type of needlework performed and the person performing it. Needlework skills potentially fulfilled three goals. For girls, especially from a lower-class background, this education amounted to vocational training allowing them to participate in the low-paid textile industry. Furthermore, needlework was an essential component of a domestic servant's skill-set. At the same time, this instruction was indispensable for a girl's future domestic role. For middle and upper-class girls, needlework talent was important. Workpieces of embroidery or tapestry fulfilled a representative function. Refined pieces not only drew the attention of visitors within the household but also justified public display in exhibitions. The biannual public exam in private girls' schools, for instance, was usually accompanied by a needlework exhibition. A good example in this context were the annual exhibitions of fine needlework hosted by the Society of Aristocratic Women to Enhance the Good and the Useful in the Volksgarten in Vienna. Part of this exhibition was a prize competition for the most refined workpieces. Remarkably owners of private educational institutes and their pupils also participated in these competitions. Another example are the entries into the Industrial Exhibitions which the Lower Austrian Trade Association frequently hosted, starting in 1835. It surely meant great publicity to win an award or to receive an honourable mentioning since local newspapers continuously wrote reports on the different stages of these exhibitions.

In her 1866 pamphlet on the inadequacy of employment opportunities for women Louise Otto Peters noted how middle-class women were a competition for women from lower class background in the needlework occupation. The notoriously low-paid textile work was often a means for survival for women.⁵⁰⁸ Not many sources provide information on the living circumstances of seamstresses from different class backgrounds since needlework was an activity performed in the privacy of the home. In Vienna women from the lower and middle classes, who were the wives of artisans or civil servants, not only performed needlework themselves but were also part of the widespread system of sub-contractors who employed women and girls as seamstresses or functioned as intermediaries between customers and

⁵⁰⁸ Louise Otto-Peters, *Das Recht der Frauen auf Erwerb. Blicke auf das Frauenleben der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Hofenberg, 2015 [1866]), 20-30.

homeworkers.⁵⁰⁹ Teaching needlework was another way to earn an income although the boundaries between seamstresses' apprenticeship and lessons were fluid. Throughout the nineteenth century women established so-called industrial or working schools for this specific purpose. One important function of these schools was to instil orderliness and morality. In the second half of the nineteenth century charitable women's associations understood it as their mission to provide needlework instruction and moral guidance to working class girls, and through them to their families.

4.1. Making Money with Needlework

Private industrial schools were usually situated in the living space of the needlework teacher. The prerequisite for establishing such a business was the successful petition for a school licence. Authorities generally acted benevolently by granting permission to women in local communities as long as not there were too many schools in the area. Besides instruction in mainly sewing, knitting and crocheting, industrial schools fulfilled an important child-minding function and were an integral part of local community life. This is illustrated by the case of Elise Jerg's [also known as Elisabeth Irg] industrial school in the parish of Schottenfeld. Elise opened her school in 1827 and instructed girls in needlework for more than forty years. She is listed in five teacher registers between 1843 and 1860 as a "teaching individual" in the Schottenfeld parish. A survey on industrial schools conducted during the 1850s provides details about Elise's industrial school. It was open from eight in the morning to midday and from one to five in the afternoon. In 1854 sixty-six pupils attended the school, in 1856 seventy-six pupils were listed.⁵¹⁰ Girls between the age of four and twelve attended the industrial school for a monthly school fee of thirty kreuzer per child. Additionally, Elise Jerg instructed a remarkable number of girls free of charge; in 1854 it amounted to a total of nineteen girls. Three girls among these nineteen were daughters of single mothers, two seamstresses and a laundress. The listed fathers were mainly craftsmen, including a harness-maker, a tailor, a watchmaker, a manufacturer of ornamental trimmings and a shoemaker, as well as two owners of public

⁵⁰⁹ An example for this is Franziska Ritzenthaler who as clothes vendor [*bürgerliche Pfaidlerin*] received an honorary mention on occasion of the first Industrial Exhibition in Vienna in 1835. Anon., *Bericht über die erste allgemeine österreichische Gewerbsprodukten-Ausstellung im Jahre 1835* (Wien: Gerold, 1835), 345.

⁵¹⁰ Details about the pupils visiting her school were provided in the list, which include the name, age and religious denomination; the name, social background and address of the parents; the day of admission to the school; which public school a girl attended or if private education was provided; the monthly school fee and notes, where the conduct assessed by leaving the box empty or inserting industrious [*fleißig*] or "very industrious". DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/1/2, Uebersichts-Tabelle aller weiblichen Arbeitsschulen in den acht Bezirken Wien's.

houses and several small traders.⁵¹¹ The advantage of a local working school was that the children could walk home to their families for lunch and to the local primary school to receive elementary education.

The only newspaper entry about Elise Jerg is a letter to the editor by “several very honourable women”⁵¹² of the parish Schottenfeld in 1871. Elise Jerg had needed medical care and the local doctor treated her without charging a consultation fee because the teacher was not able to pay for his services. In their letter to the editor the group of women emphasised that Elise’s school had once been attended by many pupils. Now in her old age only fifteen to twenty pupils attended the needlework instruction and some of them were even educated free of charge. The letter writers denounced the government for not providing Elise Jerg with any monetary support or official acknowledgment although she had educated whole generations of Schottenfelder families over fifty years: “It was often the case that mother, daughter and granddaughter received education from her.”⁵¹³ Interestingly the element of competition between school owners appears in the description of Elise Jerg’s circumstances. The women who authored the letter assumed that some met her with hostility because she was a respected needlework teacher, “[...] presumably because she was a competition to the lesson giving wives of head teachers and never understood to bow down.”⁵¹⁴ The quotation shows the authority of male school teachers in the community and this authority extended to include their wives.⁵¹⁵ The letter to the editor closed with the hope that this “honourable veterinary [*Veteranin*] of the teaching profession”⁵¹⁶ would receive appropriate public acknowledgement. Whether the letter had an impact on Elise Jerg’ future destiny is not documented.

A substantial number of private industrial schools existed in Vienna and the surroundings by the 1840s. The following table contains the names, addresses and, if provided, the founding year of working schools in Vienna and its surroundings for 1844. This list is compiled on the

⁵¹¹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/4/6c, DAW 275/4/6c, Verzeichnis der Mädchen, welche die [...] weibliche Arbeitsschule der Elise Irgbesuchen.

⁵¹² Anon., "Herr Redakteur!," *Jörgel Briefe*, 18.02.1871, 6.

⁵¹³ Original: "Es kam oft der Fall vor, daß Mutter, Tochter und Enkelin bei ihr Unterricht erhielten." Anon., "Herr Redakteur!," *Jörgel Briefe*, 18.02.1871, 6.

⁵¹⁴ Original: "[...] wahrscheinlich weil sie eine Konkurrentin Unterricht ertheilender Oberlehrersgattinnen war und es nie verstand zu kriechen." Anon., "Herr Redakteur!," *Jörgel Briefe*, 18.02.1871, 6.

⁵¹⁵ This is also illustrated by the long prevailing practise in Austria to call the wife of a headmaster “Frau Direktor” [Mrs. Headmaster]. Women who ran their own school, even if it was just for the education of needlework, were on a symbolic level especially competition for other educational professionals. This is illustrated by numerous examples of local male teachers who reported irregularities of female teachers’ activities.

⁵¹⁶ Anon., "Herr Redakteur!," *Jörgel Briefe*, 18.02.1871, 6.

basis of the 1845 editions of two contemporary address books and adds up to seventy-eight working school owners.⁵¹⁷

Name	Designation	Address	Founding Year [if provided]
Binder, Eva	Needlework (N)	Schottenfeld	
Brandstätter, Anna	N	Stadt, Untere Breunerstrasse 1129	1839
Bratke, Therese	N	Rennweg 157	
Braun, Carolina	N, French Language (FL)	Wieden, Hauptstraße 9	
Bruckner, Anna	N	Rossau, Grünthorgasse 147	1819
Cuenin, Rosa	N	Leopoldstadt, Brunngasse 457	1842
Dallinger, Crescentia	N, FL	Himmelfortgrund 5	1837
Delaunay, Josefa	N	Stadt 637	
Denninger, Anna	N	Laimgrube, Gärtnergasse 79	
Dittmann, Clotilde	N	Döbling, Dreihüttengasse 56	
Ehrmanns, Franziska, Freiin v.	N	Windmühl, Rosengasse 65	
Feuchtinger, Anna	N, FL	Ottakring	
Folnesics, Elise [Elisabeth]	N	Stadt, Bäckerstrasse 745	1830
Fritsch, Anna	N, FL	Leopoldstadt, rothe Sternngasse 424	1841
Gärtner, Maria	N	Leopoldstadt, Herrngasse 671	1836
Gasselseder, Anna	N	Neubau, Hauptstraße 228	
Genersich, Constantia	N	Stadt, Kölnerhofgasse 738	1842
Gfertner, Wilhelmine	N	Neue Wieden, Hauptstraße 481	
Gruber, Susanna	N	Stadt, Kärntherstrasse 903	1841
Haberl, Rosa	N	Neulerchenfeld 85	
Haldenwanger, Anna	N	Stadt, Naglergasse 293	1843
Hartmann, Josefa, Edle v. Franzenshuld	N	Stadt, Peter 576	1835
Hartner, Anna	N, FL	Landstrasse, Hauptstraße 288	1842
Heiß, Anna	N	Stadt 70	1825
Herz, Anna	N	Alservorstadt, Carls-gasse 269	1836
Hiller, Theresia	N	Mariahilf, Hauptstraße 10	
Hirschberger, Elisabeth	N	Rossau, Grünthorgasse 79	1842
Holzmüller, Magdalena	N	Stadt, Kärthnerstrasse 948	
Huber, Katharina	N	Gumpendorf 393	1836
Irg, Elise [Jerg, Elisabeth]	N	Schottenfeld, Stadtlgasse 273	
Karreggi, Anna [Carreggi]	N	Stadt, Strauchgasse 243	1826
Kerschel, Aloisia	N	Mariahilf, grosse Kirchengasse 120	
Kürner, Theresia	N	Alservorstadt, Kirchengasse 217	1833
Lambacher, Therese	N	Neulerchenfeld	1842
Lang, Magdalena	N	Mariahilf, grosse Kirchengasse 111	

⁵¹⁷ Between 1844 and 1863 the Lower Austrian Trade Association published the address book for Trade and Commerce in Vienna. At irregular intervals between 1843 and 1863 he pedagogue and editor Joseph Kaiser compiled teachers' registers of the Viennese Archdiocese. Niederösterreichischer Gewerbe-Verein, ed. *Handels- und Gewerbe-Schematismus von Wien und dessen nächster Umgebung*, Zweiter Jahrgang ed. (Wien: 1845); Joseph Kaiser, *Lehrer-Schema oder: Ausweis des sämtlichen [...] Lehr-Personales. Mit Einschluß der weiblichen Arbeits-, Näh-, Musik-, Sprach- und Zeichnungsschul-Inhaber* (Wien, 1845).

Lex, Antonia	N	Liechtenthal, untere Hauptstr. 27	1842
Lieb, Josefa	N	Rossau, Porzellangasse 63	1840
Lutz, Katharina	N	Alservorstadt, Währingergasse 276	1836
Malzer, Elise [Elisabeth]	N	Josefstadt, Kaisergasse 33	1832
Markhart, Therese	N	Landstrasse, Hauptstraße 287	
Marquart, Anna	N	Altlerchenfeld, Hauptstraße 203	1842
Mellina, Aloisia v.	N	Stadt, Wollzeil 857	1834
Mitterberger, Anna	N, FL, Italian Language	Stadt, Kohlmessergasse 477	1816
Obermayer, Magdalena	N	Neubau, Stuckgasse 228	
Pokorny, Antonia	N	Währing 89	
Pombard, Melanie	N	Stadt, Kölnerhofgasse 738	1842
Pöschner, Maria, nee Träg [Paschner]	N, FL	Leopoldstadt, Weintraubeng. 509	1838
Probst, Josefa	N	Wieden, Waggasse 489	
Pudiwiter, Caroline	N	Stadt, Stock im Eisen 623	1829
Ratky, Mathilde, Edle v. Salamonsa	N, FL	Neubau, Hauptstraße 198	1844
Rechenberger, Magdalena	N	Stadt, am Graben 1122	1841
Rechtstein, Beatrix	N	Gumpendorf, Geringergasse 533	1842
Redl, Theresia	N	Leopoldstadt, Taborstraße 309	1842
Reinhold, Anna	N	Rossau, Servitengasse 157	1837
Schäffer, Leopoldine	N	k.A.	
Schimek, Anna	N	Wieden, Obere Schleifmühlg. 474	
Schmidt, Helena	N	Paniglgasse 48	1841
Schrey, Johanna	N	Rossau, Servitengasse 166	1840
Schulz, Anna	N	Stadt, Bischofgasse 626	1840
Seeber, Theresia	N	Stadt, Kärthnerstrasse 978	1840
Skriban, Josefa	N	Mödling	
Soutscheck, Barbara	N	Alservorstadt, Herrngasse 46	1841
Starke, Henriette	N, FL	Ober-Döbling 133	
Stehr, Katharina	N	Hungelbrunn, Wieden Hauptstr. 7	
Stehr, Rosa [Stöhr]	N	Neulerchenfeld, Haus 62	1843
Steinsdorfer, Anna	N	Josefstadt	
Süßberg, Franziska	N	Wieden 321	
Thurmer, Nannette	N	Stadt, Krebsgasse 448	1833
Todt, Maria Anna	N	Gumpendorf, Hauptstraße 53	
Ulrich, Katharina	N	Wieden, Lumpertgasse 829	
Vilene, Lambertine	N	Wieden, Hauptstraße 13	
Waniek, Josefa	N, FL	Stadt, Krugerstrasse 1008	1844
Wappensteiner, Katharina	N	Stadt, Salzgries 214	1844
Weber, Elisabeth	N	Rossau, grüne Thorgasse 79	1842
Weber, Maria	N	Stadt, Brandstätte 630	1842
Weiss, Anna	N	Rossau, Dreimohrengasse 110	1840
Wittenberger, Anna	N	Stadt, Kohlmessergasse 477	1823
Ziegler, Regina, Edle v. Sternfeld	N	Neulerchenfeld	

7 List of private industrial schools in Vienna in 1844.

Ten of the seventy-eight school owners offered additional language instruction in French. One working school, located in Vienna's centre, offered French and Italian classes. The pupils of

such local industrial schools were mainly daughters of craftsmen, business owners and civil servants. Usually a few pupils came from a poor background. Working schools that offered instruction in a foreign language in addition to needlework were likely to appeal to parents who could not afford a governess or the fee of a girls' educational institute, but who nevertheless thought it necessary for their daughters to learn French. French, the language of the aristocracy, signified education and culture, and language proficiency possibly increased the chance of a good marriage match. In addition to working schools, needlework was also taught in so-called sewing schools [*Nähschulen*], which in school reports were often summarised under the title working schools [*Arbeitsschulen*]. In sewing schools, girls specifically received skills in the production of items of clothing. In 1844 eight women held a licence to run such a school.

Name	Description	Address	Founding Year [if provided]
Czerny, Hiacinthe	Sewing School	Josephstadt, Florianigasse 1	
Herrmann, Veronika	Sewing School	Rossau, Seegasse 43	
Herzl, Aloisia, married Lamm	Sewing School	Alservorstadt, Hauptstraße 124	1840
Jungmann, Elisabeth	Sewing School	Rossau, Holzgasse 21	
Palmerstorfer, Anna	Sewing School	Neulerchenfeld 67	
Schrey, Johanna	Sewing School	Rossau, Servitengasse 166	
Süssberg, Franziska	Sewing School	Wieden, Schlüsselgasse 351	
Waniek, Josepha	Sewing School	Stadt, Krugerstraße 1008	1844

⁸ List of private sewing schools in Vienna in 1844.

Suitable Working School Owners and Competition

Needlework instruction was a vital source of income in the light of the extremely limited employment opportunities for women. A classified advertisement in the newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* illustrates how common it had become at the time to pay for private needlework instruction in the home of a local seamstress.

“A woman who has knowledge in sewing and knitting, also in the art of cooking, offers her services to a lady or a master, and also to those parents who do not intend to send their girls out of the house in a sewing and knitting school, because she herself is able to provide education in this regard. You can learn more in the Kohlmessergasse No. 479, fifth floor, door No. 2.”⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁸ Original: "Anerbiethen. Eine des Nähens und Strickens, so wie auch der Kochkunst kundige Frau, biethet hiermit einer Dame oder einem Herrn ihre Dienste an, eben so denjenigen Aeltern, die ihre Mädchen nicht aus dem Hause in die Näh- und Strickschule zu schicken gesonnen sind, denn selbe ist im Stande in dieser Beziehung Unterricht zu ertheilen. Näheres ist in der Kohlmessergasse Nr. 479 im fünften Stock Thür Nr. 2 zu erfragen." Anon., "Anerbiethen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 27.03.1832, 319.

In handling an application for the opening of a private girls' school four aspects were usually considered: the suitability of the applicant concerning the age and level of education, the moral conduct on the basis of a report by the local police authority and the parish priest, the personal circumstances including marriage status, and the question of personal necessity. Maria Anna Hollerer's application for permission to open a working school in 1828, for example, was denied since she was still in a marriageable position at twenty-five years of age.⁵¹⁹ A common feature in the applications submitted by women requesting a school licence was an emphasis on their precarious personal circumstances. Authorities in turn expected to find this line of argument in applications. Illustrative is the case of Clara Pichler, who applied for permission to open a working school in the suburb Währing north-west of Vienna and quickly received a school licence. Her marriage status as a single woman was secondary to the fact that she was the orphan of Joseph Pichler, the former school teacher of Währing. In her application from the 31st of October 1832 Clara Pichler signed her name with the designation "*Schullehrers-Waise*" [school-teacher's orphan].⁵²⁰ The dean of the Klosterneuburg district, Michael Teschmayer, explained in his opinion report that he had no objections to the establishment of the school. On the contrary, Währing needed a female working school since parents sent their daughters to the neighbouring "Lichtenthal and Himmelfortgrund to receive education in needlework [...], in consequence the orderly [elementary] school attendance is quite often sporadic and some time was wasted uselessly by the walk back and forth."⁵²¹ Teschmayer underlined the moral benefit of a new school and expressed his belief that approximately fifty of the 150 school-aged girls in Währing would attend Clara Pichler's school. As an additional reason in favour of the applicant the parish priest emphasised her willingness to take on girls from poor families.

Precarious life circumstances were often connected to the necessity to meet caring responsibilities. Theresia Lambacher, aged thirty-eight and single, applied for a working school licence in spring 1841. She soon received notification that her application would not be considered without presenting the successful completion of the needlework exam certificate by the Ursuline nuns. Lambacher formally repeated her request and applied for permission to be admitted to the needlework exam. In her resubmission she added the sentence, "with the

⁵¹⁹ ÖStA, StHK AVA, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Anna Maria Hollerer.

⁵²⁰ DAW, Schulamtsakten 192/28/2j, Clara Pichler.

⁵²¹ Original: "[...] Lichtenthal oder Himmelfortgrund zur Erlernung weiblicher Arbeiten zu schicken pflegte, wodurch nicht selten dem ordentlichen Schulbesuche Abbruch geschah, und manche Zeit durch den Hin- und Herweg unnützerweise versplittert [sic] wurde." DAW, 192/28/2j.

working school [I] intend to take my old mother into my care.”⁵²² In his assessment of the case the parish priest of Neulerchenfeld, Josef Adler, emphasised that the situation of the family Lambacher was precarious indeed: “In earlier times the family could be called affluent but because of long-lasting illnesses and the death of the male family members the family descended.”⁵²³ Theresia Lambacher shared a household with her mother and unmarried sister. Aged thirty-eight at the time of application she had previously made a living as a seamstress. Although her motivation to open a working school was not mentioned, Theresia possibly hoped for a more stable income as a private school owner. In Neulerchenfeld four women held a school licence to instruct girls in needlework. Regine Ziegler ran an industrial school and Anna Palmersdorfer owned a sewing school. The wife of the local school teacher did not make use of her licence any more. Another school owner, Rosa Stör, was in the process of planning her wedding and the priest speculated that she might close her school soon. Josef Adler added that the Theresia Lambacher already instructed girls in needlework unofficially, which had been revealed by the testimony of several house owners who were questioned about Lambacher’s conduct. Interestingly the priest did not object to these activities. On the contrary, he decided that her teaching practice spoke in her favour. Josef Adler added that another industrial school was only beneficial since these schools were necessary as a good example for the “common people” [*gemeine Volksklasse*].

“The lack of female working schools ten years ago and therefore the lack of chance to receive education in needlework [...] is the main reason, why so many women and girls are so ignorant in the vital necessary female tasks; this is for the undersigned one of the many reasons for the prevailing poverty and immorality.”⁵²⁴

Underlying needlework instruction, the discourse of education serving as an important moral tool and universal remedy resurfaced. In the priest’s opinion it was particularly important that several industrial school owners competed with each other “because the jealousy of one another brings every statutory default to light immediately.”⁵²⁵ The Lower Austrian government

⁵²² Original: “[...] mit der Arbeitsschule meine alte Mutter in Versorgung übernehmen beabsichtige.” DAW, Schulamtsakten 188/33/4j, Theresia Lambacher an das Fürsterzbischöfliche Konsistorium.

⁵²³ Original: “In früherer Zeit war ihre Familie wohlhabend zu nennen, allein durch langwierige Krankheiten und durch den Tod der männlichen Mitglieder ist dieselbe herabgekommen.” DAW, Schulamtsakten 188/33/4h, Josef Adler, Pfarre Neulerchenfeld den 30. Sept. 1841.

⁵²⁴ Original: “Der vor ungefähr 10 Jahren bestandene Mangel an weiblichen Arbeitsschulen, somit an Gelegenheit Unterricht in weiblichen Arbeiten zu erlangen, dadurch das Fehlen des lockenden Beispiels [...], ist hauptsächlich Ursache, warum so viele Weiber und Mädchen in den höchst nöthigen weiblichen Arbeiten so unwissend sind; worin Gefertigter auch eine der vielen Ursachen der bestehenden Armuth und Unsittlichkeit findet.” DAW, Schulamtsakten 188/33/4h.

⁵²⁵ Original: “[...] und weil die gegenseitige Eifersucht jede Unterlassung der gesetzlichen Vorschriften sogleich ans Licht bringt.” DAW, Schulamtsakten 188/33/4h.

granted Theresia Lambacher's request to establish a school without further negotiation. The use of the term "jealousy" in the context of female school owners is not exclusive to the priest of Neulerchenfeld but can also be found in other reports. Here the gendered binary between male reason and female emotions appears, since the driving force for women was apparently not competitiveness or the urge to promote their business but jealousy.

A Matter of Negotiation

Somewhat remarkably Anna Maria Mayer received permission to open an industrial school in 1842 despite the fact that she was separated from her husband. Anna first applied for permission to establish a working school when she was twenty-two. The initial responses to the plan were surprisingly positive given that the applicant had not yet reached the necessary minimum age of twenty-four. The congregation of Klosterneuburg was pleased by the idea of an industrial school in Ottakring, where the village "every day expands in population and size, therefore the establishment of such educational institutes is welcome."⁵²⁶ The dean of the Klosterneuburg district, Hieronimus Österreicher, argued along the same lines: many businessmen [*Gewerbsmänner*] lived in Ottakring and the wife of the local teacher had no interest in offering needlework education. These schools promoted love for work [*Thätigkeitsliebe*] instead of leaving children to idleness.

⁵²⁶ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Anna Maria Mayer.



9 Close-up of the Land Register of Francis II (I). The Linienwall, the outer line of fortifications of Vienna, is marked by zigzag-line to the right. WStLA, Staatliches Finanzwesen, Franziszeischer Kataster (1817-1833).

At the time of Anna Maria Mayer's application Ottakring was a village with approximately 3,900 inhabitants, the population had doubled in the previous ten years.⁵²⁷ The local administration viewed the idea of an industrial school favourably but emphasised that only an "entirely able and moral person" should receive a school licence. This statement possibly referred to specific life circumstances of Anna Maria Mayer, which were detailed in the subsequent police report. In her application Anna had included her marriage certificate; however, she had failed to mention that she lived apart from her husband, the roofer Joseph Mayer. Two years previous to Anna Maria's application for a school licence Joseph and Anna Maria had commenced the legal separation called "*Trennung von Tisch und Bett*" [Separation of Table and Bed].⁵²⁸ After their separation Anna Maria moved to Neulerchenfeld and for two years she was "solely subsidised from the earnings of needlework."⁵²⁹ The police authority perceived her marital separation as a reason to disqualify her application while the authority emphasised Anna Maria Mayer's good reputation when she lived in Neulerchenfeld. The opinion report of the Viennese Archiepiscopal Consistory on the other hand did not argue in

⁵²⁷ Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, "Historisches Ortslexikon. Statistische Dokumentation zur Bevölkerungs- und Siedlungsgeschichte. Wien," available at https://www.oeaw.ac.at/fileadmin/subsites/Institute/VID/PDF/Publications/diverse_Publications/Historisches_Ortslexikon/Ortslexikon_Wien.pdf (retrieved 10.01.2017).

⁵²⁸ A Separation of Table and Bed [*Trennung von Tisch und Bett*] was the only available form of separation; the couple was permitted to live apart, but the marriage could not be dissolved.

⁵²⁹ Original: "[...] sich lediglich von dem Erwerbe weiblicher Handarbeiten ernährte." ÖStA, Anna Maria Mayer.

favour of the applicant. For the Consistory the fact that Anna Maria lived apart from her husband made her untrustworthy. She lacked the “necessary strength of character.”⁵³⁰ In reviewing the evidence the Lower Austrian government decided to deny Anna Maria’s application. The government officials argued that although Anna was certified and praised for her needlework skills and had previous experience as a governess, she could not be seen as an entirely moral person.

Anna Maria Mayer subsequently appealed against the decision to the Imperial Commission on Education. The needlework teacher clearly knew about the necessary bureaucratic procedures and followed step. Anna concretely expressed indignation that her application for a school licence was denied, especially since a similar request by another needlework teacher in Ottakring had been granted earlier the same year. She emphasised that a second girls’ industrial school was immensely beneficial for the local community. Moreover, on a personal note, she pointed to her precarious situation without any male provision because she was responsible for herself and took care of her “crippled mother” [*krippelhafte Mutter*]. In the hope to receive permission to establish her school Anna had already “rented a place as a classroom [*Unterrichtslokal*] and acquired several pieces of furniture.”⁵³¹ The Imperial Commission on Education requested the case to be re-investigated, which gave rise to mixed responses. The Lower Austrian government and the Archiepiscopal Consistory initially agitated against Anna Maria’s appeal. However, the congregation of Klosterneuburg once again spoke in favour of her, since some kind of provision for livelihood was necessary. The police authorities conducted an in-depth investigation of Anna Maria Mayer’s conduct and specifically the question if she had given reason for the separation from her husband. Joseph Mayer was, according to a police report, an “immoral, excessive, devoted to drinking man”⁵³² who had acted abusively against his wife. His behaviour had ultimately led to their separation after two years of marriage. Importantly, the police authority emphasised that Anna Maria played no active role in the separation. On the contrary, her husband had demanded the separation. In other words, the police authority assured the other authorities involved that Anna Maria had not undermined gender norms but remained passive. This interpretation is valid since the Archiepiscopal Consistory surprisingly changed its position, now urging the Lower Austrian government to permit the establishment of the school. After a process that lasted more than two

⁵³⁰ ÖStA, Anna Maria Mayer.

⁵³¹ Original: “[...] bereits das nöthige Lokale gemiethet und mehrer Einrichtungsstücke sich beygeschafft habe.”
ÖStA, Anna Maria Mayer.

⁵³² ÖStA, Anna Maria Mayer.

years, Anna Maria finally received official permission to open her industrial school in May 1845. By then she was twenty-five years old. Interestingly the young age of the applicant played only a marginal role in the negotiations, due to the focus of attention on the question of Anna Maria's moral conduct and role in the marriage.⁵³³

For the authorities the marriage status was an important factor to determine the morality of a person. Anna Maria Mayer only received her school licence because she showed no signs of autonomy in the separation process from her husband, who was deemed entirely responsible for the failure of their marriage. Since it was not possible to remarry after a separation of bed and table, the question of provision and care for her elderly mother weighed heavily and Anna had not engaged in a relationship with another man, at least not to the knowledge of the authorities. The case of Josephine Lampi, on the other hand, illustrates how the adherence to gender norms influenced the decision-making process of the authorities. Josephine Lampi was denied permission to open an industrial school on two occasions. The Imperial Commission on Education explained these decisions based on Lampi's lifestyle.

"According to the available police reports the applicant has a negative reputation concerning her moral behaviour, since she is living separated from her husband, and was for a long time in a de-facto relationship [Konkubinat]. Also, her daughter is separated from her husband and leads an immoral lifestyle. The appellant is therefore of grave danger for the female youth and [her application] can be even less complied with since she is living with her mother and is provided for by her income."⁵³⁴

Josephine Lampi did not argue with economic hardship. She apparently received financial support from her mother and was seemingly unwilling to remain in the role of passive wife. Her "immorality" to have a relationship with a man other than her husband was portrayed as somewhat contagious, which the authorities illustrated with the example of her daughter's "immoral lifestyle".

⁵³³ Anna Maria Mayer ran her school for many years to come. In a school report from 1855/56 she was registered with having fifty-one pupils. DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/1/1, Uebersichts-Tabelle aller weiblichen Arbeitsschulen auf dem flachen Lande in der Wiener Erz-Diözese. 1855 und 1856. As in other cases of working school owners nothing can be said about how Anna Mayer practised her instruction, how her work was perceived in the local community or how girls who received knowledge in needlework experienced the lessons.

⁵³⁴ Original: "Nach den vorliegenden Polizey-Auskünften steht Bittstellerin rücksichtlich ihres sittlichen Verhaltens in üblen Rufe, indem sie von ihrem Ehegatten getrennt ist, u. lange in Concubinate lebte. Auch ihre Tochter ist von ihrem Ehemanne getrennt u. führt einen liederlichen Lebenswandel. Hiernach wäre der Recurrentin wegen der großen Gefahr für die weibliche Jugend um so weniger willfahren, als sie bey ihrer Mutter lebt, u. mit ihrem Unterhalte hinlänglich versorgt ist." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Josephine Lampi.

While a failed marriage quickly put women under general suspicion, a respectable marriage union was powerful leverage in these negotiations, which is illustrated by the case of Pauline Barabo who received a school licence although she had previously committed a crime. Barabo was the wife of a master tin-smith in Rossau and applied for permission to open a working school in 1867. The priest of Rossau attested to her good morals, religiosity, and more importantly a peaceful, inseparable marriage with her husband, who was described as a very respectable businessman. Similarly, the local governor's report emphasised the peaceful and happy marriage of the couple. Eight years prior to her application, Pauline Barabo had been convicted for embezzlement. The Archiepiscopal Consistory argued that nobody in Rossau knew about the case and it would cause "the unhappiest family relations"⁵³⁵ if her past became common knowledge. The school establishment was permitted although the applicant had been convicted of a crime in the past; the reputation of her husband outweighed possible doubts about his wife's suitability to instruct children.

Varying School Fees

In Stockerau two working schools existed in 1828. In the same year Rosina Festel applied for permission to open a working school but was initially rejected. The Archiepiscopal Consistory argued that another school exceeded the capacity of the town north of Vienna which counted 3,625 inhabitants in 1829.⁵³⁶



10 Close-up of the Land Register of Francis II (I). WStLA, Staatliches Finanzwesen, Franziszeischer Kataster (1817-1833).

⁵³⁵ Original: "[...] es würde das unglücklichste Familienverhältnis hervorrufen [...]." DAW, Schulamtsakten 268/4/31a, Pauline Barabo.

⁵³⁶ Anon., *Historische und topographische Darstellung von Korneuburg und Stockerau und ihren Umgebungen [...]. Erster Band* (Wien: Anton Doll, 1829).

An industrial school for girls was planned as part of the new public secondary school in Stockerau. When Rosina Festel resubmitted her application in February 1829 her request was granted on condition that she was only permitted to open her school if one of the other two schools was not running to full capacity.⁵³⁷

Pupils' register for the year 1856 show the further development of industrial education in Stockerau. By the mid-1850s thirty-nine girls attended the industrial school that was attached to the secondary school. The private industrial school owner Eleonora Ramp counted twenty-nine girls.⁵³⁸ Eleonora offered extensive opening hours in the morning from eight to eleven o'clock and from one to quarter to six in the afternoon. Katherina Meierweck, the four-year-old daughter of a milliner [*Modistin*], was the youngest pupil. The 1856 pupils' register also provides insights into the amount of school fees. In Stockerau both industrial schools charged a monthly school fee of thirty-six kreuzer; some parents paid more for their daughters while others only paid a symbolic kreuzer.⁵³⁹ Similar to other towns and cities daughters of craftsmen, business owners and civil servants attended needlework instruction in knitting, sewing, monogramming, stitching and crocheting. In the pupils' register of the industrial school attached to the secondary school in Stockerau, the entry of twelve-year-old Josefa Hohenegger stands out. Her father, the district commissioner, paid a quarter more for her school attendance than other parents.⁵⁴⁰ Eleonora Ramp similarly received four kreuzer higher payments than the set amount, which was paid by the baker master Gamböck, the chimney sweeper Kandler and the railway guard Retz.⁵⁴¹ Whether Eleonora charged parents with better income more or if the parents paid more to demarcate their social standing in the community is unclear. The monthly fee for industrial school attendance in Stockerau was higher than the average fees charged in Vienna, where most working school owners charged approximately thirty kreuzer per month. Since 1853 Karoline Jungmittag ran a working school in Bruck an der Leitha, which was attended by fifty-four pupils in 1855. Twenty-one pupils paid forty-eight kreuzer per month,

⁵³⁷ No other sources are preserved on Rosina Festel's activities. ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Stockerau, Rosina Festel.

⁵³⁸ Eleonora Ramp appears with her school also in the teacher's schematism of 1863 under "private schools for needlework" in Stockerau, together with two school owners, Elisabeth Auffenberg and Anna Hratschek. Franz Huber, *Lehrer-Schema oder übersichtliche Zusammenstellung der in der Wiener Erziehung befindlichen öffentlichen und Privat-Lehranstalten* (Wien, 1863), 182.

⁵³⁹ Currency Units as orientation for this section: 1800-1858 Gulden Wiener Währung (1 gulden [fl] = 60 kreuzer); 1858-1900 Gulden österreichische Währung (1fl = 100 kreuzer).

⁵⁴⁰ DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/5/4c, Verzeichnis der Schülerinnen an der Industrie-Schule zu Stockerau 1856.

⁵⁴¹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/5/4d, Verzeichnis der Mädchen, welche [...] die weibliche Arbeitsschule der Eleonora Ramp besuchen 1856.

and the other thirty-three girls were educated for half the fee.⁵⁴² Similarly Antonia Tomek in Mödling charged one gulden, and a lower fee of forty-eight kreuzer.⁵⁴³

The number of industrial schools remained high throughout the 1840s and 1850s. By 1861 the Viennese Archdiocese counted 123 working schools. Interestingly Jewish girls were not only attending the two existing Jewish working schools in Vienna but occasionally also Catholic industrial schools. However, Protestant girls only seldom appear in pupils' registers. The Catholic clergy saw Protestant industrial schools as a threat.⁵⁴⁴

List of female working schools in the Viennese Archdiocese for the elapsed school year 1861									
No	School District	Parish	Principal	Female pupils				Comparison to previous Year	
				Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	together	more	less
1	1st district Vienna	St. Stefan	Frau Louise Simona	15	.	5	20	.	
2		TT Schotten	Hultier Adele	6	.	.	6	2	
3		ibid.	Benner Theresia	22	1	2	25	.	
4		St. Augustin	Gruber Susanna	16	.	.	16	.	
5		St. Dominik	Pisling Regina, Jewish	.	.	19	19	.	.
6	2nd district	St. Johann	Breiner Katharina	7	.	5	12	.	.
7		ibid.	Kohl Agnes Elise	15	.	40	55	.	.
8		ibid.	Wahsek Marie	21	.	2	23	6	.
9		ibid.	Plischke Marie	16	.	.	16	.	13
10		St. Leopold	Mayer Mathilde	3	.	9	12	1	.
11	ibid.	Women's Association No 92		133	.	1	134	42	.

⁵⁴² The group of high-fee payers included a merchant, a public house owner [Gastwirth], a property owner [Hausbesitzer], a master carpenter and a brewing-assistant. For several siblings a divided fee was paid, forty-eight kreuzer for the older daughter and twenty-four for the younger. This was, for example, the case for the stepdaughters of the local physician, the daughters of the sieve-maker Leopold Spiller and for Katharina and Maria Hasack, daughters of the owner of a yarn factory. The Hasack siblings did not attend the local elementary school but received private education. The same applied to the daughters of the bookkeeper Samuel Bourges, who paid forty-eight kreuzer for each of his daughters. DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/5/7d, Verzeichnis der Mädchen, welche die [...] weibliche Arbeitsschule der Karoline Jungmittag besuchen.

⁵⁴³ Forty-three girls attended her school in Mödling, nineteen girls paid one gulden per month, twenty-three paid forty-eight kreuzer and four girls received instruction free of charge. DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/5/7f, Verzeichnis der Mädchen, welche die [...] weibliche Arbeitsschule der Antonia Tomek, geb. Eckher besuchen.

⁵⁴⁴ This is illustrated by the case of Theresia Brugger who applied for permission to establish a working school in October 1867. In her application she explained that she had been asked by the parish and townspeople to apply for permission to establish a school. "There is no working school for Catholics and she is even more convinced that she has to establish one as from the side of Protestants all kinds of efforts are made to get Catholic girls for the education in needlework." Original: "Besteht noch keine Arbeitsschule für Katholiken, und glaubt sie um so mehr eine solche errichten zu sollen, da protestantischer Seits (sic) alle möglichen Anstrengungen gemacht werden, um katholische Mädchen zum Unterrichte in weiblichen Handarbeiten zu bekommen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 168/4/19a, Theresia Brugger.

12		ibid.	Women's Association No723	119	.	.	119	.	5
13		ibid.	Roemer Antonie	34	.	.	34	7	.
14	3rd district	St. Rochus & Sebastian	Kuhn Anna	6	.	.	6	.	4
15		ibid.	Wiegand Florentine	47	.	.	47	21	.
16		ibid.	Titz Marie	21	.	.	21	10	.
17		ibid.	Kreuleder Anna	24	.	1	25	.	.
18		M. Geb. am Rennweg	Bratke Elise	29	.	5	34	.	14
19		ibid.	Schulschwestern No 129	172	.	.	172	.	.
20		Erdberg	Berger Katharina	10	.	.	10	1	.
21	4th district	Matzleinsdorf	Knirsch Antonie	28	.	.	28	.	.
22		ibid.	Women's Association No 412	125	.	.	125	9	2
23		St. Carl	Lotischnigg Marie	15	.	.	15	1	.
24		ibid.	Rückhart Anna	11	.	.	11	6	.
25		Wieden	Huber Adele	19	.	.	19	.	.
26		ibid.	Bauer Marie	4	.	.	4	.	7
27		ibid.	Sühsberg Franziska	10	.	.	10	4	.
28		ibid.	Women's Association No 962	93	.	.	93	.	.
29		Margarethen	Schindler Barbara	51	.	3	54	.	3
30		ibid.	Dantinger Anna	20	.	.	20	.	.
31		ibid.	Women's Association No 129	46	.	.	46	.	.
32		ibid.	Women's Association	93	.	7	100	.	.
33		ibid.	Women's Association No 4	178	.	.	178	2	.
34	5th district	Mariahilf	Women's Association No 18	63	.	.	63	.	2
35		ibid.	Hirschvogel Franziska	7	.	.	7	.	2
36		Gumpendorf	Steinschneider Ida	47	.	.	47	22	.
37		ibid.	Baumgartner Therese	16	.	.	16	.	.
38		ibid.	Kunitzer Franziska	27	.	.	27	.	1
39		Laimgrube	Falkner Anna	5	.	.	5	1	.
40		ibid.	Kastner Christine	7	.	.	7	3	.
41	ibid.	Women's Association No 14 and 15	72	.	.	72	.	.	
42	6th district	Schottenfeld	Women's Association No 376	97	.	.	97	1	.
43		ibid.	Schmuck Anna	44	.	.	44	14	.
44		ibid.	Irg Elisabeth (also Jerg Elise)	24	.	.	24	.	16
45		Spittelberg	Women's Association No 25	102	.	.	102	.	.
46		St. Ulrich	Women's Association No 110	108	.	.	108	.	1
47	7th district	Altlerchenfeld	Women's Association No 122	55	.	.	55	.	9
48		ibid.	Hirsch Aloisia	25	.	.	25	.	.
49		ibid.	Hauser Marie	13	.	.	13	.	.
50		Rossau	Women's Association No 81	85	.	.	85	.	23
51		ibid.	Pauer Elisabeth	5	.	.	5	.	.
52		ibid.	Jungmann Elisabeth	11	.	.	11	.	2
53		Josefstadt	Women's Association No 111	81	.	.	81	.	.
54		ibid.	ibid. No 180	120	.	.	120	20	.

55	8th district	Alservorstadt	Becher Antonia	5	.	.	5	.	2	
56		ibid.	Women's Association No 46	110	.	.	110	28	.	
57		Lichtenthal	ibid. No 203	134	.	.	134	.	1	
58		ibid.	ibid. No 59	100	.	.	100	.	7	
59		ibid.	Ziegler Anna	14	.	.	14	.	4	
60		ibid.	Fischer Leopoldine	5	.	.	5	.	2	
61	9th district	Reindorf	Kaltner Rosalia	114	.	.	114	11	.	
62		ibid.	Women's Association No 58	134	.	.	134	7	.	
63		ibid.	ibid. No 58	134	.	.	134	4	.	
64		ibid.	ibid. No 58	60	.	.	60	.	2	
65		ibid.	Berhauser Johanna	10	.	2	12	.	.	
66		ibid.	Humayer Anna	9	.	.	9	.	.	
67		Ottakring	Mayer Anna	56	1	1	58	9	.	
68		ibid.	Women's Association No 33	93	.	.	93	3	.	
69		ibid.	Vock Pauline	49	.	.	49	25	.	
70		Neulerchenfeld	Women's Association No 27	120	.	.	120	17	.	
71		ibid.	Tür Anna	5	.	.	5	5	.	
72		Meidling	Women's Association No 173	112	.	1	113	9	.	
73		ibid.	Kolbensteiner Katharina	25	.	1	26	.	.	
74		Meidling	Pogatschnigg Anna	31	.	.	31	.	2	
75		ibid.	Neindlinger Johanna	23	.	.	23	.	1	
76	Hernals	Gamper Helene	90	.	.	90	.	.		
77	ibid.	Nowatschek Antonie	25	.	1	26	5	.		
78	ibid.	Köstler Maria	27	.	1	28	.	8		
79	ibid.	Colin Clementine	30	.	.	30	.	.		
80	ibid.	Women's Association No 20	156	.	4	160	38	.		
81	Reindorf	Fuld Caroline, Jewish	.	.	10	10	.	.		
Within Vienna City Borders 1861			81 Schools		4094	2	120	4216	334	133
82	Baden	Baden	Riepl Anna	10	.	.	10	.	.	
83		ibid.	Walter Caroline	24	.	1	25	4	.	
84		ibid.	Forschabek Barbara	30	.	.	30	.	8	
85		ibid.	Rupprecht Madlaine	23	.	.	23	.	.	
86		ibid.	Krones Josefine	15	.	5	20	15	.	
87	Fischamend	Fischamend	Zeidl Ringenzia	32	.	.	32	1	.	
88		Schwechat	Kremser Theresia	56	.	.	56	2	.	
89		ibid.	Simon Magdalena	68	.	.	68	13	.	
90		Ebersdorf Donau	a. ibid. Pauling Maria	57	.	.	57	.	.	
91	HB	Hainburg	Schwester ibid. gött. Liebe	62	.	.	62	2	.	
92	Hütteldorf	Hietzing	Bacher Julie	17	.	1	18	3	.	
93		ibid.	Women's Association	46	.	.	46	9	.	
94		Penzing	Kratky Auguste	45	.	.	45	.	3	
95		ibid.	Women's Association	85	.	.	85	2	.	
96		Ober St. Veit	Schiel Philippine	no pupils						
97	Klo	Döbling	Engelmann Franziska	57	.	2	59	.	.	

98		Klosterneuburg	Mayer Marie	46	.	.	46	14	4
99		ibid.	Schauberger Leopoldine	22	.	.	22	17	.
100		ibid.	Goldmann Caroline	55	.	1	56	2	.
101		Währing	Pockorny Antonie	58	.	.	58	.	1
102		ibid.	Lippert Anna	20	.	2	22	6	.
103		Weinhaus	Buchinger Franziska	39	.	1	40	.	21
104	Laa u. W.W.	Brunn a. Geb.	Müller Anna	25	.	.	25	.	.
105		Himberg	Platz Leopoldine	28	.	.	28	9	.
106		ibid.	Singer Anna	17	.	.	17	.	.
107		Inzersdorf	Wurst Elisabeth	39	.	.	39	1	.
108		Mödling	Tomek Antonie	24	.	.	24	.	3
109		Simmering	Ullreich Theresia	57	.	2	59	12	.
110		ibid.	Artmann	22	3	3	28	.	2
111	Laa	Laa	Willax Therese	31	.	1	32	2	.
112	WN	Neustadt	Baron Rosalia	70	.	.	70	16	.
113	Pillichsibid.	Wolkersdorf	Bauer Anna	68	.	2	70	.	.
114		ibid.	Sosnowitz Antonie	18	.	.	18	.	.
115		Floridsdorf	Haball Antonie	35	2	5	42	.	.
116		ibid.	Gollner Rosa	41	.	.	41	.	.
117	PS	Guttenstein	Scherker Rosa	46	.	.	46	.	.
118	Retz	Retz	Stoll Marie	49	.	.	49	.	.
119	Stockerau	Korneuburg	As part of the secondary school	75	.	4	79	11	.
120		Stockerau	Ramp Eleonora	23	.	.	23	.	9
121		ibid.	Auffenberg Elise	36	.	.	36	16	.
122		ibid.	Ratschek Anna	22	.	.	22	6	.
123	WG	Pottendorf	Factory school	28	.	.	28	.	2
Archdiocese outside Vienna			42 Schools	1621	5	30	1656	163	53
Total			123 Schools	5715	7	150	5872		

11 DAW, Schulamtsakten 274/11/2, Ausweise über die im Schuljahre 1861 bestehenden weiblichen Arbeitsschulen.

Two women's associations founded after 1848 had the major share of pupils attending needlework instruction during the 1850s and 1860s.⁵⁴⁵ This table illustrates that industrial schools were not only established in Vienna but also in smaller cities and towns which had expanded significantly in the previous decades. In the 1860s the number of school establishments exceeded the demand. This is illustrated by the dazzling amount of applications in this period. The Archiepiscopal Consistory processed at least 228 cases concerning working schools during the 1860s. Half of the cases concerned notifications of school licence withdrawals. Many of these schools had only opened during the 1850s and early 1860s. The other half were applications for the establishment of new industrial schools.⁵⁴⁶

⁵⁴⁵ In the list associations were not differentiated but subsumed under the term women's association [Frauenverein]. Detailed information on these associations' activities is provided later in this chapter.

⁵⁴⁶ DAW Schulamtsakten 272 and 273

4.2. Apprenticeship Disguised as Work Education

Many women combined their work as seamstresses with teaching activities. Changes in the legal framework for private industrial school licences show interesting entanglements of seamstresses and needlework education from the early nineteenth century. Up until around 1800 assembling girls for instruction in needlework was not regulated. Following the implementation of the School Administration Act in 1806 this practice changed, with a decree that stipulated a formal application for a school licence. Exempted from this regulation were “factory owners, female traders of ladies’ accessories [*Putzhändlerinnen*], seamstresses and the like, who need girls for their businesses; those do not need the special permission.”⁵⁴⁷ This last section only applied if the girls employed were above the age of twelve and had completed the six years of compulsory education. For seamstresses the establishment of an industrial school had the advantage that girls attended needlework instruction in addition to primary school and were in fact cheap labour, since their parents paid for private needlework instruction. Seamstresses increasingly took advantage of this regulation. The example of Katharina Rudesch illustrates the blurry boundaries between a needlework business and a working school. From 1815 to 1827 Rudesch advertised her school in the *Wiener Zeitung* and undersigned her advertisements with the addition of “Imperial Royal Civil Servant’s Wife [*k.k. Beamtenfrau*]. Her first advertisements in 1815 announced she was taking more “*Lehrmädchen*” [apprentices] of all ages for instruction in fine needlework, “a business which she is dedicating herself to for several years with the best success, and now received the formal permission from the high provincial government.”⁵⁴⁸

During the following two years Katharina Rudesch did not advertise her industrial school. The reason was possibly due to criticism for withholding school-aged girls from compulsory education, a complaint which was often voiced against working school owners. When in 1818 advertisements for her school appeared again in the classifieds section, the seamstress advertised her industrial school in eight issues of the *Wiener Zeitung*, published from September to December, but with two changes. She solely sought adult girls for board and lodging, and she no longer used the term “apprentices”.

⁵⁴⁷ Politische Gesetze und Verordnungen 1792-1848, *Befugniß zur Haltung der Schulen für den Unterricht in weiblichen Handarbeiten* (Wien: K.K. Hof- und Staats-Aerarial-Druckerey, 1806).

⁵⁴⁸ Original: “[...] welchem Geschäfte sie sich bereits seit mehreren Jahren mit dem besten Erfolge gewidmet, und nunmehr von einer hohen Landesstelle die förmliche Befugniß erhalten hat.” Katharina Rudesch, “Unterricht in allen feinen weiblichen Handarbeiten,” *Wiener Zeitung*, 26.11.1815, 5.

“The undersigned is searching for several adult girls for her authorised industrial school for board and lodging, who receive for a cheap fee besides different needlework skills especially the thorough instruction to make all kinds of items of female clothing.”⁵⁴⁹

However, the use of the term apprentices, which appears again in her advertisements during the 1820s, suggests that Katharina Rudesch in fact ran a tailor’s workshop. Seamstresses were excluded from the guilds and were not permitted to establish workshops or assume the roles of masters with assistants [*Gesellinnen*] and apprentices. The appropriation of these forbidden structures through the loophole of industrial education led to protests by the tailor’s guild. A decree from the 13th of November 1813 detailed emphatically what the permission to teach needlework with an industrial school licence entailed.

“Since the production of items of female clothing is part of needlework, it is the liberty of those who gained permission to teach needlework to also instruct their pupils in the making of items of female clothing.”⁵⁵⁰

With the next sentence the legislators came straight to the point: industrial schools should not be turned into tailor’s workshops, as this practise compromised the guilds.

“However, as long as the system of the guilds still exists in respect to the tailors of women’s clothing [*Frauenschneider*], it is by no means permitted to turn such industrial schools into formal tailor’s workshops in interference with the guilds, and it cannot be permitted to owners of such industrial schools, to sell the produced items of clothing.”⁵⁵¹

In the decree’s last paragraph, the conditions for the production of women’s clothes in industrial schools were specified. Pupils were permitted to take fabric with them to school in order to learn how to make items of clothing. However, the law prohibited pupils leaving their completed work pieces to the teacher. The Lower Austrian government emphasised that the

⁵⁴⁹ Original: "Es werden von Unterfertiger in ihre befugte Industrie-Schule mehrere erwachsene Mädchen in Kost und Wohnung gesucht, welche gegen billige Bezahlung, nebst verschiedenen Handarbeiten, vorzüglich die gründliche Verfertigung aller weiblichen Kleidungsstücke erlernen können." Katharina Rudesch, "Mädchen werden in Kost und Wohnung gesucht," *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.02.1819, 370.

⁵⁵⁰ Original: "Da die Verfertigung weiblicher Kleidungsstücke zu den weiblichen Handarbeiten gehörte, so steht es auch denjenigen, welche von der Regierung Befugnisse zum Unterrichte in den weiblichen Handarbeiten überhaupt erhalten haben, frei, ihre Zöglinge auch in der Verfertigung weiblicher Kleidungsstücke zu unterrichten." Befugnisse zum Unterrichte in den weiblichen Arbeiten überhaupt, enthalten auch das Recht, ihre Zöglinge in Verfertigung weiblicher Kleidungsstücke zu unterrichten, Niederösterreichische Regierungs-Verordnung vom 13. Oktober 1813, 1813; Regierungs-Verordnung vom 13. Oktober 1813.

⁵⁵¹ Original: "Jedoch dürfen, in so lang noch in Beziehung auf die Frauenschneider das Innungssystem fortbestehet, derlei Industrialschulen keineswegs in förmliche Schneiderwerkstätte, zur Beeinträchtigung der Innung, umgestaltet werden, und man kann den Inhaberinnen solcher Industrialschulen nicht gestatten, die von ihren Zöglingen daselbst verfertigten Kleidungsstücke zu verkaufen." Regierungs-Verordnung vom 13. Oktober 1813.

sale of items of female clothing was only permitted to women when they sold what they had produced themselves “without any kind of assistant [Gehülfen].”⁵⁵²

A Confusion Causing Exception

Magdalena Handlos, a white fabrics’ seamstress [*Weißnäherin*⁵⁵³], applied for permission to establish a working school in 1821. After the initial rejection she appealed the decision in spring 1822 and argued that as part of her business she already instructed girls in needlework. She openly voiced her intentions to use the industrial school regulation for her business and was subsequently rejected a second time. However, Governor Augustin Reichmann offered some leeway for the seamstress. He argued that Handlos was permitted to instruct a few girls in needlework on condition that she neither called this needlework instruction a school, nor advertised her activities with a sign outside the house or in a newspaper.⁵⁵⁴ The police authorities objected to this decision and urged the government to be more liberal with granting permission for new school establishments since two problems occurred if such informal arrangements became standard practice.

- “1. That it makes police monitoring impossible and at the same time it creates opportunities for dissolute women [liederliche Weibspersonen]
2. That the current permission holders will hand back their authorisation to avoid income tax and continue educating in secret without supervision.”⁵⁵⁵

Soon after Augustin Reichmann had decided the case of Magdalena Handlos, another case intensified the discussions about industrial school licences. Baroness Theresia von Ehrmanns and her daughters educated a few girls in needlework in their apartment at Laimgrube, Mariahilf. The apartment was situated in the same building of a primary school and several local male teachers had informed the local police about the women’s teaching activities. The subject of the teacher’s complaint was that the teaching activities of these women potentially

⁵⁵² The Lower Austrian government made reference to a decree the Court Chancellery had issued a month earlier on the 16th of September 1813.

⁵⁵³ “Weißnähen” was the term for sewing and mending of underwear, shirts and blouses.

⁵⁵⁴ Richard Wagner described the lee-way in his history of textile workers as being created in 1851, while it was already in place thirty years earlier for Magdalena Heinich. Richard Wagner, *Geschichte der Kleiderarbeiter in Oesterreich im 19. Jahrhundert und im ersten Viertel des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Wien: Gewerkschaft der Kleiderarbeiter Österreichs, 1930), 12.

⁵⁵⁵ Original: “1. daß dadurch die Polizeyaufsicht unmöglich gemacht, und zugleich liederlichen Weibspersonen hierzu Gelegenheit verschafft werde; und 2. daß die gegenwärtigen Besitzer von Befugnissen, zur Entweichung der Erwerbsteuer, dieselben zurücklegen und ohne Aufsicht im Verborgenen unterrichten würden.” ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 in gre, Bericht über die Berechtigung, einzelnen Mädchen ohne Bewilligung, in weiblichen Arbeiten Unterricht erteilen zu dürfen.

prevented children from attending the local primary school.⁵⁵⁶ The vagueness of the accusation suggests that it was less a case of women withholding girls from compulsory education, than male teachers perceiving female educators as a threat to their authority in the local community, even if their activities were limited to needlework. The local police did not find reason to intervene, judging the case on the basis of the recent government's decision to permit Magdalena Handlos to instruct a few girls in needlework without the necessity of holding a school licence.

"The police thought on the basis of the decree, that the reported case of a school without permission [Winkelschule] did not apply, since Baroness von Ehrmanns is faultless in her moral conduct and only instructs a few girls in needlework."⁵⁵⁷

However, the Archiepiscopal Consistory intervened and clarified that such exceptions only could be made for the private businesses of seamstresses who were not permitted to run a workshop similar to male tailors. Subsequently Theresia von Ehrmanns applied for a working school licence. Her application was rejected since her apartment was located in the same building as the primary school. To address this issue, von Ehrmanns changed her place of residence immediately and moved with her three daughters Franziska, Katharina and Johanna from Laimgrube to another area in Mariahilf called Windmühl. The immediate reaction to the government's rejection shows the urgency for Theresia and her daughters to receive permission to earn money with a school business.⁵⁵⁸ The widow's husband had been a cavalry captain and their daughters had obtained an education appropriate to their social standing. Franziska attended the government funded Institute for Daughters of Military Officers [*Offizierstöchlerinstitut*], Johanna attended the School of the Mary Ward sisters [*Englische Fräulein*] in St. Pölten and Katharina completed the needlework exam at the Ursuline convent.⁵⁵⁹ Ironically Theresia von Ehrmanns' second application was rejected again. Apparently, enough female working schools existed in Mariahilf. Supported by the local priest, Theresia petitioned for a third time and the joint effort was successful in 1824. Governor

⁵⁵⁶ Examples of local teachers that reported women who educated girls in needlework are frequently found throughout and after the 1820s.

⁵⁵⁷ Original: "Die Polizey glaubte bei der in Mittel liegenden Hofverordnung, daß der angezeigte Fall einer Winkelschule nicht eintrete, indem Freyin v. Ehrmanns in Absicht auf ihren sittlichen Lebenswandel untadelhaft ist, und auch nur einzelne Mädchen in weiblichen Handarbeiten unterrichtet." ÖStA, Unterricht ohne Bewilligung.

⁵⁵⁸ Why Baroness von Ehrmanns did not receive any financial support related to her widowhood is unclear, in her statement she asserted not to be in receipt of any pension which put her and her daughters in a precarious position.

⁵⁵⁹ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2, Theresia Ehrmanns.

Augustin Reichmann issued a school licence to Theresia's daughter Katharina, since her mother was already sixty-five years old.⁵⁶⁰

The boundaries between the production of professional needlework products and the teaching of needlework in an industrial school remained fluid. In 1824 the seamstress Magdalena Heinich applied for permission to open a working school but did not mention her work as a seamstress. However, she emphasised her responsibility to provide for her elderly mother. Heinich's application was initially rejected. According to the Archiepiscopal Consistory too many schools existed in her area and marriage was an option for provision.⁵⁶¹ Magdalena Heinich appealed the decision and explained her situation to the Imperial Commission on Education. Importantly she once again failed to mention her work as a seamstress, but emphasised her obligations to care for her mother, which hindered her to work as a servant. She received her school licence in December 1824.⁵⁶² During the next six years the now authorised industrial school owner regularly advertised her business in the *Wiener Zeitung*. Magdalena Heinich clearly operated a textile business and advertised to instruct pupils in fine needlework of white fabrics [*feinem Weißnähen*], stitching and looping. In one advertisement she openly offered her business' products for sale: "In said place all kinds of the finest sewing, stitching and looping products are manufactured, in addition to decorations and ladies' negligees, and [orders] are taken-on at the cheapest prices."⁵⁶³ Heinich had presumably strategically omitted her occupation during the application process. Instead she used the powerful argument of care provision in her negotiations with the authorities.

For several years to come the exception made for the seamstress Magdalena Handlos in 1822 caused confusion within the authorities. In 1829 and 1831 the subject matter was legislated more clearly. The imperial government transferred the administration of seamstresses' concerns to the municipal level in order to separate school from business matters. The

⁵⁶⁰ The situation of the family soon took a turn for the better. In the same year Theresia's daughter Johanna married a cloth merchant who lived in the same building as the new apartment of Baroness Ehrmanns and her daughters. Pfarre St. Josef ob der Laimgrube Traungsbuch, Josepha Johanna Freyin v. Ehrmanns zum Schlag und Johann Rathmayer, Sign. 03-46, 0175. When Johanna died a few years later her sister Katharina married the cloth merchant in 1827. This marriage was also shortlived; her husband Johann died in December 1831. *Wiener Zeitung*, Verstorbene in Wien, 05.12.1831. The third sister, Franziska, remained unmarried and died in 1853. *Wiener Zeitung*, Verstorbene in Wien, 19.04.1853.

⁵⁶¹ This comment is revealing about the views of the Archiepiscopal Consistory in whose opinion a woman's first priority should be marriage. As long as the Catholic clergy was involved in school matters married women were favoured as applicants.

⁵⁶² ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Magdalena Heinich.

⁵⁶³ Original: "Auch werden daselbst alle Gattungen der feinsten Näh-, Stick- und Schlingarbeiten verfertigt, wie auch Ausstaffierungen und Damen-Negligees, um die billigsten Preise zu verfertigen angenommen." Magdalena Heinich, "Anzeige," *Wiener Zeitung*, 19.07.1825, 13.

municipality was put in charge of evaluating applications of seamstresses who wanted to instruct five to six girls in needlework, who were *de facto* apprentices. In 1831 a decree emphasised that only those female business owners who employed girls above the age of twelve could receive this kind of permission. All other applicants, who wanted to educate girls in needlework, had to apply to the provincial government for a working school licence.⁵⁶⁴ In particular, in the trade of items of female clothing [*Kleidermachergewerbe*] the guild closely monitored whether seamstresses complied with the legally set limits. The Viennese municipality was clearly in favour of the guild's gatekeeping efforts. This is illustrated by the decision concerning the clothes-maker [*Kleidermacherin*] Pauline Missong's application for permission to take on apprentices in 1838.

“[...] because of the high and highest regulations, women who occupy themselves with the fabrication of female clothing items are restricted to their own person and it is not permitted to allow them to employ apprentices or other female assistants, this is why the application cannot be granted.”⁵⁶⁵

Pauline ignored the decision and continued to employ apprentices. She subsequently was fined twenty gulden for breaking the law.⁵⁶⁶ However, the Viennese Municipality's attitude changed in the mid-1840s. This transformation is evident from an analysis of teachers' registers published by Joseph Kaiser. In the 1843 register, girls' schools were divided into girls' educational institutes, day schools and industrial schools. In 1845 a new rubric was added and called: “Municipal Authorisation for the Education in Sewing and Knitting as a Free Occupation. (Irregular Schools).”⁵⁶⁷

The introduction of Irregular Schools [*Uneigentliche Schulen*] can be seen as yet another bureaucratic peculiarity in the treatment of seamstresses.⁵⁶⁸ In 1852 the term “irregular schools” had disappeared. Instead nine women were listed to teach the production of items of

⁵⁶⁴ Anon., *Sammlung der von dem fürsterzbischöflichen Konsistorium zu Wien an den Säkular- und Regular-Klerus dieser Erzdiözese erlassenen Kurrenden vom Jahre 1824 bis 1835* (Wien, 1836), 137.

⁵⁶⁵ Original: “[...] daß nach hohen und höchsten Vorschriften Frauenspersonen, welche sich mit der Verfertigung weiblicher Kleidungsstücke beschäftigen, bloß auf ihre eigene Person beschränkt sind, und daß ihnen nicht gestattet werden darf, Lehrlinge oder sonstige weibliche Gehilfen zu halten, weswegen auch ihrem Gesuch nicht willfahrt werden kann.” The case was quoted by Richard Wagner in his history of Austrian clothes makers. Wagner, *Kleiderarbeiter*, 11.

⁵⁶⁶ Wagner, *Kleiderarbeiter*, 11.

⁵⁶⁷ Joseph Kaiser, *Lehrer-Schema oder: Ausweis des sämtlichen [...] Lehr-Personales. Mit Einschluß der weiblichen Arbeits-, Näh-, Musik-, Sprach- und Zeichnungsschul-Inhaber* (Wien, 1845).

⁵⁶⁸ Maria Leitner, Anna Prugmayer, Magdalena Eichler, all situated auf der Wieden and Antonia Knirsch in Matzleinsdorf had recently received this kind of authorisation.

female clothing and sewing to apprentices: “Girls’ working schools for apprentices with the education in the production [*Verfertigung*] of female clothes items.”⁵⁶⁹

4.3. Industrial Education as a Philanthropic Mission

In this section I will discuss associations in Vienna which were engaged in the establishment and maintenance of industrial schools for girls, as well as for boys to some extent. Workers’ demands for the improvement of their appalling living conditions and basic political rights during the revolutions in 1848/1849 had stirred bourgeois anxieties about the working class population, which was increasingly perceived as a united body under the term ‘proletariat’.⁵⁷⁰ This fear was frequently expressed in contemporary articles discussing the welfare of children from poor families during the 1840s and 1850s, in which middle and upper-class philanthropists, medical doctors and journalists depicted the proletariat as dangerous. Those observers’ perception of the rising danger of the proletariat was based on the argument that working-class parents were allegedly failing to educate their children morally. The solution for this problem seemed obvious; only a stronger education of the educators of the proletariat – the mothers – would save this immoral class. Saving girls, who would become the future generation of mothers, turned into the aim of several associations founded during and after the revolutionary period. These girls were actively removed from their immoral environment and put into the day-care of female working or industrial schools. Such industrial schools typically opened for six to eight hours per day and were seen to supplement the insufficient elementary school education which girls attended for no more than three to four hours per day.

The education provided in industrial schools consisted of two components: the first part incorporated religious songs, moral proverbs and instructive stories conveying moral messages and guidelines; the second stage, should include practical skills like needlework, knitting, crocheting, monogramming and darning. In an unprecedented development, Viennese women from bourgeois backgrounds entered working class homes to inspect and determine if any intervention was necessary. In cases necessitating intervention, these women encouraged the girls to attend industrial schools. In this project the charitable women could count on the help and support of their close allies, the parish priests. Since the reign of Joseph II parish priests

⁵⁶⁹ Original: "Magistratische Befugnisse zum Unterricht im Nähen und Stricken als freie Beschäftigung (Uneigentliche Schulen)." Kaiser, *Lehrer-Schema oder: Ausweis des sämtlichen [...] Lehr-Personales. Mit Einschluß der weiblichen Arbeits-, Näh-, Musik-, Sprach- und Zeichnungsschul-Inhaber*, 56.

⁵⁷⁰ Wolfgang Häusler documented the development of those fears throughout the 1840s. Häusler, *Von der Massenarmut zur Arbeiterbewegung*, 80-123.

had been in charge of running pauper institutes [*Armeninstitute*]. Through their charitable work, these women demonstrated their social superiority. They also assumed the role of experts supported and advised by men, often members of the clergy, who were listed as consultants, accountants or officers in the organisational structures of the women's associations. This constellation of bourgeois and aristocratic women, reaffirming their superior position and carving out a public space for themselves through philanthropic activities, was a novel phenomenon of the 1850s and was not exclusive to the Viennese or even Austrian context.⁵⁷¹

Similar developments took place in Great Britain. In the light of the events of the 1840s it became standard practise during the 1850s to send destitute and vagrant children to industrial schools which included residential care. These private efforts became institutionalised through the Industrial School Acts from 1857 to 1880, with the objective "to save children from being taught to be immoral in their families or on the streets, and to impose substitute parental discipline."⁵⁷² For decades French women were engaged in public philanthropic activities, which were encouraged by the government, and assumed the role as "mother-educators".⁵⁷³ The work of *Sociétés de Patronage* in nineteenth century France shows many parallels to charitable associations in major cities of the Habsburg Empire.⁵⁷⁴ In German states since the second half of the eighteenth century industrial education was a central part of the *Armenschulwesen* (schools for poor), in which charitable women had increasingly become involved during the second half of the nineteenth century.⁵⁷⁵

Two major women's associations in Vienna saw it as their mission to open industrial schools for girls in order to instil industriousness, orderliness and morality in their pupils. The two biggest charitable operations in Vienna were the Charitable Women's Association for Vienna and its Surroundings established 1848/1849, and the Women's Association for Working Schools founded in 1850/1851. These associations inspired similar associations in other cities

⁵⁷¹ For urban centres, especially Vienna and Salzburg, Margret Friedrich provides an overview of the different types of "bürgerliche Frauenvereine" [bourgeois women's associations]. Friedrich, "Zur Tätigkeit und Bedeutung bürgerlicher Frauenvereine im 19. Jahrhundert in Peripherie und Zentrum." Gabriella Hauch notes for Linz the existence of a Catholic Women's Association which founded an educational institute for destitute children, with a special institute for girls. Gabriella Hauch, *Frauen.Leben.Linz. Eine Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Linz: Archiv der Stadt Linz, 2013), 39.

⁵⁷² Christine Piper, "Moral campaigns for children's welfare in the nineteenth century," in *Moral agendas for children's welfare*, ed. Michael King (New York: Routledge, 1999), 33.

⁵⁷³ Linda L. Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France. Gender and Public Administration since 1830*, vol. Cambridge (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵⁷⁴ Lee Shai Weissbach, "Oeuvre Industrielle, Oeuvre Morale: The Sociétés de Patronage of Nineteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 15, no. 1 (1987), 99-120.

⁵⁷⁵ Christine Mayer, "Poverty, education and gender: pedagogic transformations in the schools for the poor (Armenschulwesen) in Hamburg, 1788-1871," *Paedagogica Historica* 47, no. 1-2 (2011), 91-107.

of the Habsburg Empire, such as Olmütz, Graz, Linz, Vöslau or Gombos in Hungary, as stated in an annual report from 1858.⁵⁷⁶

Charitable Women's Association for Vienna and its Surroundings

In May 1848 an exclusively male association called the Catholic Association for Faith,



12 Erster Jahres-Bericht über Entstehen, Geist und Wirken des Frauen-Wohlthätigkeits-Vereines in Wien, 1850.

Freedom and Morality [*Katholikenverein für Glaube, Freiheit, und Gesittung*] whose purpose was to educate and promote Catholic values was founded in Vienna. Without a clear political agenda and lacking the organisational abilities to appeal to the Viennese *Bürgertum*, the Catholic association was not very successful in attracting members, as John Boyer has observed.⁵⁷⁷ Towards the end of the revolutionary year

it was clear that the mobilisation for the Catholic cause

had failed. At the same time, however, the founder of the association, Johann Emanuel Veith, described by Boyer as the “most famous preacher of his day”⁵⁷⁸, Martin Gross, a parish priest in the suburb Laimgrube, and Joseph Franz von Patruban, a ministerial secretary, initiated the foundation of a charitable women's association which was called the *Frauen-Wohlthätigkeits-Verein für Wien und Umgebung* [Charitable Women's Association for Vienna and its Surroundings]. Already in August 1848 women in Reindorf and Wieden had founded female branches to participate in the Catholic association's efforts.⁵⁷⁹ However, the three founders preferred to centrally organise, or centralise, female participation in the association. The group of men drafted the application for a women's association, which was subsequently denied by the government on the basis that engagement in matters of poor relief did not need an associational structure. In their second attempt, the three men underlined the apolitical intentions of the association and stressed the need for women to organise their charitable efforts under supervision of the clergy. On this occasion, the application was granted by the governor

⁵⁷⁶ Anon., *Bericht über die Wirksamkeit des unter dem Schutze der Erzherzogin Marie stehenden Frauenvereines für Arbeitsschulen seit der letzten Generalversammlung den 26. April 1857* (Wien: Mechitharisten, 1858), 5.

⁵⁷⁷ John W. Boyer, *Political Radicalism in late Imperial Vienna. Origins of the Christian Social Movement, 1848-1897* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 135-136.

⁵⁷⁸ Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 131.

⁵⁷⁹ Hauch, "Politische Wohltätigkeit - wohltätige Politik. Frauenvereine in der Habsburgermonarchie bis 1866," 210. The founding of the Charitable Women's Association was the vantage point for numerous similar associations throughout the Habsburg Empire. See Walter Sauer, *Katholisches Vereinswesen in Wien zur Geschichte des christlichsozial-konservativen Lagers vor 1914*, vol. 5, *Geschichte und Sozialkunde*, Reihe: Forschungen (Salzburg: Neugebauer, 1980), 205.

of Vienna, Ludwig von Welden. The next step was to organise female members for the association. The first assembly, which was attended by twenty women in late December 1848, evoked a fighting spirit, as described in the organisation's first annual report:

"Uplifting was the competition [*Wetteifer*] offered by all to spring into action and sacrifice one's own daily businesses and the deprivation of some needs, in order to defy the physical and moral demise by awakening the sense for faith and morality yet again through the authority of good deeds."⁵⁸⁰

The spirit of the association was embodied by an official seal [*Vereins-Siegel*]⁵⁸¹ which depicts the miracle of Saint Elisabeth of Thüringen who shows her basket to the authorities, in which the bread intended for the poor had turned into roses to shield her efforts. Although the saint selected for the seal had an aristocratic background, the members who slowly but steadily joined the association constituted a mix of members. For example, there were women from middle-class backgrounds whose names occasionally contained the noble "von", which was a result of numerous ennoblements during the first half of the nineteenth century. Two months after the association had been founded, the newspaper the *Österreichische Zuschauer* drew a connection between the existing Society of Aristocratic Ladies to Promote the Good and the Useful, and this newly formed Charitable Women's Association for Vienna and its Surroundings: "The recently established Charitable Women's Association, which takes as a role model the Aristocratic Ladies' Association is organising branches in the suburbs."⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ Original: "Herzerhebend war der Wetteifer, mit dem sich alle erboten, Hand ans Werk zu legen, um mit Aufopferung der eigenen Tagesgeschäfte und Entbehrung mancher Bedürfnisse dem physischen und moralischen Untergange die Stirne zu bieten und den Sinn für Glauben und Sittlichkeit durch die Autorität der Wohlthat wieder zu wecken." Anon., *Erster Jahres-Bericht über Entstehen, Geist und Wirken des Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Vereines in Wien seit seiner Gründung im Jahre 1848 bis zum Schlusse des Jahres 1849* (Wien: L.W.Seidel, 1850), 10-11.

⁵⁸¹ The seal was created by the engraver of the national bank Rudolph Kirchhofer and given as a charitable contribution. Frauen-Wohltätigkeitsverein für Wien und Umgebung, *Erster Jahresbericht des Frauen-Wohltätigkeitsvereines in Wien seit seiner Gründung im Jahre 1848 bis zum Schlusse des Jahres 1849* (Vienna: L. W. Seidel, 1850), 27.

⁵⁸² Original: "Der seit Kurzem bestehende Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Verein, welcher die Tendenz des adelichen Damenvereines zum Vorbilde hat, organisiert Filialen in den Vorstädten." Anon., "Der seit Kurzem bestehende [...]," *Der Österreichische Zuschauer*, 15.02.1849, 5.



13 Erster Jahres-Bericht über Entstehen, Geist und Wirken des Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Vereines, Wien: L.W.Seidel, 1850, Frontispiece.

The first annual report provides insights into the activities of the association and its organisational structure. The charitable women are in the centre of the picture, gathering clean and well-dressed girls for an occasion of gift-giving, on this occasion shoes and clean clothes which are held by two women and stacked on a shelf in the background to the left. Behind the women stands a group of five men. Although women are pictured in the front, one of the men is placed in the exact centre of the picture. Moreover, this male figure in the centre is the only one to return the gaze of the audience observing the picture. Dressed in a vestment he is likely to be one of the clergy founders of the association, Johann Emanuel Veith or Michael Groß. Providing children with clean clothes was one of the numerous projects of the association which divided its activities into three general aims: poor relief, such as visiting poor families and distributing necessary goods⁵⁸³; promoting and education of the Catholic Christian spirit; and finding occupations for unemployed members of society. Assistance to poor families was tied to the condition that the parents could produce school attendance certificates for their

⁵⁸³ Providing aid in the form of money was forbidden under the association's regulations.

children.⁵⁸⁴ Soon branches developed in the districts of Laimgrube, Wieden, Margareten, but also in the city centre. The first meeting of the Charitable Women's Association for the *Innere Stadt* [inner city] (after 1850 Vienna's first district), was held in the editorial department of the *Katholikenverein* in Naglergasse and was attended by seventeen women.⁵⁸⁵ In a next step the tasks were divided among the women. The aristocrat Baroness Sophie Hock volunteered to serve as branch leader, and the bourgeois woman Sophie Eberle, the wife of a silk trader, became her deputy; a structure typical for associations at the time. Every branch had a depot to store donations, like clothes and other goods. Maria von Heß volunteered to take over the management of the depot, and was joined by Helene von Hornbostel as her deputy.⁵⁸⁶ While the women's association spread its branches, the *Katholikenverein*, the patron organisation who started and supported this women's initiative, was repeatedly denied support by Archbishop Milde until it reformulated its aims from the pursuit of a missionary spreading of Catholic church values to practising devotion and piety.⁵⁸⁷ After Archbishop Milde's rejection, members of the *Katholikenverein* (from 1852, known as the *Severinusverein*) concentrated their efforts on supporting the Women's Charitable Association. This is evident in the first annual report of the association. In that year no women were listed as leaders of the central organisational unit. Instead the three founders of the *Katholikenverein* Johann Veith, Martin Groß, Joseph Franz Patruban and several other men were listed as responsible for the organisational duties.⁵⁸⁸ Karoline Kraus, a property owner [*Hauseigentümerin*] from the district Margareten, who had been elected as first principal of the association, had already been moved during the first months to the position of principal of the district Margareten. Apparently, the intention of Veith, Groß and Patruban was to guide the associational women through an exclusively male leadership. During 1850, differences between the *Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Centralverein*, the central organisational unit of the association, and the local female district leaders arose. This conflict ultimately led to the dissolution of the central unit. The exact circumstances of the controversy are not known; however, in spring 1851 the *Fremden-Blatt* printed an appeal to unify for the sake of the common cause, summarising the dissolution of the central association

⁵⁸⁴ Umgebung, *Erster Jahresbericht*, 19.

⁵⁸⁵ Anon., *Erster Jahres-Bericht*, 13-14.

⁵⁸⁶ Helene von Hornbostel later became one of the founders of the Frauen-Erwerb-Verein in 1866 [Women's Employment Association].

⁵⁸⁷ Boyer, *Political Radicalism*, 136; Hermann-Josef Scheidgen, *Der deutsche Katholizismus in der Revolution von 1848/49. Episkopat - Klerus - Laien - Vereine* (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau, 2008), 502-503.

⁵⁸⁸ Umgebung, *Erster Jahresbericht*, 61.

as follows: "Steadily all the suburban-branch-associations separated from the central organisation in consequence of differing opinions."⁵⁸⁹

Was it that the women did not want to receive a top-down agenda from the three male founders? The annual report for 1850 suggests so, as Countess Eleonore Schwarzenberg, who had already supported the association monetarily and had provided space in her Palais, was now listed as first chairwoman of the association, a position that was formerly occupied by the trio Veith, Groß and Patruban. The role of her deputy remained unoccupied, all female branch-principals formed the board, and of the previously three male board members only two remained in the role of consultants.⁵⁹⁰ The fourteen-page report, of which twelve pages were dedicated to listing members and their functions, did not openly address the reasons for the changes in the organisational structure, nor did it explain in any detail the activities of the previous year. The reason for this was because each district organisation now produced its own report as an independent association. In the section dedicated to female working schools the general association did include a report, listing the numbers of pupils in the different districts and the purpose of the schools. Already during the first months of its existence the association had set up industrial schools for girls from a poor background; the first four industrial schools for girls were established in the suburban areas of Leopoldstadt, Brigittenau, Lichtental and Neulerchenfeld in 1849. By the end of 1850 ten female working schools had been established in Vienna which had expanded its city borders in the same year. The following table gives a picture of the growth in the number of pupils during the first years.

⁵⁸⁹ Original: "In Folge von differirenden [sic] Ansichten haben sich jedoch sämmtliche Vorstadt-Filial-Vereinen nach und nach von dem Central-Vereine getrennt." Anon., "Wie bekannt bestand früher in der Stadt [...]," *Fremden-Blatt*, 04.04.1851, 2-3.

⁵⁹⁰ Frauen-Wohltätigkeitsverein für Wien und Umgebung, *Zweiter Jahresbericht des Frauen-Wohltätigkeitsvereines in Wien und Umgebung. Vom 1. Jänner bis letzten Dezember 1850* (Wien: L. W. Seidel, 1851), 1.

Female Working Schools founded and run by the Charitable Women's Association [Weibliche Arbeitsschulen errichtet und erhalten vom Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Verein 1850-1854]							
Number of Schools	District	Location of the school	Number of Children				Founding Year
			1850	1851	1852 1853	1854	
2	Margarethen	Schloßgasse Nr. 4	170	180	190	170	June 1850
1	Gumpendorf	Gemeindehaus	30	130	145	150	Dec. 1850
1	Josephstadt	Lange Gasse Nr 111		76	89	95	Nov. 1851
1	Leopoldstadt	Auf der Haide Nr. 621	106	110	142	126	Nov. 1849
1	ditto	Brigittenau Nr. 113	138	80	133	130	Nov. 1849
1	Ottakring	Ottakring Nr. 263	100	100	89	127	May 1850
1	Lichtenthal	Lichtenthal Nr. 204	120	140	130	160	Dec. 1849
1	Rossau	Serviteng. Nr. 157	25	90	100	100	Nov. 1850
1	Alservorstadt	Alservorstadt Nr. 78	47	100	80	80	ditto
1	Neulerchenfeld	Neulerchenfeld Nr. 165	130	160	166	160	Dec. 1849
Total			866	1166	1264	1298	

14 Based on annual reports of the Charitable Women's Association 1850, 1851, 1852-1853 and 1854.

The examples of the districts Rossau and Leopoldstadt illustrate the particular circumstances of the working school foundations. In 1854 a thorough collection of school attendance lists had been ordered and blank forms were sent to the local parish priests in order to distribute them to the working school owners. On the front page of the standardised list, not only was the address, parish, and owner of the working school recorded but also the school hours which were extensive in both schools, from eight in the morning until midday, and four hours from two to six in the afternoon. The charitable working school in Rossau, under the supervision of the coach maker's widow Maria Anna Brandmayer, handed in the pupils' list in October 1854. A few days later, the teacher Adele Gerth handed in the form for the working school in Leopoldstadt, which was attended by 105 girls. In the working school in Rossau a total of 109 girls were listed ranging from age six to fourteen; two names, Marie Winkler and Marie Graf had been struck out, the girls had left the school in October 1854 and entered domestic service. The purpose of the working school went beyond teaching knitting, darning, sewing, marking and crocheting, as the annual reports of the first years repeatedly underlined:

“Yet the main purpose of this association is to influence instructively, encouraging and uplifting all poor who receive aid in general, but especially the heart and soul of those poor children in those schools in the spirit of our holy Church; [...]”⁵⁹¹

To fulfil this purpose funding was needed. With the dissolution of the central organisational unit in 1850, there was no head office to coordinate funds. Hence, each district association collected funds independently as numerous expressions of gratitude in newspapers illustrate. In 1850 several women of district organisations believed it necessary to organise themselves and publish a general appeal to the people of Vienna and its surroundings.

Another Women’s Association

On the 10th of October 1850 Louise Braun, *Beamtenwitwe* [clerk’s widow] and principal of the district Leopoldstadt, Karoline Kraus, the principal of the district Margareten, and Aloisia Kreiner, property owner and principal of the district Neulerchenfeld, published a fervent appeal in the name of the Charitable Women’s Association requesting support for the establishment of a central fund. The fund was to enable the establishment of more working schools for girls by the association. The first sentence went straight to the point: “The complaints about the alarming increase of the proletariat and its mental [geistig] and moral degeneration become ever louder.”⁵⁹²

In the appeal, the women emphasised their expert knowledge on the matter. For two years the association had supported 3,878 families, and this support had been based on the reports of women volunteers who had investigated and assessed the individual situations of working families. Based on their experience the women had come to the conclusion that one of the main sources of the so-called evil rise of a proletariat was due to the insufficient education of the female gender. This powerful formula that made “the female sex” responsible for the moral wellbeing of the family unit and society in general had prevailed for decades already, which the industrial school reports of 1814 and 1815 and the subsequent promotion of private working schools have shown. However, only after the revolutions of 1848 and 1849 the measures taken in Vienna were broadly organised to target girls from a lower-class background. The role of

⁵⁹¹ Original: "Die Hauptaufgabe des Vereins ist es jedoch, wie überhaupt mit allen Armen, welche unterstützt werden, so insbesondere in diesen Schulen auf den Geist und das Herz dieser armen Kinder im Sinne unserer heiligen Kirche belehrend, ermunternd und erhebend einzuwirken; [...]" Umgebung, *Zweiter Jahresbericht*, 14.

⁵⁹² Original: "Immer lauter werden die Klagen über das Überhandnehmen des Proletariats und dessen geistige und sittliche Verkommenheit." Louise Braun, Karoline Kraus, and Aloisia Kreiner, "Aufruf des Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Vereines in Wien, zur Gründung eines Fondes für weibliche Armen-Arbeitsschulen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.10.1850, 3230.

the mother as “guardian of the domestic hearth” was presented to the reader of the appeal in an alarming tone. The appeal portrayed women from lower classes as incredulous and disorderly, unable to make a proper home for their families, with the result that the husband lost “his love for his house at the sight of his children, who roam around the disgusting apartment in dirt and rags.”⁵⁹³ The period in time for the events that followed seems to be no coincidence. On the 16th of December, two months after the appeal had been published, Countess Pauline Nostitz gathered a group of women to meet and discuss the establishment of an association dedicated solely to launching working schools for girls in Vienna. However, members of the existing Charitable Women’s Association had not been invited to join forces with this new group. Instead the activists decided to set up a new Women’s Association for Working Schools [*Frauenverein für Arbeitsschulen*]. Ludwig von Welden, the governor of Vienna coined the idea for this association. Welden had already been involved in female associational activities by granting permission for the establishment of the Charitable Women’s Association in 1849. Governor Welden and Baroness Nostitz knew each other, likely through their mutual engagement in topography and nature. Welden had at some point in his career been head of the Department of Topography and Pauline von Nostitz was well-known for her extensive travel experience.⁵⁹⁴ What motivated Ludwig von Welden to encourage the establishment of another association is unclear. The governor, who was responsible for repressive measures after the October Revolution in 1848, seemed to have realised the potential of influencing lower classes through a thorough moral education of girls provided in working schools.⁵⁹⁵ The appeal published by members of the Charitable Women’s Association in October 1850, had possibly sparked the idea for this new group, as suggested by later memories in annual reports about the founding events of the Women’s Association for Working Schools. According to these accounts the association was set-up in a rush; the first meeting to discuss its founding had taken place on the 16th of December 1850 and three weeks later, by the 8th of January, the statutes and application had been granted. By this time the first donations had been collected and the first working school had already opened in Gumpendorf. One result of this was that the

⁵⁹³ Braun, Kraus, and Kreiner, "Aufruf," *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.10.1850, 3230, 806.

⁵⁹⁴ Countess Nostitz published an account of her and her husband’s experiences travelling in Syria, Mesopotamia, Burmah and other lands in 1873. An English version followed five years later acknowledging the author in the title. Pauline Nostitz, *Johann Wilhelm Helfer's Reisen in Vorderasien und Indien* vol. 1&2 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1873); Pauline Nostitz, *Travels of Doctor and Madame Helfer in Syria, Mesopotamia, Burmah and other lands*, trans. George Sturge, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1878).

⁵⁹⁵ Peter Autengruber et al., *Umstrittene Wiener Straßennamen. Ein kritisches Lesebuch* (Wien: Pichler Verlag, 2014), 272-274.

Charitable Women's Association was unable to create a fund for working schools because a large amount of money was being channelled to this additional new association.

From the beginning the charitable organisation of the Women's Association for Working Schools was strongly supported by members of nobility, and the organisation's several collections for the initial founding of schools amounted to some 18,000 gulden. Ten percent of the amount had been donated by members of the imperial family alone.⁵⁹⁶ An important difference between the two associations was the social background of the members. Key positions of the organisational structure of the new Women's Association for Working Schools were filled by members of the so-called old aristocratic families and bourgeois women who were connected to public life in Vienna through their male family members or professions, such as the case of the actress Julie Rettich.

The collection campaign for the new Women's Association for Working Schools was spearheaded by Governor Welden who expressed clear intentions about the purpose of the working schools for girls. In an article in the *Österreichische Zuschauer* from 1851, the newspaper reprinted a letter written by Welden which was addressed to the "richest men of the monarchy", Baron Salomon Rothschild and Baron Georg Simon Sina, who were members of the wholesalers' committee [*Großhandlungsgremium*]. In the letter he asked the two men for donations for the Women's Association for Working Schools. In order to protect the "possessing" [*Besitzthum*] from the growing proletariat the governor suggested providing "female working schools for the lower classes."⁵⁹⁷ At no point did Welden mention the initiatives of the rival Charitable Women's Association. Nonetheless, he employed similar arguments made by the other association in his letter by underlining the enhancement of future generations depended on the morality of the female sex [*weibliches Geschlecht*], an opinion that had been circulating for decades. According to Welden's plan, twenty-five working schools should be established in Vienna, and he simply ignored the existing working schools of the Charitable Women's Association. Several of these new working schools were already in the process of being opened, but to reach the optimal number more money was necessary.

"Since femininity can only be taught by women, a school association has thus been founded under the protection of an exemplary high woman, which wants to occupy itself

⁵⁹⁶ Franz Seraph Hügel, *Ueber die socialen Humanitäts-Anstalten für die Kinder der unteren Volks-Klassen: Säuglings-Bewahranstalten, Kinder-Bewahranstalten, weibliche Arbeitsschulen, Industrieschulen für Knaben, Rural-Beschäftigungs-Anstalten, Rettungshäuser, Kinder-Heilanstalten* (Wien: Kaulfuß, 1851), 113.

⁵⁹⁷ Freiherr v. Welden, "Wiener Tagesbericht " *Der Österreichische Zuschauer*, 25.01.1851, 126-128.

tirelessly with the education and occupation of girls of the lowest, poorest classes from the age of seven to fifteen."⁵⁹⁸

The open letter made an impact. Baron Sina offered 15,000 gulden and later 6,000 gulden in the name of the wholesaler's committee to the new association.⁵⁹⁹ The promotion of a women's association dedicated to the establishment of working schools ran parallel to another effort by the city government of Vienna that sought to target girls from the lower classes by providing so-called review classes. Compulsory review classes had been implemented in 1816 for children between twelve and fifteen, but the focus was explicitly on the education of boys.⁶⁰⁰ In 1823 the attendance of review classes was extended to apprentices for the duration of their apprenticeship. The parish priest and local school teacher were obliged to repeat the content of the compulsory subjects on Saturdays or Sundays. More importantly they were instructed to instil morality and religiousness.⁶⁰¹ The idea of review classes was revived in a note on the 17th of November 1851, when the city government demanded the establishment of review classes specifically for girls in Vienna. Subsequently the Archiepiscopal Consistory had review classes implemented at nineteen schools, which were to take place on Thursday afternoons after the end of regular classes. The measures taken did not lead to the intended result as the review classes, were only sporadically attended and the school authorities did not put much effort into enforcing the legislation.⁶⁰² In an effort to create policies addressing the perceived danger of the working classes, the idea of review classes for girls was part of a political endeavour to target the morality of girls from a poor background. The support for this endeavour was also spatially recognisable, as the Women's Association for Working Schools was provided a space in the governor's office building for their general assemblies.

⁵⁹⁸ Original: "Da Weiblichkeit auch nur von Frauen gebildet werden kann, so hat sich unter dem Schutze einer hohen Frau ein Schulverein gegründet, der sich rastlos mit der Erziehung und Beschäftigung von Mädchen der untersten, ärmeren Klassen in dem Alter von 7 bis 13 Jahren beschäftigen will." The high woman Governor Welden was writing about was Archduchess Marie, the emperor's aunt, who had agreed to function as protector [Schutzfrau] of the association. Welden, "Wiener Tagesbericht " *Der Österreichische Zuschauer*, 25.01.1851, 126-128, 127.

⁵⁹⁹ Frauen-Verein für Arbeits-Schulen, *Rückblick auf die einundzwanzigjährige Wirksamkeit des Frauenvereines für Arbeitsschulen* (Wien, 1872), 4.

⁶⁰⁰ The issue of review classes is discussed in greater depth in chapter 3.2. "The incompatibility of workdays with school education."

⁶⁰¹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 237-238.

⁶⁰² Emanuel Hannak, "Die Schule," in *Wien 1848-1888*, ed. Gemeinderath der Stadt Wien (1888), 25. The lack of attendance of review classes was probably caused by the expansion of working schools whose timetable did not leave time for the attendance of additional classes.

Women Claiming Space

After the revolutionary events in Vienna in 1848 both middle-class women and the women of nobility, had made it to their task to save children, especially girls, from their immoral environment. Reports on the activities of the Charitable Women's Association, which had been founded at the end of the revolutionary year, demonstrate an effort to demarcate the womanhood of the charitable women from that of the women in Vienna who had actively participated in revolutionary activities. In 1848 revolutionary women had founded a Democratic Women's Association [*Demokratischer Frauenverein*] that only existed for two months, which caused great agitation and many derogatory comments against the women who organised themselves for the first time with the explicit intention of political participation.⁶⁰³ An example of this demarcation effort distinguishing charitable women from revolutionary women can be found in the report of an event hosted in the Volksgarten in May 1849. Maria Benkovits, imperial royal Fine Embroiderer [*k.k. Kammer Kunststickerin*], who had founded an association to provide clothes for poor school children, hosted together with members of the *Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Verein* [Women's Charitable Association] a charitable event in the coffeehouse of the Volksgarten in Vienna. Anton von Niebauer⁶⁰⁴, then a seventeen-year-old student, wrote a report about the event and compared the activities of Maria Benkovits and other charitable women with activities of the revolutionary women's association a year earlier:

"The celebration concluded after the presentees [*Beschenkten*] were abundantly fed, and each of the attendants left truly spiritually refreshed by this picture of noble women's virtue and arguably reconciled the hall, where just a couple of moons [*Monden*] ago the Democratic Women's Association, the peak of absurdity and craziness of the *Frauengeschlecht* [female gender], had held its first meeting."⁶⁰⁵

Interestingly this quotation specifically focuses on the element of space. In holding their meeting in this location, the charitable women reclaimed space for a different kind of femininity in the city. In comparison to the radical Democratic Women's Association every

⁶⁰³ Gabriella Hauch, *Frau Biedermeier auf den Barrikaden. Frauenleben in der Wiener Revolution 1848*, Österreichische Texte zur Gesellschaftskritik 49 (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1990).

⁶⁰⁴ ÖBL, "Niebauer, Anton Frh. von (1832-1914)," (Bd. 7 (Lfg. 32, 1976)), available at <http://www.biographien.ac.at/oeb1/oeb1_N/Niebauer_Anton_1832_1914.xml> (retrieved 12.01.2017).

⁶⁰⁵ Original: "Nachdem die Beschenkten reichlich bewirthe worden, schloß die erhabene Feier und Jeder der Anwesend verließ wahrhaft geistig erquickt durch dieses Bild edler Frauentugend und wohl auch versöhnt jenen Saal, worin vor wenigen Monden noch der demokratische Frauen-Verein, dieser Hochpunkt der Lächerlichkeit und Verrücktheit des Weibergeschlechts, seine erste Sitzung gehalten." Anton v. Niebauer, "Eine Gesellschaft edelmüthiger Damen [...]," *Der Österreichische Zuschauer*, 16.05.1849, 8. The cooperation between Maria Benkovits and the Women's Charitable Association carried on in the following years. Anon., "Der Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Verein wird über Veranlassung der Frau Maria Benkowits [...]," *Fremden-Blatt*, 07.12.1851, 3.

activity of charitable women after the revolutions and throughout the 1850s was likely to be perceived as appropriately modest and therefore as socially and culturally acceptable. The charitable cause offered middle-class women a public role as moral guardians and justified their occupation of space. This role was actively constructed, for example, a report of 1851 called the Charitable Women's Association a blessed plant [*Segenspflanze*] in the midst of deadly nightshades [*Tollkirschen*] and toxic weeds [*Giftkräutern*] in the revolutionary year of 1848.⁶⁰⁶ The report underlined that the active women allegedly did their good deeds in privacy [*Zurückgezogenheit*]. And yet visiting poor families, collecting donations, the distribution of donated goods, opening and supervising schools for girls and hosting charity events like Maria Benkovits' clothes distribution in the Volksgarten can hardly be called private [*zurückgezogen*].

Another example of this kind of economy of space can be found in the way the Charitable Women's Association dealt with the loss of its unique position because of the founding of the rival Women's Association for Working Schools, which had acquired much of the available space, money and certainly prestige. In the first annual report of 1850 the Charitable Women's Association had defended its activities against the complaint accusing it of taking away donations from the poor houses.⁶⁰⁷ Two years later, however, it now expressed frustration about the competition posed by the Women's Association for Working Schools, which was founded in December 1850. According to one newspaper article, the Charitable Women's Association had access to no other funds "than the pious zeal of its members and the heart full of love of its female benefactors [*Wohltäterinnen*], and is therefore in competition with the so-called School Association founded by B. Welden in 1850, for its considerable financial capital."⁶⁰⁸

This frustration was channelled into a reorientation towards organisational unity in 1852, which was promoted by the *Severinusverein*, the Catholic association which had been responsible for the initial set-up of the association. In response to the competition for resources and to compensate for the failed efforts to establish a fund for working schools themselves, in the spring of 1852 the Charitable Women's Association founded a new committee to establish a foundation that would support female servants in Vienna. Later that year the association

⁶⁰⁶ E., "Der Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Verein für Wien und seine Umgebung," *Der Österreichische Zuschauer*, 14.02.1851, 765.

⁶⁰⁷ Umgebung, *Erster Jahresbericht*, 23.

⁶⁰⁸ Original: "[...] hat aber keinen anderen Fond, als den frommen Eifer seiner Mitglieder und das liebeiche Herz seiner Wohltäterinnen, und wetteifert so mit dem von B. Welden im Jahre 1850 in's Leben gerufenen, auf ein beträchtliches Kapital gegründeten sogenannten Schulverein." Anon., "Wiener Tagesbericht," *Österreichischer Zuschauer*, 25.08.1852, 1079.

founded an “*Anstalt zur Heranbildung guter Hausmägde*” [Institute for the Education of Good Female Servants], also called *Marien-Stiftung* [foundation] or *Marien-Verein* [association], which was first located in Schottenfeld and relocated to a spacious house in Gumpendorf in May 1853.⁶⁰⁹ The institution provided single female servants, possibly from the countryside or other cities, who were in search of employment, with a place to sleep and helped them find employment. More importantly, the association emphasised its efforts to guide servants in a Christian lifestyle. The charitable aspect of the association concealed the practical agenda that the women had basically set-up a job agency to serve women of their own social standing.⁶¹⁰ A few months after the *Marien-Stiftung* was founded in 1852 a "selected circle" of women [*ausgewählter Kreis*] of the Women's Charitable Association participated in a plenary assembly of the *Severinusverein*. The speech on occasion of the first cooperation suggests that the invitation was meant to mend the differences that had led to the break-up of the association and its division into district associations during 1851, as discussed already. President Kaltenbäck, a state archivist, emphasised that unfavourable current events [*ungünstige Zeitereignisse*] had interrupted the contact between the *Severinusverein* and the Women's Association, and he concluded his observation expressing the hope for a new beginning of the relationship: “[...] let us hope, that it is with today if not reinstated, then at least restarted.”⁶¹¹ In the following years the *Severinusverein* as well as the Charitable Women's Association gained a powerful ally when the new Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Othmar Ritter von Rauscher, agreed to become the patron of the association in 1853.

Although the Women's Association for Working Schools was not set-up as a Catholic association, in 1853 it was equally eager to demonstrate its closeness to the Catholic church. In May 1853 the newspaper *Österreichischer Zuschauer* reported the meeting of the new Archbishop Rauscher with a delegation of the association.

⁶⁰⁹ Anon., "Die von den Mitgliedern des Frauenwohlthätigkeits-Vereins für Wien und Umgebung gegründete [...]," *Österreichischer Zuschauer*, 17.05.1853, 4.

⁶¹⁰ This function was explicitly stated in a local newspaper, which reported that women had to pay two gulden per year and were therefore provided with an institute to select female servants from. Anon., "Erster Brief. Vielgeliebter Herr Schwager!," *Hans Jörgel*, 23.04.1860, 2-4. Working schools for girls had a similar function in preparing girls for their future role as servants as will be discussed in the section on the contents of working school education.

⁶¹¹ "[...] wollen wir hoffen, daß es mit dem heutigen Tage, wenn nicht hergestellt, doch wieder eingeleitet ist." Severinusverein in Wien, "Die 11. Plenarversammlung des Severinusvereins," *Oesterreichischer Volksfreund*, 17.07.1852, 51-52.

“The women were touched and excited by the affability and kind-heartedness of the high church dignitary, who stood nearly an hour in their circle and inquired carefully about all details concerning poor relief and the working schools that operated so beneficially.”⁶¹²

The Association for Working Schools was more open in its structure, as demonstrated by the participation of two Protestant women, Iduna Laube and Julie Rettich, both affiliated to the theatre scene in Vienna, in the activities of the association. Iduna Laube, the wife of the Burgtheater director Heinrich Laube, was the principal of the charitable working school in Matzleinsdorf since its founding in May 1851. The school was solely attended by Catholic girls, according to the pupil’s list from 1854.⁶¹³ Laube remained in this function for more than thirteen years and later became one of the founders of the Women’s Employment Association. Numerous notes in newspapers reported on Iduna Laube’s activities. An article published a year after the school’s founding reported on the biannual public exam and an exhibition of the needlework products produced by the pupils. Laube’s activities in this context were highly praised:

“Out of the many women who are carefully supervising the prosperity of this young educational institute, the restless operating imperial royal director’s wife Laube has to be especially acknowledged, as this philanthropic woman seeks every means to enhance the institute.”⁶¹⁴

Iduna Laube continued her efforts even when she became a member of the Protestant Women’s Association founded in 1860, which was, besides other poor relief activities, dedicated to “the care for the education of poor girls in the most necessary needlework.”⁶¹⁵ On the membership list of the Protestant Women’s Association Christine Ritz can also be found, who in 1856 established the first charitable Protestant working school in Gumpendorf. Iduna Laube was, as mentioned above, not the only Protestant functioning as a school principal. The well-renowned stage actress Julie Rettich was together with Princess von Schwarzenberg and Miss von

⁶¹² Original: "Die Frauen waren gerührt und entzückt über die Leutseligkeit und Herzensgüte des hohen Kirchenfürsten, der fast eine Stunde in ihrem Kreis stand und sich um sämtliche Details der Armenpflege und der so segensreich wirkenden Arbeitsschulen dieses Vereins sorgfältigst erkundigte." Anon., "Wiener Tagesbericht," *Der Österreichische Zuschauer*, 11.05.1853.

⁶¹³ DAW, Schulamtsakten 257/3/4o, Verzeichnis der Mädchen, welche die [...] weibliche Arbeitsschule des Frauenvereins für Arbeitsschulen besuchen, Matzleinsdorf, Pfarre St. Florian.

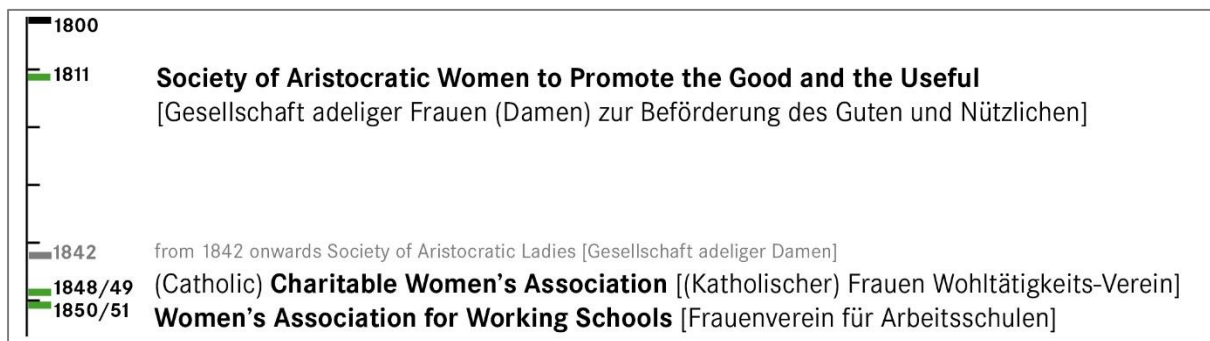
⁶¹⁴ Original: "Von den vielen Frauen, welche das Gedeihen dieser noch jungen Bildungsanstalt sorgsam überwachen, muß die rastlos wirkende k.k. Direktorsgattin Laube mit besonders dankbarer Anerkennung genannt werden, da diese menschenfreundliche Dame kein Mittel unbenützt läßt, welches zur Hebung derselben beitragen kann." Anon., "Am verflossenen Samstag [...]," *Die Presse*, 30.04.1852, 3.

⁶¹⁵ Original: "[...] die Sorge für den Unterricht armer Mädchen in den nöthigsten Handarbeiten." NÖLA, VerStatuten 1855-1935/40 K 3971/114, Statuten des Evangelischen Frauen-Vereines in Wien.

Wrobeck responsible for the school in Margareten and was also a Protestant.⁶¹⁶ Jewish members are not to be found among the members of the association, although Jewish middle-class women were very active in associational life in Vienna at the time.⁶¹⁷

Associational Tasks and Interconnections

By the mid-1850s three major charitable women's associations, which were closely affiliated to the Catholic church, existed in Vienna.



To the authorities who handled bureaucratic procedures, such as the execution of wills, it was not always clear which association benefactors intended to sponsor. The execution of two wills in the late 1850s gives a rough idea of the organisational efforts of associations to secure bequests and highlights the interconnections between these associations. In both cases Countess Marie von Liechtenstein, the head of the Women's Association for Working Schools, corresponded with the relevant authorities in order to receive bequests. Marie von Liechtenstein, a member of the influential, high aristocratic, Liechtenstein family was already an active member of the Society of Aristocratic Ladies [*Gesellschaft adeliger Damen*] when she became head of the Women's Association for Working Schools in 1853.⁶¹⁸ For the following thirty years until her death in June 1884 she headed the association and took her task seriously as the following examples illustrate. On the 9th of March 1858 Marie Liechtenstein wrote two letters to the governor of Vienna, Josef Emminger. The first letter regarded the recent death of Baroness Antonie von Lilien, who at seventy-four had died in January.

⁶¹⁶ Johann Nepomuk Reméle, *Über den Wert der Arbeitsschulen und die Mittel, diese zum Wohle der Menschheit zweckmäßig einzurichten* (Wien: Mayer, 1856), 80.

⁶¹⁷ In 1847 for example, a Jewish association called "Theresien-Kreuzer-Verein" was founded to support Jewish pupils attend working schools. In particular girls from poor backgrounds were targeted. Malleier, *Jüdische Frauen in Wien 1816-1938. Wohlfahrt - Mädchenbildung - Frauenarbeit*, 44-45. From 1860 Caroline Fuld ran the first privately-owned working school for Jewish girls. Caroline Fuld, "Unterrichts-Anzeige," *Fremden-Blatt*, 31.08.1860, 11.

⁶¹⁸ An obituary mentions her involvement as Bezirksvorsteherin [district head] for the support of poor pregnant women. Anon., "Fürstin Marie Liechtenstein," *Das Vaterland*, 16.06.1884, 2.

“The reverential Undersigned Head of the Women’s Association of Working Schools received knowledge, that the immortalised Baroness Antonie v. Lilien, member of the association, left in her will 1000 Gulden under the term ‘to the aristocratic ladies’ association’.”⁶¹⁹

The Society of Aristocratic Ladies to Promote the Good and Useful [*Gesellschaft adeliger Damen*] was in newspapers occasionally shortened to *Verein adeliger Damen* or *Adeliger Damen Verein* [Aristocratic Ladies’ Association], so at least for contemporary reader the donation of 1000 gulden would have been associated with this society. However, in her letter Marie Liechtenstein claimed the 1000 gulden for the Association for Working Schools “because there is no association with such a name [Aristocratic Ladies’ Association].”⁶²⁰

Baroness von Lilien had worked closely with Countess Liechtenstein in both associations; the women had been part of the committee for organising the annual needlework exhibition hosted by the Society of Aristocratic Ladies⁶²¹, and Baroness Lilien had been a board member of the Women’s Association for Working Schools, as Marie von Liechtenstein underlined in her letter to the governor. Possible doubts about which association was bequeathed the money were not ignored by Marie Liechtenstein but skilfully resolved:

[...] so it seems without doubt that here only a mistake in the designation prevailed, because the intention is undeniably that Baroness Lilien, who promised the association a regular contribution of 50fl according to her own signature, and who met this promise every year, wanted to give this donation in the form of the above-mentioned legacy for a perpetual period.”⁶²²

In the second letter of Countess Liechtenstein dated the 9th of March 1858 and addressed to Governor Emminger she argued in a similar fashion. The lawyer Leopold von Würth had left 100 gulden in his will “*den weiblichen Arbeitsschulen*” [to the female working schools]. The treasury solicitor [*Finanz Prokurator*] had subsequently contacted the Women’s Association

⁶¹⁹ Original: "Der ehrfurchtsvolle Gefertigte Vorsteherin des Frauenvereins für Arbeitsschulen ist Kenntniß geworden, daß die verewigte Frau Baronin Antonie v. Lilien, Mitglied des Vereins, in ihrem Testamente, unter der Bezeichnung „dem adeligen Damenverein“ eintausend Gulden hinterlassen habe." WStLA, Sign. 1.3.2.119.A10/2.66, Frauenverein für Arbeitsschulen, Marie v. Liechtenstein an Freiherr v. Eminger.

⁶²⁰ Original: "Da jedoch kein derart benannter Verein in Wien existiert [...]." WStLA, Sign. 1.3.2.119.A10/2.66.

⁶²¹ Antonia Lilien, Marie Liechtenstein and the wife of the Lower Austrian Governor, Marie Eminger, are listed among others as engaged in the annual exhibition of needlework in 1851. Anon., "Dreizehnte Ausstellung weiblicher Arbeiten, veranstaltet von der Gesellschaft adeliger Damen zur Beförderung des Nützlichen und Guten," *Wiener Zeitung*, 18.04.1851, 857.

⁶²² Original: "[...] so scheint es außer Zweifel zu sein, daß hier nur ein Versehen in der Benennung obwalte, da die Absicht unverkennbar ist, daß Frau Baronin Lilien die 50f mit welchen sie den Verein, laut eigenhändiger Unterschrift zu unterstützen versprochen hat, und bisher jährlich auch erfüllte, durch obgedachtes Vermächtniß für immerwährende Zeiten zu fundieren gesonnen war." WStLA, Sign. 1.3.2.119.A10/2.66

for Working Schools to claim the bequest; however, the manager of the estate Dr. Obermayer was not willing to give his approval since not all working schools were under the leadership of the association. Subsequently the governor had to decide which organisation was to receive the money. Marie Liechtenstein argued that Leopold von Würth could only have had the association under her leadership “in mind” [*im Sinn hatte*]. Liechtenstein did not mention the other women’s association engaged in the project of providing working schools for girls from poor background in her letter, namely the Charitable Women’s Association, but vaguely referred to it in her concluding argument: “[...] while the guess which suggests itself is that the deceased did not even know about the existence of female working schools which are not placed under the Women’s Association for Working Schools.”⁶²³ Additionally, Marie von Liechtenstein mentioned in her letter a meeting between her and the heiress of the will, Mathilde Selliers von Moranwille, who shared her opinion that Leopold von Würth had not known any other association involved in setting up working schools.

Governor Emminger, whose wife Marie was also an active member of the Women’s Association for Working Schools, decided both cases in favour of Marie von Liechtenstein. The treasury solicitor found a tactful solution for the question of which association was designated the titles “Aristocratic Ladies’ Association”. The solution came in the form of an additional 300 gulden from Antonie von Lilien’s estate, which appeared to be free to donate and was therefore bequeathed to the Society of Aristocratic Ladies. 1000 gulden from Baroness Lilien’s estate together with 100 gulden donated by Leopold von Würth went to the Women’s Association for Working Schools. Marie von Liechtenstein was satisfied with this solution, as she expressed in a thank-you note to the governor’s office:

“The sincerely undersigned associational management expresses its warmest thanks to the treasury solicitor for the inclined transfer in the interest of the association with the 30th of August 1858 Z. 31164 and allows to add the statement, that there will be no obstacle to the transfer of 300fl to the Aristocratic Ladies’ Association [...]”⁶²⁴

The last part of the sentence reveals a feature prevalent in Marie von Liechtenstein’s letter writing, which could be interpreted as sarcasm. However, a better interpretation is possible by

⁶²³ Original: “[...] während andererseits die Annahme, daß dem Herrn Erblasser das Vorhandensein anderer nicht unter dem Frauenverein für Arbeitsschulen stehenden weiblichen Arbeitsschulen unbekannt sein dürfte, ganz nahe liegt.” WStLA, Sign. 1.3.2.119.A10/2.66.

⁶²⁴ Original: “Jedem die ergebnstgefertigte Vereinsdirektion für die geneigte Anweisung an die k.k. Finanz Prokuratur im Interesse des Vereins detto 30. August 1858 Z. 31164 ihren wärmsten Dank ausspricht erlaubt sie sich zugleich die Erklärung beizufügen, daß der Ausfolgung der [...] 300fl für den adeligen Damenverien von Seite des Frauenvereins für Arbeitsschulen kein Hinderniß entgegensteht.” WStLA, Sign. 1.3.2.119.A10/2.66.

thinking in terms of entitlement. First the chairwoman had argued that it was impossible that the Society of Aristocratic Ladies was meant with the designation “Aristocratic Ladies’ Society”, but after she had successfully lobbied for her association and the administration had found a way to satisfy both associations, she used the designation as a generous gesture herself.

The element of entitlement is important for analysing the activities of women’s associations engaged in the establishing working schools during the 1850s. In the aftermath of the revolutionary years of 1848 and 1849 a space opened up for women from a middle-class background to join forces with the women of nobility to save the proletariat from moral decline. Previously, bourgeois women had been members of the Society of Aristocratic Ladies in local associational branches where activities involved either collecting donations or poor relief. However, the extensive and organised visiting of homes of “the poor” which started after the October Revolution in Vienna was unprecedented. The Charitable Women’s Association founded in December 1848 gave women of the *Bürgertum* (some of whom had been ennobled during the previous decades), the chance to claim a superior position in society and to distinguish themselves. Furthermore, it should be not underestimated how these women claimed authority in an area that usually belonged to male pastoral care. In a description of the activities of the association which was part of an appeal for funding, the element the *Bürgertum* used to distinguish itself from the so-called old aristocracy was also used to demarcate the class difference between the bourgeois women and the proletarian parents; the women recounted how touching it was to see “how happy they [the children] feel already as a result that educated women are interacting with them and are concerned about their wellbeing.”⁶²⁵ Other adjectives could have been used like “Christian”, “charitable”, “motherly” or “caring”, but the writers of the appeal decided to emphasise their status as “educated women”.

On the Content and Purpose of Working School Education

“In the working schools the tendency of begging and idleness should be blighted through the awakening of true religiosity, the habituation to order and cleanliness, and the introduction of later useful domestic activities; furthermore, the sense for an orderly Christian lifestyle should be nurtured and promoted, and as a result the developing generation be wrested from the blight of irreligiosity, laziness, thoughtless indolence, and the resulting demoralisation.”⁶²⁶

⁶²⁵ Original: “[...] wie glücklich sie sich schon dadurch fühlen, daß gebildete Frauen mit ihnen umgehen und für ihr Wohl besorgt sind.” Braun, Kraus, and Kreiner, “Aufruf,” *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.10.1850, 3230, 807.

⁶²⁶ § 3 of the association's statutes. Original: “In den zu errichtenden Arbeitsschulen soll durch Erweckung wahrer Religiosität, durch Gewöhnung an Ordnung und Reinlichkeit, und durch Einleitung zu später nutzbringender

Extracts from reports by women who were engaged in saving girls from their demoralising environment allow a glimpse into the educational efforts prevalent in charitable working schools. These efforts had a strong bodily dimension. Gabriele von Neuwall, a land owner who was responsible together with Countess Lilienberg for a school in Margareten, reported that the girls attending the school had made significant progress in regard to their morality, diligence, cleanliness and increased skill in needlework. The children would carry the imprint of healthiness and happiness with them; Neuwall explained this point in greater detail:

“I (Neuwall) underline this point in particular, since when I started out supervising the school I was most unpleasantly touched by the negligence of the children, their hair never or very rarely combed, the complete lack of cleanliness of their clothes or body.⁶²⁷”

Gabriele von Neuwall continued her observation specifying her discomfort that “the heads of many girls were as a result of this negligence so sick and wounded that it required a great effort to deal with them.”⁶²⁸ The women engaged in setting up and running charitable working schools came into close contact, possibly for the first time in their lives, with the poor living conditions of the majority of people living in the former Viennese suburbs. A pupils’ list for 1854 gives a general idea of the social background of the girls. Amongst the girls Gabriele von Neuwall supervised were the daughters of cobblers, weavers, laundresses, day labourers, journeyman [*Gesellen*] for the businesses of dyeing, watch-making, carpentry, and female and male servants [*Bedienerin, Hausknecht*]. Eighty-four pupils attended the working school in 1854. The age range also exceeded the associations’ guidelines with the youngest girl, Johanna Ber, being five years old. The working schools of the Women’s Association for Working Schools had decided to provide opening hours from ten to twelve in the morning and three to five in the afternoon. However, Gabriele von Neuwall extended the afternoon hours to six and added a note in the front-page to the pupils’ list, explaining that the girls who had already completed their compulsory education were allowed to arrive at the school at nine in the morning.⁶²⁹ The supervisor also showed flexibility in her willingness to accept Jewish girls into

häuslicher Thätigkeit, der Hang zu Bettel und Müssiggang erstickt, der Sinn für geordnete christliche Lebensweise gehegt und gefördert, und dadurch die werdende Generation dem Verderben der Irreligiosität, der trägen, gedankenlosen Arbeitsscheu, und daraus hervorgehenden Entsittlichung entrissen werden.” Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 58.

⁶²⁷ Original: “Ich (Neuwall) hebe diesen Punkt besonders hervor, weil mich beim Antritte der Leitung der Schule, die Verwahrlosung der Kinder, die fast nie oder nur selten gekämmten Haare, der gänzliche Mangel an Reinlichkeit der Kleider und des Körpers auf’s unangenehmste berührte.” Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 82.

⁶²⁸ Original: “Die Köpfe vieler Mädchen waren in Folge dieser Vernachlässigung so krank und wund, daß es Überwindung kostete mit ihnen zu verkehren.” Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 82.

⁶²⁹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/3/4d, Verzeichnis der Mädchen, welche die [...] weibliche Arbeitsschule des Frauenvereins für Arbeitsschulen besuchen, Hundsturm, Pfarre Margarethen.

the Catholic working school. The pupils' list contained the names of four girls with the entry "israelitisch".⁶³⁰

A normal school day for girls usually did not exceed four hours per day of primary schooling. With the addition of working schools, girls spent at least as much time in the working school as they spent in the primary school. Gabriele von Neuwall and other female supervisors were in constant communication with local teachers, both in the primary and working schools, to discuss the girls' school attendance. If a girl did not regularly attend either primary or working school, her parents were taken to task, as Neuwall and Countess Lilienberg described: "The girls attend our [working] school gladly and diligently; if their parents hold them back at home, they usually weep, as the mothers themselves confess when we confront them about it."⁶³¹ As this observation suggests, training girls to obey a moral code of behaviour went hand-in-hand with disciplining their parents. Mothers were a special target of moral instruction. Not all parents were willing to accept this treatment. A pupils' list from a working school in Wieden, founded and supervised by the Charitable Women's Association, contained the entry after the names of two girls, Roessler Barbara, aged ten, and her sister Eleonora, aged nine, who were: "Taken out of school because of a rebuke of the mother."⁶³²

In the case of home inspections, the bourgeois women seemed to have walked in pairs from house to house, apartment to apartment, in order to investigate the domestic situation, since descriptions of these visits always use the plural to refer to the visitors. In the first report of the Charitable Women's Association of the district Leopoldstadt the women were described as saving girls from undesirable living circumstances:

"The investigating women were not seldom confronted with situations, in which especially young girls were found without parents or relatives in a troubling environment, from which they were wrested through the swift provision of another accommodation. In these cases, the women often encountered severe resistance from such shadily hosts, but they always reached their purpose through their resolute perseverance."⁶³³

⁶³⁰ Entry 16.) Kathrin Bendler, aged 11, father butcher; entry 49.) Breyner Franziska, aged 8, father pedlar; Horawetz Maria, aged 8, father farm hand; and Schnürmacher Regine, aged 11, father pedlar. DAW, 275/3/4d, Margarethen.

⁶³¹ Original: "Die Mädchen besuchen gerne und fleißig unsere Schule, werden sie von den Eltern zu Hause zurückgehalten, so fließen häufige Thränen, wie dies die Mütter selbst eingestehen, wenn wir sie hierüber zur Rede stellen." Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 83.

⁶³² Original: ""Wegen einer Zurechtweisung der Mutter aus der Schule genommen." DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/3/4h, Verzeichnis der Mädchen, welche die [...] weibliche Arbeitsschule des Frauen Wohltätigkeits Vereines Wieden besuchen.

⁶³³ Original: "Auch ergaben sich den untersuchenden Frauen nicht selten Fälle, wo besonders jüngere Mädchen, ohne Eltern und Verwandte in einer bedenklichen Unterkunft angetroffen, durch schleunige anderweitige

In the working schools, during the needlework lessons, the girls prayed, learned moral proverbs, religious songs and instructive stories which they were expected to repeat at home.⁶³⁴

In a report by Countess von Thun, the wife of Leo von Thun the Minister for Education and Religion, who with Countess Bussi and Ernestine Preleuthner supervised the working school in Margareten, the civilising aspect of education was emphasised in the description of a rapid transformation process of a girl: "Many girls have substantially gained in their moral conduct, namely one case is to mention in which a particularly wild, neglected girl bettered herself to the extent that she found a special consideration in the distribution of presents at Christmas."⁶³⁵

Stories of transformation were an important feature in the reports. Baroness Peireira-Arnstein and Eleonora Hoyer described the change in three girls of which one had "often wasted whole nights on the dancefloor in dissolute [*liederlicher*] company."⁶³⁶ Girls were also said to have to have bettered their parents by instilling religiosity back into their family homes where they continued to perform needlework in the evenings. With numerous detailed accounts of girls fulfilling their female function by educating their home environment, these reports told a story of successful policy implementation. Another important aspect of the educational mission of charitable female working schools was to teach the girls to build savings. As an incentive to attend the working school and to teach girls about managing money, the association paid the girls small amounts of money for their work or as part of a charitable exhibition of needlework products. Each school encouraged girls to open savings books. In 1852 Baroness Peireira-Arnstein and Eleonora Hoyer pointed to their success in this undertaking by highlighting that already eighteen of the 106 girls who attended their school possessed savings books with a total amount of forty gulden saved. Yet it also happened that parents might take their children out of the school in order to gain access to their savings book which usually contained a couple of gulden, as Iduna Laube explained in a regretful tone at the end of her report for the school in Matzleinsdorf.⁶³⁷

Another reason for leaving school was to enter service, such an entry that can be found in lists compiled for the 1855 school survey. Some working school supervisors not only recorded the

Versorgung der Unsittlichkeit entrissen wurden, wobei die Frauen mehrmals auf heftigen Widerstand von seiten solcher lichtscheuer Beherberger gestoßen sind, aber durch feste Beharrlichkeit stets ihren Zweck erreichten." Frauen-Wohltätigkeitsverein für Wien und Umgebung, *Jubiläumsrückschau und Rechenschaftsbericht des Frauen-Wohltätigkeitsvereines für Wien und Umgebung, 1908* (Wien: Verlag des Vereines, 1909), 18.

⁶³⁴ Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 27.

⁶³⁵ Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 84.

⁶³⁶ Original: "[...] letztere hatte bereits häufig ganze Nächte auf Tanzböden und in liederlicher Gesellschaft durchschwärmt [...]." Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 86.

⁶³⁷ Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 86.

pupils name, age, religion, parents and primary school but also added comments about their moral conduct. The working school in Laimgrube for example noted the departure of pupils with notes like “*ist in den Dienst getreten*” [entered service], or “*ist in eine Lehre gekommen*” [entered an apprenticeship]. One girl who left to enter service, Franziska Emmerich, had been taken on by the working school teacher as a foster daughter and revisited the working school over four years. The list also contained additional information: the degree of a girl’s industriousness and morality was noted, for example “*ziemlich fleißig*” [fairly industrious] or “*sehr sittsam*” [very moral]. There were not only good judgements but also harsh comments. Karoline Dolleck, an eight-year-old girl whose mother was the widow of a tailor had been expelled from the school because of bad behaviour. Another girl was described as “lazy and boisterous”⁶³⁸ and it seems that she was described in such harsh terms because she was an orphan living with a foster mother. The fact that her foster mother was an unmarried laundress was pointed out with an exclamation mark. “Foster mother: Margarethe Pausch, single laundress! Magdaleneng. No. 37.”⁶³⁹ The so-called “certificate of moral conduct” [*Sittenzeugnis*] handed out by public schools, as well as working schools, was important for future employment. Charitable working schools were often a stepping-stone for entering a life in service, as the Women’s Association for Working Schools’ annual report for the year 1858 shows.

“Girls, who leave these schools usually enter service, where, as far as it is possible to inquire, they receive unified praise about their moral conduct and skills; others enter factory work, attracted by the significantly better salaries, where, although the danger of relapse is bigger, they still do not disown the good principles gained in school.”⁶⁴⁰

According to the annual report, leading women of the association were frequently contacted by potential future employers who sought a suitable servant. According to Countess Marie Liechtenstein these recommendations focused on the “*Diensttauglichkeit*” [capability for service] of the girls, who were chosen despite their young age. Factory work constituted competition not only to work in service but also to working schools since it was necessary to

⁶³⁸ DAW, Schulamtsakten 275/3/5b, Verzeichnis der Mädchen, welche die [...] weibliche Arbeitsschule des katholischen Frauen Wohltätigkeits Vereines besuchen, Laimgrube.

⁶³⁹ Original: "Ziehmutter: Margarethe Pausch, ledige Wäscherin! Magdaleneng. Nr. 37." DAW, 275/3/5b, Laimgrube.

⁶⁴⁰ Original: "Mädchen, welche diese Schulen verlassen, treten gewöhnlich in einen Dienst ein, wo, in so ferne Erkundigungen einzuziehen möglich ist, über ihre sittliche Aufführung und Geschicklichkeit ihnen einstimmig das größte Lob ertheilt wird; andere treten, durch den bedeutenderen Verdienst angezogen, in Fabriken in die Arbeit ein, wo sie, wengleich die Gefahr eines Rückfalles größer ist, ihre in den Schulen erworbenen guten Grundstätze dennoch nicht leicht verlügenen." Anon., *Bericht über die Wirksamkeit 1857*, 4.

persuade parents of the benefits of sending their children to a charitable working school instead of adding another source of income to the family. The small donations children received for their work, which they were allowed to save in savings books, counted as an incentive. Another incentive was that the children often received food while attending school. On occasions like Christmas, Easter or other celebrations clothes, shoes and other goods were also distributed. The annual report regretfully emphasised the recurring issue that parents took their daughters out of the school in order to send them to work in factories.

“If fewer of the associations’ pupils were taken out of school prematurely, lured by the higher income in the factories, then our association would already now be able to provide a nice number of useful, well-behaved servant girls, for whom the demand grows increasingly louder and the need becomes ever more noticeable.”⁶⁴¹

In the light of the meagre wage and absolute dependency in a servant position, it is not surprising that complaints were repeatedly voiced that young women themselves frequently opted for factory labour. Referring to the existing legislation on factory work in his publication on the value of a working school education, the secretary of the association, Johann Nepomuk Reméle, suggested that it was necessary to implement the laws since factories were forbidden from hiring children under the age of twelve. Only then would it be possible to transform them into Christian girls with knowledge of all necessary kinds of needlework.⁶⁴² The aim of educating girls to become useful servants was a common goal of both the Women’s Association for Working Schools and the Charitable Women’s Association who had even set-up an association that was especially dedicated to the placement of servants.

Boys’ Occupational Institutes

“This is why we not only want to give Christian advice to the members of the Severinus-Association and the Charitable Women’s Association but also to all other men and ladies, to seriously get to work soon in order to erect a barrier against the terrible corruption of morals which is spreading similar to a disastrous current.”⁶⁴³

⁶⁴¹ Original: "Würden viele Vereinschülerinnen nicht, durch größeren Verdienst in den Fabriken verlockt [sic], vorzeitig aus der Schule genommen, so wäre unser Verein im STande bereits jetzt eine ganz schöne Zahl von brauchbaren, braven Dienstmädchen zu stellen, nach welchen das Verlangen immer lauter und das Bedürfniß immer fühlbarer wird." Anon., *Bericht über die Wirksamkeit 1857*.

⁶⁴² Reméle, *Arbeitsschulen*, 40.

⁶⁴³ Original: "Darum wollten wir denn nicht blos den Mitgliedern des Severinus-Vereines und des wohlthätigen Frauenvereines, sondern auch allen anderen Herren und Damen den christlichen Rath ertheilen, bei Zeiten ernstlich Hand an's Werk legen, um dem furchtbaren Sittenverderbnisse, welches gleich einem verheerenden Strome sich immer weiter ausbreitet, einen Damm entgegenzusetzen." Severinusverein in Wien, "Traurig aber

This appeal directed to both women and men to be active against the dangers of moral decline appear in the end of a report about “Viennese people’s lives” which depicted the moral state of children from lower classes with dazzling descriptions. Similar to moral stories spread by the anti-masturbation campaigners of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, this report emphasised how the environment of the child tempted evil: “Is it therefore surprising, if such boys and sadly also girls, lured and seduced by satanic subjects, submit to the vice? The number of those unlucky is very great, yes, very great.”⁶⁴⁴

A similar wording can be found in a publication written by Franz Seraph Hügel, the director of a children’s hospital [*Kinder Krankeninstitut*] and a crèche facility in Wieden⁶⁴⁵, who compiled an overview of existing humanitarian institutions and advised new institutes. The author called for the establishment of charitable working schools not only for girls, as was usually the case, but also for boys. Why should boys be left to idleness, asked Hügel. In his opinion the time outside school hours was the main source of “the path-breaking vice in youth [...]. Only through the simultaneous establishment of boys’ working schools a protecting dam can be built against the future vices and idleness of whole future generations.”⁶⁴⁶

Boys’ instruction concentrated on its potential usefulness for future apprenticeship, such as spinning, weaving and the production of small goods. However, the main goal of this instruction was to impart “morality, love of order, obedience, industriousness, monitoring of raw materials, the accountancy of their income and respect to the spirit of those institutions.”⁶⁴⁷ The idea for working schools for boys was not new. Already during the second half of the eighteenth century orphanages had been encouraged to contribute to the national economy by adding training classes in order to create industrious citizens.⁶⁴⁸ Nevertheless, after 1848, this idea for boys’ working schools found renewed resonance with the ultra-Catholic *Severinusverein*. In conjunction with the Charitable Women’s Association, the association

wahr. Einige Züge aus dem Volksleben in Wien und der nächsten Umgebung," *Oesterreichischer Volksfreund*, 21.07.1852.

⁶⁴⁴ Original: "Ist es daher ein Wunder, wenn solche Knaben und leider auch Mädchen, von satanischen Subjekten gelockt und verführt, dem Laster sich ergeben? Die Zahl dieser Unglücklichen ist aber groß, ja sehr groß." Wien, "Traurig aber wahr," *Oesterreichischer Volksfreund*, 21.07.1852, 77.

⁶⁴⁵The children's hospital was the second of its kind to open in Vienna, the first had been established by Ludwig Mauthner as mentioned in Chapter Three. Xaver Weigl, "Das Kinder-Kranken-Institut auf der Wieden," *Österreichisches Morgenblatt*, 23.09.1844, 3.

⁶⁴⁶ Original: "[...] des in der Jugend sich bahnbrechenden Lasters [...]. Nur durch die gleichzeitige Einrichtung von Knaben-Arbeitsschulen kann der künftigen Lasterhaftigkeit und Arbeitsscheue der ganzen kommenden Generation ein schützender Damm entgegengebauet werden." Hügel, *Humanitäts-Anstalten*, 115.

⁶⁴⁷ Original: "[...] Moralität, Ordnungsliebe, Folgsamkeit, Fleiß, Ueberwachung der Rohstoffe, Berechnung ihres Verdienstes und zur Anerkennung des Geistes dieser Anstalten." Hügel, *Humanitäts-Anstalten*, 117.

⁶⁴⁸ Heiß, "Erziehung der Waisen zur Manufakturarbeit."

founded two so-called boys' occupational institutes [*Knaben-Beschäftigungsanstalten*] in 1852, in the districts Leopoldstadt and Josefstadt, followed by two more in Rossau and Brigittenau in 1853. The reason for choosing the term *boys' occupational institute* instead of male or boys' working school seems to have been because of the more professional sound of 'institution'. Little material is preserved about the activities of these schools. A newspaper report of the working school in Leopoldstadt gives an idea of the scale of such schools in comparison to similar schools for girls. In 1853 forty pupils aged eight to thirteen were attending the school. The school was open from eight in the morning to seven in the evening which was to guarantee the monitoring of boys during the working hours of their parents: "The purpose of this venture is, to wrest those boys who finished school but are still unfit for an apprenticeship from idleness, and therefore to educate useful and moral members for society."⁶⁴⁹ In comparison to working schools for girls the project never quite gained ground, but some institutes continued to exist until the First World War, as a 1915 newspaper report on a boys' occupational institute in Mödling shows. The purpose of the institute was summarised as follows: "The task of this institute is, to supervise boys with poor parents during the school-free hours, to encourage them to do their homework and to educate them to become good people, loyal Austrians and faithful Catholics."⁶⁵⁰

4.4. Summary

Industrial education underwent a process of change throughout the nineteenth century. For example, the industrial school movement under Bishop Ferdinand Kindermann in late eighteenth-century Bohemia was dedicated to the education of girls and boys in spinning. In the industrial school survey during the 1810s, discussed in Chapter Two, industrial education was not framed exclusively for girls. With increasingly tight regulations that covered all aspects of schooling the imperial government drew up conditions for the new school type of industrial schools for girls. The common belief of the moral benefit of needlework instruction led authorities to exercise a degree of benevolence towards school licence applications. However,

⁶⁴⁹ Original: "Der Zweck dieses Unternehmens ist, jene Knaben, welche der Schule entwachsen und noch untauglich für die Lehre sind, dem Müßiggange zu entreißen, an Thätigkeit zu gewöhnen, sie für ihren künftigen Beruf vorzubereiten, und dadurch für die Gesellschaft nützliche und moralische Glieder heranzubilden." Anon., "Wir wollen heute mit einigen Worten auf eine Anstalt aufmerksam machen [...]," *Die Presse*, 21.01.1853, 6.

⁶⁵⁰ Original: "Die Aufgabe dieser Anstalt ist, Knaben armer Eltern während ihrer schulfreien Zeit zu beaufsichtigen, sie zum Lernen ihrer Schulaufgaben anzuhalten und zu guten Menschen, treuen Österreichern und glaubensstarken Katholiken auszubilden!" At the time of the article forty-three boys were attending the institute. Anon., "Knaben-Beschäftigungs-Anstalt Mödling, Haydngasse 19," *Mödlinger Zeitung*, 24.10.1915, 2.

the applicants had to fulfil certain expectations and use specific argumentation strategies. The negotiation processes show in striking ways how women adapted in their petitions to what authorities expected to learn about their lives. In this respect Liz Stanley has poignantly formulated:

“A concern with auto/biography shows that 'self' is a fabrication, not necessarily a lie but certainly a highly complex truth: a fictive truth reliant on cultural convention concerning what 'a life' consists of and how its story can be told both in speech and, somewhat differently, in writing.”⁶⁵¹

Examples in this chapter have shown how seamstresses appropriated new regulations and took on apprentices under the pretext of running a working school. In the second half of the nineteenth century local authorities realised the potential of industrial education as a way of steering the moral and social development of the working classes. This understanding had developed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and culminated in the establishment of women's associations dedicated to this educational purpose after 1848. The idea that needlework was significant to the moral wellbeing of society continued to be promoted. Ulrike Stobbe, a needlework teacher from Prussia who held lectures on the importance of needlework during the 1880s and 1890s even saw it as a universal remedy for family disputes: “Many disputes which mischievously effect whole generations simply come from the fact that in some families still no appreciation for needlework is prevalent.”⁶⁵²

⁶⁵¹ Liz Stanley, *The auto/biographical I. The theory and practice of feminist auto/biography*. (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 242-243.

⁶⁵² Original: "Viele Zwistigkeiten, die unheilbringend auf ganze Generationen wirken, stammen einfach daher, dass in manchen Familien noch kein Sinn für Handarbeiten Fuß fassen konnte." Ulrike Stobbe, "Die sittlich bildende Kraft des Handarbeits-Unterrichtes," *Der Lehrerinnen-Wart* 1, no. 1 (1889), 12.

5. Educational Institutes

In the Habsburg Empire a lively private school sector developed starting in the late eighteenth century. This sector held opportunities particularly for women. Female entrepreneurs offered needlework instruction in industrial schools, ran private day schools and educational institutes for middle class girls. At the same time the spreading of private boys' educational institutes was restricted. This development shows the educational priorities of the imperial government who left middle-class girls education to a large extent to Catholic institutions and private individuals.⁶⁵³ The Address Book for Trade and Commerce counted one hundred and eight girls' schools for Vienna and its nearby surroundings in 1845: sixteen educational institutes, ten day schools, eighty-seven industrial schools.⁶⁵⁴ In comparison nine boys' educational institutes were listed in 1845.⁶⁵⁵ This chapter closely examines educational entrepreneurs and their school businesses in several case studies.⁶⁵⁶ The negotiation processes between authorities and private school owners reveal the mechanisms of gendered norms, moral expectations and the important role of religion.

5.1. The Housewife Educational Institute

"I have let you be educated there – it was necessary, because you were a mad, wild child; however, now you are a moral and educated woman [gebildetes Frauenzimmer]. One sees instantaneously that nothing is left from your wild nature – Praise God! It is all art, all dressage!"⁶⁵⁷

This quotation comes from the play "Adult" [*Großjährig*] which made its debut performance in 1846. The play's author Eduard von Bauernfeld is one of the best known literary figures of

⁶⁵³ Remarkably during the 1830s an even stricter handling of applications for private boys' schools was legislated, demanding from its male applicants as a prerequisite for a school licence the successful completion of philosophical studies in addition to teacher training. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 291.

⁶⁵⁴ Two schools were listed but not further specified. *Gewerb-Verein, Schematismus 1845*, 286-288.

⁶⁵⁵ The nine private school owners were Friedrich Ficker, Johann Hermann, Wenzel J. Hocke, Ferdinand von Ehrenfeld, Iganz Vincenz Kron, Ritter von Managetta, Carl Schelivsky, Ferdinand Weidner and Josef Zeilinger. *Gewerb-Verein, Schematismus 1845*, 286.

⁶⁵⁶ The focus hereby centres on girls' schools. This decision was not only informed by my desire to specifically make visible female entrepreneurship, but also by the availability of source material. Surprisingly little is documented about private boys' educational institutes for the first half of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁵⁷ Original: "Blase. Ich habe Dich dort erziehen lassen – es war nothwendig, denn Du warst immer ein tolles, wildes Kind; jetzt aber bist Du ein sittsames, ein gebildetes Frauenzimmer, dem man es gleich im ersten Augenblick ansieht, daß von der wilden Natur nichts übrig geblieben – Gott Lob! Es ist lauter Kunst, lauter Dressur." Eduard von Bauernfeld, "Großjährig. Lustspiel in zwei Akten," in *Bauernfelds ausgewählte Werke in vier Bänden*, ed. Emil Horner (Leipzig: Hesses, 1905). Act 1, Scene 1.

this period. One of the main characters in the play, named Auguste, attends a housewife educational institute after her father's death, where she is educated for her future domestic role as wife and mother. Her uncle Blase, or "Bubble" in English, who provided for her schooling explains his motives for choosing this education at the beginning of the play. He emphasises how her "wild nature" had to be constrained. Over the course of events it becomes clear that Auguste is not as domesticated and naïve as her uncle Blase wants her to be. The central theme of the story, is the coming of age of Hermann, a civil servant or "fileworm"⁶⁵⁸ [*Actenwurm*] as Auguste calls him, who is Blase's ward. Blase acts not only as guardian but tries, together with Hermann's factotum Mister Spitz, to discourage any self-reliance and independence that could be sparked in the young man. The play is in fact a satire about bureaucrats, the political system and gender norms of the time. An example of such explicit critique is a conversation between the characters Blase and Spitz. Spitz informs Blase that he found liberal poems [*Verse*] in Hermann's papers. In order to prevent these "free ideas" from spreading Blase decides that there can only one be remedy for Herrmann, "he has to marry immediately."⁶⁵⁹ Auguste and Hermann are paired off. Blase questions Auguste about her knowledge in organising a household.

Blase [...] do you really understand something of home economics, niece?

Auguste. I would think so! Why else did I attend a Housewife Educational Institute? There you learn everything you need to know: geography, pickling gherkins; astronomy, to draw wine off the lees⁶⁶⁰; patriotic history [*Vaterländische Geschichte*], to play comedy; aesthetics, to slaughter chickens – o dear uncle, I am as domesticated as a bird in an art collection: I can do anything, anything."⁶⁶¹

Eduard von Bauernfeld referred to a well-known girls' institute with the same name, which existed around the time the play was written. It was located north-west of Vienna in Jedlese. The Lower Austrian government officially approved the opening of this institute on the 1st of August 1832 in order to take care of "the intellectual education, particularly a complete practical education in all subjects of [Household] Economy" of "ladies as well as girls."⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁸ Bauernfeld, "Großjährig." Act 1, Scene 1.

⁶⁵⁹ Bauernfeld, "Großjährig." Act 1, Scene 3.

⁶⁶⁰ Lees are the sediment of wine present at the bottom of barrels during ageing.

⁶⁶¹ Original: "Blase. [...] oder verstehst Du wirklich etwas von der Hauswirthschaft, Nichte? Auguste. Das will ich meinen! Wofür war ich denn in einer Hausfrauen-Bildungsanstalt? Dort lernt man alles Mögliche: Geographie, Gurken einlegen; Astronomie, Wein abziehen; vaterländische Geschichte, Komödie spielen; Aesthetik, Hühner abstechen – o Herr Onkel, ich bin abgerichtet wie ein Vogel im Kunstkabinet: ich kann Alles, Alles." Bauernfeld, "Großjährig," chapter 2, scene 4.

⁶⁶² DAW, Schulamtsakten 192/30/4a, Bescheid der k.k.n.ö. Landesregierung Betreff Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Institut.

Therese von Dreger, who signed her letters with the addition of her aristocratic birth name “Freyin von Menshengen”, rented a part of a manorial castle in Jedlesee for the purpose of opening the school. In August and September 1832, she advertised this “First Austrian Housewife Educational Institute” several times in the newspaper *Wiener Zeitung*, which included a detailed description of the content of education and rules and regulations. The institute owner put a special emphasis on the healthy environment that the school provided the girls. The building was situated in the countryside but “just one hour from Vienna, far away from all urban distractions, in one of the healthiest areas of Lower-Austria, which does not count even one case of the disastrous cholera.”⁶⁶³ Therese von Dreger described her role as the principal of the school: “The principal has the aspiration to impart her body of acquired knowledge without coercion but objectively and pleasantly like a second mother to the young ladies of every social standing and age, [...]”⁶⁶⁴ Therese frequently emphasised the familiar atmosphere in her institute. The school owner’s self-designation as motherly educator went so far that girls attending the school actually had to call her “mother”. The girls also had to treat each other as “sisters”.⁶⁶⁵

Location and Publicity

After its opening, the institute was not as popular as expected. In a letter to the Archiepiscopal Consistory, Therese von Dreger explained the move of the institute in spring 1834 from the rented premises in the manorial castle in Jedlesee to a house she had acquired in Währing, a location closer to Vienna. She explained her struggle to find parents who were willing to send their daughters to a school so far from the imperial city.⁶⁶⁶ Another reason for the relocation might have been the high rental costs of the manorial castle, especially with only a small number of girls attending the school. As was usually the case for a private school owner Therese announced to the school authorities that she was about to contact the district mayor of Währing concerning the income tax for her business and added a list with the subjects taught

⁶⁶³ Original: “[...] eine Stunde von Wien, von aller städtischen Zerstreung entfernt, in einer der gesunden Gegenden Nieder-Oesterreichs, welche nicht einen Krankheitsfall der verheerenden Cholera auszuweisen hat.” Therese von Dreger, “Erstes Oesterreichisches Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Institut,” *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.08.1832, 181. The cholera epidemic of 1831/1832 caused approximately two thousand deaths. The emphasis on health continued to be part of Therese’s advertisement strategy when she, for example, writes that the institute only counted two sick girls since the founding of the school. *Wiener Zeitung* 07.09.1838, 275.

⁶⁶⁴ Original: “Die Vorsteherin wird sich bestreben, Fräuleins jeden Ranges und Alters als zweyte Mutter ihre gesammelten Kenntnisse ohne allen Schulzwang fachlich und angenehm practisch mitzutheilen, [...]” Dreger, “Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Institut,” *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.08.1832, 181.

⁶⁶⁵ G., “Die österreichische Hausfrauen-Bildungsanstalt zu Währing,” *Der Adler*, 03.05.1839, 334-335, 334.

⁶⁶⁶ The distance between Vienna’s city centre to Jedlesee is approximately seven kilometres, to Währing five kilometres. See <www.luftlinie.org> [20.04.2015].

and the teachers employed. In a possible money saving move and as the number of girls only amounted to approximately ten, her husband Gottfried von Dreger had taken the teacher's exam in order to teach the following subjects⁶⁶⁷: "Reading, writing, arithmetic, German language and style, geography and history, physics and natural history, as well as all subjects of home economics: cultivation, horticulture, winemaking and beekeeping, [...]"⁶⁶⁸ Therese herself intended to repeat these subjects with her pupils and teach all skills related to home economics: "The art of cooking, methods for cleaning clothes, baking bread, curing meat, making soap and candles, and the accounting for the purpose of housekeeping."⁶⁶⁹

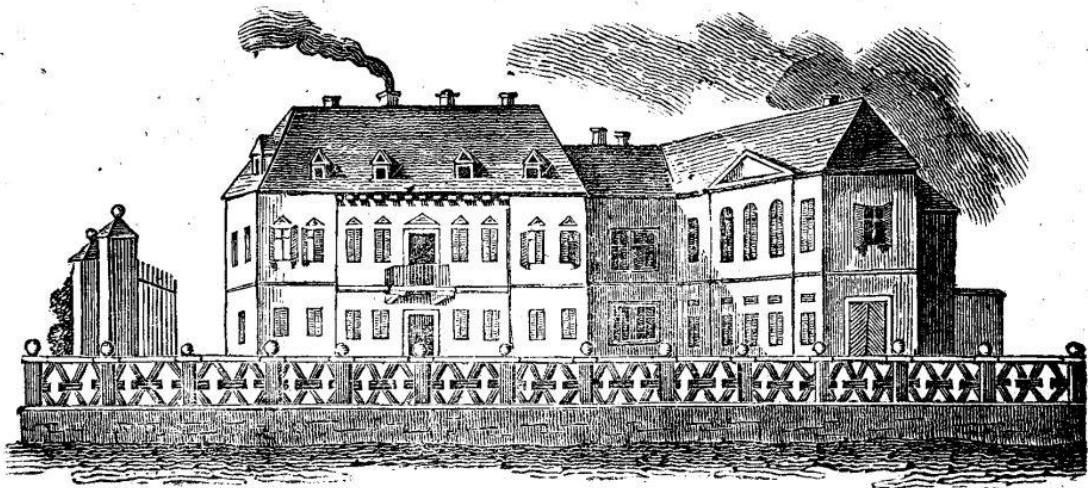
The institute owner and the French teacher Helène Stoedl instructed girls in needlework. The subjects taught in the institute continued to expand over the years. In particular tasks related to agriculture were added. In later years English and Hungarian language education was provided in addition to French as a second language. The expansion required the acquisition of surrounding land, where barns for sheep, pigs and poultry were built. This building work was completed with the addition of a house chapel. Therese von Dreger ensured that even during wintertime the girls were able to attend Sunday mass.⁶⁷⁰ In an issue of the newspaper *Der Wanderer* in July 1840 a writer, by the name of "Galicia" described the Housewife Educational Institute in great detail. Together with a drawing used for an advertisement by the school administration in the daily newspaper *Wiener Zeitung* it is possible to have a clear idea of the building and its surroundings.

⁶⁶⁷ In his day job Gottfried worked as a clerk in the position of a scribe at the University Library of Vienna.

⁶⁶⁸ DAW, Schulamtsakten 192/30/3a, Therese von Dreger, Brief an das f.e. Consistorium.

⁶⁶⁹ DAW 192/30/3a.

⁶⁷⁰ Therese von Dreger, "Einladung für Jugendfreunde zum Besuche der Hausfrauenbildungsanstalt in Wien zu Währing zur stets höheren Aneiferung ihrer Zöglinge," *Wiener Zeitung* 07.09.1838, 275.



[10963]

Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Institut in Währing bey Wien.

[1]

Diese Erziehungs-Anstalt ist durch die redliche Absicht, das Wohl künftiger Familien zu fördern, zu einem allgemein anerkannt nützlichen Institute geworden, woran selbst minder bemittelte Aeltern hinsichtlich ihrer Töchter Theil nehmen können. Die Vorsteherinn hat nunmehr ihr eigenes Haus Nr. 59 in Währing mit Allem versehen, wodurch ihre Zöglinge practisch in jedem Zweige der Haus- und Landwirthschaft unterrichtet werden können, welchen Unterricht sie mit dem intellectuellen höchst nöthig verbinden zu müssen glaubt, dabey nichts überseht, was in den besten Instituten Deutschlands, Frankreichs, Englands und in specie Belgiens, welche Reisen ihr Gatte so eben vollendete, Beachtenswerthes erscheint.

Die Direction dieser Erziehungs-Anstalt.

15 Wiener Zeitung 09.08.1842, 206.⁶⁷¹ ANNO/Austrian National Library.

The picture shows a print drawing of a house which possibly resembled building No 59 in Währing, called "La Belle Vue" in contemporary travel guides and reports.⁶⁷² There is no sign of the pupils. Only six windows on the first floor, which are shown half-open while the ground floor is depicted as completely closed. The smoke coming out of the chimney signified activity and suggested that the house was occupied. According to the magazines' report, the house consisted of utility rooms, five halls and eighteen chambers.⁶⁷³ The chimney smoke could come from one of the numerous types of oven described in the account: stoves for the kitchen, the washhouse and the bakery [Backhaus], or from the smokery and the distillatory [*Branntweimbrennerei-Öfen*].⁶⁷⁴ Distinctly visible is a wall and a gate to the left, suggesting that the institute

⁶⁷¹ Translation: "This educational institute developed through the good intention to enhance the well-being of future families to a general acknowledged useful institute, where even less well-off parents can participate as to their daughters. The principal has equipped her own house No 59 in Währing with everything in order that her pupils can be practically educated in each branch of the house- and field economy. She strives to combine this education with the intellectual one so nothing is left out what is notably in the best institutes in Germany, France, England and in specie [apparently] Belgium, from which her husband recently returned." Wiener Zeitung 09.08.1842, 206

⁶⁷² Johann Pezzl, *Beschreibung von Wien*, 8 ed. (Wien: Mayer, 1841), 238.

⁶⁷³ Galicia, "Die österr. Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Anstalt zu Währing," *Der Wanderer im Gebiete der Kunst und Wissenschaft, Industrie und Gewerbe, Theater und Geselligkeit*, 25.07.1840, 706-707, 706 [2].

⁶⁷⁴ Galicia, "Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Anstalt," *Der Wanderer im Gebiete der Kunst und Wissenschaft, Industrie und Gewerbe, Theater und Geselligkeit*, 25.07.1840, 706-707, 706.

was secure. Despite its closed appearances, visitors were welcome. In many of her advertisements Therese von Dreger emphasised the accessibility of the institute when travelling from Vienna. After the relocation in 1834 she had organised what would be called “a shuttle service” by today’s standards, which was a private horse-drawn coach that travelled from Vienna’s city centre to the institute several times per day or more frequently during the summer months.⁶⁷⁵

Every Thursday afternoon the institute was open for parents’ visits and the interested “distinguished” public. Surprise visitors were more than welcome when they were members of the aristocracy. A report in the *Wiener Zeitung* in March 1836 covered the “surprise visit” of Archduchess Sophie, the mother of the future Emperor Francis Joseph I, who visited the Housewife Educational Institute during a Saturday lunchtime meal. Archduchess Sophie was accompanied by her first court Lady Countess Herberstein. Such visits to schools and charity organisations were part of the regular routine of the high aristocracy. For Therese von Dreger it was good that the “assertion of great satisfaction”⁶⁷⁶ was reported on the front-page of the newspaper. The relocation of the institute to Währing which had only been attended by ten girls in 1832 was worth the effort; at the time of Archduchess Sophie’s visit thirty girls were attending the institute. The newspaper put a special emphasis on the “motherly diligence and love” Sophie was said to have shown not only to the girls attending the institute but also to the children of Therese and Gottfried living in the same house. Such visits and the biannual public exams were important occasions to receive public recognition. Reports about these public exams and the invited guests were usually published in newspaper; for example, one newspaper reported that the event of Archduchess Sophie’s visit “satisfied not only the parents of the boarding people, but also exhilarated all attendants.”⁶⁷⁷ In addition to such events the participation in charitable causes helped to keep the institute advertised and visible to the public. Therese von Dreger participated with her school in the annual needlework exhibition hosted by the *Society of Aristocratic Women to Enhance the Good and the Useful* around Easter time.⁶⁷⁸ Natural catastrophes were another occasion to perform charitableness publicly. In March 1838 the high-water of the Danube caused severe flooding in West Hungary. Therese

⁶⁷⁵ Private coach from Stephansplatz to the Housewife Educational Institute. First advertised in *Wiener Zeitung*, 28.06.1834, 787. Also on the timetable for travel options gathered by Adolf Schmidl, *Wien’s Umgebungen auf zwanzig Stunden im Umkreise. Nach eigenen Wanderungen geschildert*, 3rd ed. (Wien: Carl Gerold, 1839), 663.

⁶⁷⁶ Anon., "Samstags den 19. März d. J. geruhten Ihre kaiserl. Hoheit..." *Wiener Zeitung*, 26.03.1836, 395, 1.

⁶⁷⁷ Anon., "Prüfung und Abendunterhaltung in der Währinger Hausfrauenbildungsanstalt," *Der Adler*, 19.09.1843, 908 [4], 908 [4].

⁶⁷⁸ L.F., ""Ehret die Frauen, sie flechten und weben"," *Der Österreichische Zuschauer. Zeitschrift für Kunst, Wissenschaft und geistiges Leben*, 12.04.1839, 451-52 [7-8].

and Gottfried offered scholarships to fifty girls “from distinguished houses” for a reduced fee and two to three orphans or impoverished girls gratuitously for three years to the Chancellery of Hungary. The *Wiener Zeitung* usually advertised such offers or donations and emphasised the generosity and philanthropic intentions of the donors.

Money, Money, Money

To maintain a school was an expensive undertaking, particularly on the scale of the Housewife Educational Institute. The pressures of maintaining the school can be detected in the correspondence between Therese von Dreger and the Archiepiscopal Consistory. In an angry letter in February 1837 Therese informed Karl Eckl, the parish priest of Döbling, about the high costs of maintaining the institute. Karl Eckl had been for a brief period in charge of religious education at the institute where he taught for two hours per week on Monday and Friday morning. He resigned without notice after only a few weeks of teaching; it seems that a conflict about the payment was the reason for his resignation. In Eckl’s short statement to the Archiepiscopal Consistory about his resignation, he remarkably addressed Gottfried von Dreger as the principal, although Therese von Dreger was the institute owner and signed her letters and advertisements explicitly with “owner and head of the institute.”⁶⁷⁹ The parish priest charged one gulden per hour of instruction and had insisted on being paid immediately after the lesson. Therese did not report what she normally paid as an hourly wage to a teacher, instead she provided a calculation of the daily expenses for her institute. If “every teacher like your Reverend would charge one coin in conventional currency for every hour counting the exact minute”⁶⁸⁰, according to Therese, this charge would amount to twenty-two gulden per day as she ran two parallel classes daily. If classes were taught from Monday to Saturday as was the case in the Housewife Educational Institute, then based on Therese’s calculation the monthly costs “solely for teachers” amounted to 572 gulden.

“Three years my in that way uniquely existing institute proved itself through the sacrifice of my fortune and even my health to the highest court, the archbishop himself and the school-supervisors; and I am to be honest tired of sacrificing and frankly speaking against minutes and persons [Emphasis in the Original], as I am used to speak out about the world in general.”⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 192/29/5c, Karl Eckl: Hochwürdiges Decanat! 22.02.1837.

⁶⁸⁰ Monetary unit: fl. C.M. = gulden (florin) of conventional currency (in circulation before 1857). 1 gulden (fl.) = 60 kreuzers (kr).

⁶⁸¹ Original: "Drei Jahre hat sich auf diese Weise mein anständig unstrittig allein bestehendes Institut von dem allerhöchstem Hofe, den H. Erzbischofe und den Herren Schuloberaufseher mit Aufopferung meines Vermögens

After this statement Therese closed her letter with the request of a receipt from parish priest Eckl for the payment.⁶⁸²

Whether or not Therese was exaggerating in her statement is unclear. However, the expenses for the institute were surely quite high, thereby consuming Therese's dowry. The financial situation was not helped by the fact that Therese's husband was a civil servant whose income was presumably similar to that of Eduard von Bauernfeld.⁶⁸³ The writer Bauernfeld earned eight hundred gulden per year as a low ranked public servant [*Konzipist*] working for the states' lottery with an additional 150 gulden billet compensation.⁶⁸⁴ A clerk in his position would have paid approximately a third of his wage to send a daughter to Therese von Dreger's institute. In 1840 the quarterly fee amounted to seventy gulden without education in music and drawing, another ten gulden were added if these subjects were requested. The Dreger institute's fee between 280 to 320 gulden was average for an institute which functioned as a boarding school and where, in addition to needlework and the compulsory subjects, skills like languages, knowledge in history, natural history, dancing or playing the piano were taught. The annual fee of these schools ranged from 200 to 450 gulden in 1838.⁶⁸⁵

A considerable expense for the parents or guardians was that each girl had to bring her own utilities upon arrival at the institute. It was a complete move for the girls from their homes. One carriage must have been barely able to carry the list of required items for arrival.

"Additionally to simple dresses and the necessary lingerie with a couple of aprons each mademoiselle has to bring cutlery, six plates, six napkins, six towels, six linen sheets, three pillow cases, one bound straw sack and a mattress, one pillow, two blankets, a washbasin, combs, brushes and a sponge, all of which will be put on the inventory list."⁶⁸⁶

ja selbst meiner Gesundheit bewährt, u. ich bin des Opfers müde, um recht ehrlich von der Leber gegen Minuten u. Menschen [Unterstrichen im Original] zu sprechen, wie ich von der ganzen Welt zu sprechen gewohnt bin." DAW, Schulamtsakten 192/25/5b, Therese von Dreger: Euer Hochwürden! Währing 20.02.1837.

⁶⁸² Approximately three to four kilogrammes or seven to eight pounds of the luxury good meat could be purchased with one gulden in 1837. Tomas Cvrcek, "Wages, Prices, and Living Standards in the Habsburg Empire, 1827-1910," *The Journal of Economic History* 73, no. 1 (2013), 1-37. Supplementary Materials, sheet "Vienna".

⁶⁸³ Waltraud Heindl provides insight into civil servants' incomes in different professional positions. The annual wage of low ranked civil servants was approximately 1000 gulden or less in 1841. Heindl, *Gehorsame Rebellen. Bürokratie und Beamte in Österreich. 1780 bis 1848*, 172-196.

⁶⁸⁴ Eduard von Bauernfeld, *Aus Alt- und Neu-Wien* (Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1873), Chapter 8.

⁶⁸⁵ Joseph Kaiser, "Chronologische und statistische Uebersicht der Volksschulen, der Privat- Lehr und Erziehungs-Anstalten, und der für Volksschulen und ähnliche Anstalten bestehenden Stiftungen in der Wiener Erzdiocese," *Österreichisches paedagogisches Wochenblatt* 3, no. 3.4. Quartal (1844), 107-108: 117.

⁶⁸⁶ Original: "Nebst einfachen Kleidern und der nöthigen Leibeswäsche mit einigen Vortüchern, hat jedes Fräulein ein Eßbesteck, 6 Teller, 6 Serviette, 6 Handtücher, 6 Leinentücher, 3 Kopfkisse-Ueberzüge, einen gehefteten Strohsack und eine Matratze, 1 Kissen, 2 Decken, 1 Lavoir, Kämmen, Bürsten und einen Schwamm mitzubringen,

Admission to the institute was permitted for girls between the ages of five and nineteen. School attendance was possible as part of compulsory education from age six to twelve or students could attend for shorter periods of time. The minimum stay at the institute was three months. When the Dreger couple proposed to take on children from the floodplain in Western Hungary in 1838, their offer of reduced fees was tied to the girl's age: from age five to ten the annual school fee was 140 gulden per year instead of the average fee of three hundred gulden but a compulsory attendance of six years was required. Girls between ten and fifteen were permitted to attend the institute for 180 gulden per year. For fifteen to twenty-year-old pupils an annual fee was two hundred gulden as a special offer due to the natural disaster. However, Therese von Dreger offered this reduction only if the pupil attended her institute for five years.⁶⁸⁷

Average income in Western Hungary was generally lower than in Vienna, so the offer was not necessarily a philanthropic one but a business decision to expand the potential pupils and audience for the school while appearing charitable. Connecting the reduced fee to attendance for several years potentially guaranteed a certain predictability of income and enrolment numbers, a crucial problem not only for staff but also pupils.

“Observez les Dehors, Mesdemoiselles!” [Watch your Appearance, Ladies!]

The Housewife Educational Institute is part of a wave of domestic ideology manifesting in Western European societies since the second half of the eighteenth century, which intensified in later decades of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸⁸ At the centre of this ideology stands the married couple with the woman as the housewife and mother and the man as the breadwinner operating in the public sphere. The ideals connected to this model are also to be found in the moral teacher as a role model. In the case of women, the motherly ideal was evoked in the “humble, kind and loving mother.” Therese von Dreger was skilled in fashioning herself as a motherly educator for future housewives. Her aspiration was not only to equip “future busy mothers of families and sensible women”⁶⁸⁹ with practical skills but also to realise her “innate favourite inclination”⁶⁹⁰ [*Lieblingsneigung*] to educate. Therese emphasised that she personally

welches inventarisch aufgenommen wird." Galicia, "Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Anstalt," *Der Wanderer im Gebiete der Kunst und Wissenschaft, Industrie und Gewerbe, Theater und Geselligkeit*, 25.07.1840, 706-707, 707.

⁶⁸⁷ Anon., "Wien. Die Eigenthümer der Hausfrauen-Bildungsanstalt ..." *Wiener Zeitung*, 04.05.1838, 645.

⁶⁸⁸ The ideology comprises binary oppositions like the so-called public and private divide, breadwinner and stay-at-home mother model and puts the nuclear family in the centre of society. Rebecca Rogers, "Learning to be good girls and women. Education, training and schools," in *The Routledge History of Women in Europe since 1700*, ed. Deborah Simonton (New York: Routledge, 2006), 93-133.

⁶⁸⁹ Dreger, "Einladung für Jugendfreunde," *Wiener Zeitung* 07.09.1838, 275.

⁶⁹⁰ Dreger, "Einladung für Jugendfreunde," *Wiener Zeitung* 07.09.1838, 275.

instructed her pupils in all domestic science subjects in a practical manner. She expressed her humility by underlining that monetary considerations had not led her to dedicate herself to education; “self-interest” was alien to her [*ihr Eigennutz fremd sey*].⁶⁹¹ Interestingly advertisements for the institute portrayed fathers or guardians as being in charge of providing for a safe transition from childhood to womanhood by instilling this domestic ideology. This is illustrated by a reader’s letters signed with “a family father” which advertised the institute during the late 1830s, the most fruitful and successful years of the institute. The anonymous author portrayed the advantages of the school for the general public and to future families concluding his appeal to fellow fathers.

“He can therefore urgently recommend this institute with great joy to all family fathers whose daughters’ future is close to their hearts and who wants to equip them for the numerous dangers which lie ahead when a girl enters the world.”⁶⁹²

Also, a newspaper report on the annual exam held at the institute highlighted the role of morality, which was instilled by the fathers’ choice of education: “The pupils appeared to be equipped with a pool of knowledge covering everything and are so finely and morally educated, as only an always tender father can wish for.”⁶⁹³

The ideal of fatherhood is depicted in these sources as understanding and tender. The role of the father is not confined to financial care but also to prepare women for “the world”. In this notion the binary of public and private can be found yet again – the fathering male operating in the public realm had to ensure the girl’s passing from the “privacy” of one nuclear family to the next was assured through the girl’s preparation for her future domestic role. In this sense, the Housewife Educational Institute offered a liminal space for this important transition.

What the role of wife was supposed to be is made very clear in a discussion in the newspaper *Der Adler*. The anonymous author criticised the “confusion” concerning girls’ education that

⁶⁹¹ Therese von Dreger, “Lehr- und Erziehungsplan der von der hohen Nied. Oesterr. Landesstelle autorisirten (sic) Oesterreichischen Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Anstalt zu Währing,” *Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung*, 155. Here similarities to female Victorian teachers as described by historian Marianne Larsen can be found. Marianne A. Larsen, *The Making and Shaping of the Victorian Teacher. A Comparative New Cultural History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2011).

⁶⁹² Original: “Mit wahrer Freude kann er daher diese Anstalt allen jenen Familienvätern auf das Dringendste empfehlen, welchen das Wohl ihrer Töchter am Herzen liegt, und welche sie ausrüsten wollen gegen die zahllosen Gefahren, welche der einstige Eintritt eines jungen Mädchens in die Welt mit sich bringt.” Ein Familienvater, “An Familienväter,” *Der Adler*, 25.04.1842, 425-426 [3-4], 425-426.

⁶⁹³ Original: “Die Zöglinge erwiesen sich sämmtlich mit einem für das weibliche Leben mehr als zureichenden Fond von Kenntnissen ausgerüstet und so fein und sittlich erzogen, als es nur immer ein zärtlicher Vater wünschen kann.” Anon., “Prüfung und Abendunterhaltung,” *Der Adler*, 19.09.1843, 908 [4], 908 [4].

had produced a popular image of dreamy middle-class girls standing at the window rhapsodising with a volume of poet Jean Paul in their hands.⁶⁹⁴ This mistaken view saw the essentials of female education for the middle and upper classes lying unfortunately “in the parrot-like imitation of the French jargon which causes the French national at least a smile of contempt and the German a blush of shame.”⁶⁹⁵ After further explanations about the inefficiency of the current state of girls’ education the author addressed fathers, especially those from less educated backgrounds as well as those fathers who, because of their professional commitments, could not live at home in order to monitor a girl’s education directly.⁶⁹⁶ Every father who came to the right conclusions chose to put his child into the capable care of principal Dreger of the Housewife Educational Institute where, “every girl would early enough learn to focus on the main purpose of her future life: to care for the needs of others.”⁶⁹⁷

The subjects taught at the Housewife Educational Institute give us an idea of the wide range of tasks and the level of basic knowledge in subjects. In Eduard Bauernfeld’s play “Adult” the uncle, in fulfilling a father role, expresses satisfaction with his decision with regards the appropriate of education for his niece in preparation for her future role as a wife. The character Auguste on the other hand, mocks the actual quality of education.

“However, it is nothing with the institute. A girls’ institute – brr! Can you imagine what that means, my gentlemen? Every year a ball is held, where we have to dance with each other – with each other – without men. A ball without men – that’s not a ball. And then the daily walks in corpore [all together], with tripping steps and downcast eyes – but one sees in between and is seen. There the jealousy of the playmates sparks; this one hisses, this one pushes ahead – this one wants to outstrip oneself – there are mean remarks, poisoned glances, sometimes also small punches. “Observez les dehors, Mesdemoiselles!” [Watch your appearance, Ladies!] shouts the skinny, twanging Madame. All are wincing, like sheep in front of a steam wagon, but I know, what I know! The polite young gentleman, all in black, nothing but beard – you know Uncle, some kind of the jeune France – he followed our succession – he draws ahead of me – he bows – he greets respectfully – he is already mine. During the next walk this satellite [Trabant] circles in the most beautiful ellipse

⁶⁹⁴ An interesting account on the significance of the window as a place between public and private in: Konstanze Mittendorfer, “Wi(e)der die Domestizierung der Biedermeierin,” in *Bürgerliche Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1995), 27-80.

⁶⁹⁵ Original: “[...] in der papageienartigen Erlernung eines französischen Jargons, der den Nationalfranzosen zum mindesten ein Lächeln der Verachtung abzwingt und dem Teutschen [sic] ein Erröthen der Scham auf die Wangen jagt.” G., “Hausfrauen-Bildungsanstalt,” *Der Adler*, 03.05.1839, 334-335.

⁶⁹⁶ The anonymous author depicted mothers as inadequate. To him they equipped their daughters with the “wrong principles”. One-sided educated governesses, so the author, did not help the cause either. G., “Hausfrauen-Bildungsanstalt,” *Der Adler*, 03.05.1839, 334-335.

⁶⁹⁷ G., “Hausfrauen-Bildungsanstalt,” *Der Adler*, 03.05.1839, 334-335.

around him, his dominating planet – around me. You see, Mr. Schmerl, this is how we study astronomy.”⁶⁹⁸

Although this is a work of literature certain features of the described behaviour are not unique to this text and can be found in contemporary conduct books and moral literature. The confinement of movement and ways of domestication are as much present in the quotation as the maybe sometimes difficult *quasi*-sibling relationships between the girls at the institute. Free movement as an individual was usually not permitted on school property. Instead female pupils had to walk in groups, “*in corpore*” [all-together]. The tripping steps described by Bauernfeld are an indicator of middle and upper classes at that time, since girls and women were restricted in their movement because of their confinement caused by tight undergarments. Appearance and behaviour required training for moments of public encounters in and outside the home. “Downcast eyes” signify modesty and hinder, what the character Auguste described in the encounter with the young men, any spark of sexual desire. Similarly, shaping the relationships in a school as familial had a desexualising function. The evocation of family relations was a way of keeping the group together, to create a sense of belonging and to diminish potential feelings of rivalry and jealousy.⁶⁹⁹ It is important to note that in the literature at that time the love between siblings was perceived as pure and educational in a moral sense.⁷⁰⁰

Educational institutes were portrayed as moral and orderly environments with a highly structured daily routine and clear modes of punishment. The house rules reproduced in an

⁶⁹⁸ Original: "s ist aber doch nichts mit dem Institut. Ein Mädchen-Institut – br! Wissen Sie, was das heißt, meine Herren? Da gibt's alle Jahre einen Ball, wo wir unter einander tanzen müssen – unter einander – ohne Mann. Ein Ball ohne Mann – das ist gar kein Ball. Und dann die täglichen Promenaden in corpore, mit trippelnden Schritten und niedergeschlagenen Augen – man sieht aber doch so zwischen durch, und wird gesehen. Da wird der Neid der Gespielinnen rege; das zischelt, das drängt sich vor – das will Einem den Rang ablaufen – es setzt spitze Worte, giftige Blicke, bisweilen auch kleine Püffe. »Observez les dehors, mesdemoiselles!« ruft die magere, näseldnde Madame. Alle fahren zusammen, wie die Schafe vor dem Dampfswagen, aber ich weiß doch, was ich weiß! Der artige junge Herr, ganz schwarz, nichts als Bart – wissen Sie, Onkel, so was von der jeune France – er ist unser'm Zuge gefolgt – er faßt mich auf's Korn – er lorgnirt – er grüßt ehrerbietig – er ist schon mein. Beim nächsten Spaziergang bewegt sich dieser Trabant in der schönsten Ellipse um seinen, ihn beherrschenden Planeten – um mich. Sehen Sie, Herr Schmerl, so studieren wir die Astronomie." Bauernfeld, "Großjährig." Act 1, Scene 4. The analogy with the celestial body is a common trope in the literature of that time. In a popular conduct book published first in Bremen in 1798 but being frequent republished during later decades the author describes the danger of a girl becoming the satellite of her mother who stops rotating when the mother stops moving. Johann Ludwig Ewald, *Die Kunst ein gutes Mädchen, eine gute Gattin, Mutter und Hausfrau zu werden. Ein Handbuch für erwachsene Töchter, Gattinnen und Mütter. Band 1* (Bremen: Wilmans, 1798), 7-8.

⁶⁹⁹ In instructional and entertaining stories of moral literature girls are often depicted not as friends, but loving each other as sisters. A contemporary example is the story of the Greek girl Athanasia in the girls' education institute of Frau A. in Leopold Chimani's publication *Die beweglichen Bilder: mit der Beschreibung einiger schöner Umgebungen Wiens, der Vergnügungen der höheren und niederen Stände, der Volkssitte, und mit mehreren lehrreichen und unterhaltenden Erzählungen*. Wien: Müller, 1830, 150.

⁷⁰⁰ Similar popular perceptions are mentioned by Leonore Davidoff who describes the different implications, meanings and configurations of siblinghood using case studies in the nineteenth century. Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

article about the institute describe the daily routine. Whether the days actually proceeded as described is not documented. However, the house rules give us an idea of what was considered the ideal daily routine at the girls' school. A bell woke the girls at six o'clock in the morning. The pupils got up, dressed and prayed before eating their breakfast consisting of white coffee and soft bread made with milk. Between eight and twelve in the morning different subjects were taught according to the respective timetable. During an hour-long lunch break a four-course meal was served. On Sundays and holidays the girls prepared their desserts in the baking lesson. After an hour of rest, afternoon lessons continued from two to eight o'clock in the afternoon with a short break in-between. At eight o'clock, two dishes were served for dinner followed by a "loud" prayer and silence. Punishment for a transgression was its documentation on a blackboard called the "table of law"⁷⁰¹ by a teacher. Next to a girl's infringement the punishment was written so that all girls knew what consequences to expect from their behaviour. Every Thursday the institute was open to visitors and the girls had to prepare to be examined. Therese von Dreger called this practise "to give in the Thursday leisure afternoons samples of their skills."⁷⁰² During such visits a spirit of cheerfulness was to be displayed. Reports about and advertisements for the school gave a special emphasis on this cheerfulness [*Heiterkeit*] which prevailed at the institute. For the reassurance of parents and the general public a happy family had to be on display, this kind of cheerful display seems to be equally important across institutions and time.⁷⁰³

Intermission

The years 1839 and 1840 had been difficult for the Dreger family. While the institute was attended by a stable number of girls and fewer difficulties were encountered with the staff than in previous years, Therese and Gottfried's private life was marked by loss. Their fifth child, named Caroline Augusta in honour of the Princess of Bavaria, was born a month after Gottfried's father, a former official at the Imperial Court Chancellery, had died at the age of seventy-five.⁷⁰⁴ Gottfried's mother died shortly after, followed by the death of the new-born

⁷⁰¹ Galicia, "Hausfrauen-Bildungs-Anstalt," *Der Wanderer im Gebiete der Kunst und Wissenschaft, Industrie und Gewerbe, Theater und Geselligkeit*, 25.07.1840, 706-707, 707 [3].

⁷⁰² Dreger, "Einladung für Jugendfreunde," *Wiener Zeitung* 07.09.1838, 275.

⁷⁰³ In her portrayal of the homes for veterans after World War One Deborah Cohen describes in the same expectations and the singular focus on the emotional state of cheerfulness of the ex-servicemen. Although the preconditions and consequences of the institution boarding school and home are different, the weak and monitored position of the receivers of care are similar. Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 130-131.

⁷⁰⁴ Sterbebuch Pfarre Währing, Der Herr Eugen Erwin von Dreger gew. k.k. Offizial der vormaligen Reichshofkanzley, 09.09.1839, Sign. 03-05, 0105.

Caroline Augusta who died at the age of seven months in May 1840.⁷⁰⁵ During the summer of 1840 the school authorities put pressure on the couple, when it transpired that a domestic servant had accused Therese's husband of harsh treatment earlier that year for which Gottfried had been punished by the police authority.⁷⁰⁶ As a result the Archiepiscopal Consistory intended to withdraw Gottfried's teaching license.⁷⁰⁷ In the meantime Therese von Dreger successfully petitioned for permission to teach the compulsory subjects herself, arguing that since she went over the content of the classes with the pupils, she was perfectly capable of teaching the subjects. Hieronimus Oesterreicher, supervisor in charge of schools in the deanery, was well-disposed towards the Dreger family. Thanks to his intervention Gottfried was permitted to continue teaching and overall the situation at the school remained as it had been.⁷⁰⁸ Gottfried also had to face changes in his work life. His civil servant position was changed from a university librarian to the position of a cashier at the Imperial Royal State-Debit-Bank [*Staatsschulden-Cassa*], a similar position in the subordinate rank of a clerk.

Possibly to distract himself and out of an ambition for promotion within the hierarchy of officials, Gottfried took up a new occupation in his free time. He became familiar with the newly-emerging technique of the daguerreotype process, which was later advanced to become what is known as photography today. A year later this new hobby led to major concerns by authorities about the school girls' moral welfare, since Gottfried used an annex building of the Housewife Educational Institute as an exhibition space to display pictures with special optical effects.

Who is Looking, Who is Seen?

Gottfried von Dreger started to take an interest in photography after it emerged in Austria in the late 1830s. In 1840 the Viennese mathematician and physicist Joseph Petzval invented a lens with a much higher luminous intensity than had been used by the French photographer Louis Daguerre a few years earlier. Petzval commissioned his invention to the optician

⁷⁰⁵ Sterbebuch Pfarre Währing, Die Frau Theresie von Dreger k.k. Reichs-Hofkanzley Officials Witwe, Geb. Büchner, 19.02.1840, Sign. 03-05, 0105. and Sterbebuch Pfarre and Währing, Dem Herrn Gottfried von Dreger, Cassa Offizier der k.k. Staatsschuldencassa, s. Kind Caroline, 15.05.1840, Sign. 03-05, 0105.

⁷⁰⁶ The degree of penalty was not reported.

⁷⁰⁷ Initially his involvement in teaching should have been limited to substitute teaching when needed but after several changes of teaching staff in the mid-1830s and an incident where colleagues and "acquaintances" were brought to the living room, Gottfried fully took charge of teaching the primary subjects and practical tasks.

⁷⁰⁸ Oesterreicher was able to persuade the Archiepiscopal Consistory that it was only a "temporal vehemence" that had occupied Therese's husband which caused no disturbance among pupils and was in no case an expression of "an incorrigible commonly harmful character" of the accused. DAW, Schulamtsakten 192/29/2b, Erzbischöfliches Konsistorium an die n.ö. Landesregierung.

Voigtländer. The lens became a major success. Through the newly-invented portrait lens, portrait photography became accessible to a broader audience now that taking a picture was possible in a much shorter period of time.⁷⁰⁹ Gottfried von Dreger applied for leave of absence from his clerk's position in order to travel with a camera equipped with the new portrait lens across Western Europe. Gottfried was granted six-weeks leave.⁷¹⁰

"The German improvement of the Daguerreotype was at that point still unknown, so I came to meet the most well-known persons. The improvement made it possible to portray a living person without the help of sunlight within two minutes [...]."⁷¹¹

Having sent a report and related pictures about the journey to Chancellor Metternich, Gottfried was hoping to be employed as an informant to the Chancellor and to change his career.⁷¹² The journey was financed entirely by Gottfried himself and was quite successful in terms of access to Western European nobility of the time.⁷¹³ When the photographer returned to Währing, he waited in vain for an answer from Chancellor Metternich. He neither received the chancellor's attention nor a change in his professional position. Since his return Gottfried had worked on the creation of an exhibition with optical special effects he called *Panopticon*, which opened in summer 1842 in the annex-building of the Housewife Educational Institute. This exhibition was described as an "optical look-out" [*Warte*] and advertised in the major Viennese

⁷⁰⁹ Hans Frank, "Photographen der 1840er und 1850er Jahre in Österreich (Daguerreotypisten, Kalotypisten, Ambrotypisten und Photographen, die sehr früh das Collodiumverfahren anwendeten," in *Vom Zauber alter Licht-Bilder. Frühe Photographie in Österreich 1840-1860*, ed. Christian Brandstätter (Vienna/Zurich/New York: Molden Edition, 1981), 93-110. On the website of the British National Media Museum a Voigtländer daguerreotype camera dated 1841 is exhibited:

<<http://www.nationalmediamuseum.org.uk/collection/photography/photographictechnology/collectionitem.aspx?id=1990-5036/6956>> (retrieved 28.04.2015).

⁷¹⁰ A camera with a Voigtländer-lens cost approximately 120 gulden in 1841. Jens Jäger, *Formen und Funktionen der Photographie in England und Deutschland 1839-1860*, vol. 35, Sozialwissenschaftliche Studien (Wiesbaden: Springer, 1996), 77.

⁷¹¹ Original: "Ich kam durch die allenthalben noch nie bekannte deutsche Verbesserung des Daguerreotypes, in 2 Minuten ohne Sonnenstrahlsbenützung eine lebende Person zu portraituren, vor die bedeutendsten Personen [...]." Report by Gottfried von Dreger to Chancellor Metternich, March 1841. In: Josef Karl Mayr, "Reisebericht eines Photographen aus dem Jahre 1841," *Die Umschau. Illustrierte Wochenschrift über die Fortschritte in Wissenschaft und Technik* 35, no. 49 (1931), 969-971. The author Josef Karl Mayr tells the story of a travel report from the year 1841. The "Report of the Imperial-Royal cashier Gottfried von Dreger to the Austrian state chancellor Fürst Metternich" is attached to the text.

⁷¹² In 1823 Gottfried had already applied for a position in the Court Chancellery and was now asking for a position as consul or foreign diplomat. As the latter he would have earned significantly more than in his position at the time. Mayr, "Reisebericht eines Photographen," 970.

⁷¹³ Mayr, "Reisebericht eines Photographen," 970. Amongst Gottfried's first portraits were the Rothschild brothers who allegedly helped Gottfried to receive access to the French Royal Family. According to his travel report to Chancellor Metternich in March 1841 he had made daguerreotypes of King Louis-Philippe (of France), Queen Victoria I's (of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland) husband Albert and the Belgium Emperor Leopold, a photography magazine published in 1931 calls him one of the first portrait-photographers.

magazines and newspapers as an art curiosity [*Kunstmerkwürdigkeit*] for an interested audience.

What exactly was exhibited in the *Panopticon* display?⁷¹⁴ According to reports of the time the exhibition consisted of an open-air observation platform providing a view over the skyline of Vienna in addition to several exhibition rooms. One set of rooms were called “catoptrics cabinets” in which mirrors were arranged in the shape of an octagon creating an optical effect through the use of a *camera transparens* so to allow natural scenes from Vienna appear floating on the wall. In another room a “flight through the whole of Europe”⁷¹⁵ was displayed by thirty paintings of European cities; the room was called “Europorama.”⁷¹⁶ Gottfried had brought a few of the paintings from his journey to Paris and others he had commissioned from a Viennese painter. Some pictures were equipped with special effects using the flame of gaslight. Gottfried von Dreger emphasised the educational value of this installation. For the “interested youth” a map was provided showing the different routes between the cities depicted in the landscape paintings. For “ladies” a so called “magical cabinet” was furnished with comfortable chairs where they could “engross their minds” in an album with autographs the exhibitor had collected during his journeys.

An advertisement inviting the “entire Viennese audience” did not go unnoticed by officials in charge of school matters at the provincial government and the Archiepiscopal Consistory. Soon after the first advertisement was published, the Lower Austrian government contacted the Consistory urging the supervisor in charge, Dean Hieronimus Österreicher, to visit the *Panopticon* and issue a report. The Vice-President of the Lower Austrian provincial government, Anton Freiherr von Lago, warned of the potentially deleterious effects such an exhibition could have on the female students: “To have this female educational institute close to any disturbing convergence of curious onlookers in one and the same building as the Panopticon seems to be neither decent nor fruitful; [...]”⁷¹⁷

⁷¹⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and punish. The Birth of the Prison*, 195-228. The name immediately sparks associations to Michel Foucault’s metaphor of Panopticism expressing the methods of surveillance in modern disciplinary societies. With this metaphor Foucault referred to Jeremy Bentham’s institutional building the Panopticon prison designed in the late 1700s.

⁷¹⁵ Anon., “Neue Kunstmerkwürdigkeiten,” *Der Adler*, 16.08.1842, 314, 314.

⁷¹⁶ In a re-opening of the exhibition a year later in June 1843 a China-orama was added. Anon., “Panopticon's Wiedereröffnung im Landhause zu Währing,” *Wiener Zeitung*, 07.06.1843, 1210.

⁷¹⁷ Anton Freiherr von Lago was the vice president of the Lower Austrian Provincial Government and together with the president Johann Talatzko Freiherr von Gestieticz in charge for school matters. Original: “Daß diese weibliche Bildungs-Anstalt in deren Nähe jeder störende Zusammenlauf von Schaulustigen weder schicklich noch ersprießlich zu seyn scheint, mit dem Panopticon in einem und demselben Gebäude untergebracht ist; [...]” DAW, Schulamtsakten 192/27/4d, Anton Freiherr von Lago: Von der k.k. noe. Regierung, Wien 11.08.1842.

The authorities were not only concerned about the potential curious onlookers but also about the effect the exhibition might have on young girls. They raised the question whether it was altogether advisable to permit the continuation of the display despite the fact that the advertisements for the exhibition explicitly emphasised its value in the subject of geography. No “dead letter” could provide the girls of the educational institute with the exhibition’s “lively impression and authentic preservation.”⁷¹⁸

The report of the supervisor Dean Oesterreicher was due on the 30th of August 1842. He visited the exhibition and the institute as requested and found that the *Panopticon* was put up with “rare virtuosity and particular effort.”⁷¹⁹ He regarded the appearance as “very entertaining” and assured the Lower Austrian government that there was no convergence of unworthy spectators because of the high entrance fee charged to visit the exhibition.⁷²⁰ So far only five to six people had visited per day. Furthermore, a priest from Vienna was present to ensure peace and order, and to escort and instruct the visitors. The Housewife Educational Institute had its own entrance and therefore no distraction could be caused by the *Panopticon* exhibition. The dean emphasised that he had not discovered an immoral influence of the exhibition on the visitors or the pupils, repeating again that the exhibition was not a “spectacle” for the mob [*Pöbel*]. Oesterreicher suggested not to intervene in Therese and Gottfried’s businesses, particularly because the permission to run the exhibition was in any case limited to the summer months. The presence of a priest on-site appeased the authorities who ended the investigation.

The fact that a priest was present at the exhibition is an interesting part of the arrangement, since he functioned as the personification of morals and sexual abstinence. This point connects to the earlier description of “downcast eyes” with which the dramatist Eduard Bauernfeld described the pupils’ movements in the vicinity of the institute. *Downcast eyes* were required for two typically female tasks, which are often performed together: needlework and praying. The opposite was required for the exhibition, which included standing, walking, an active engagement to look at pictures, or gazing at the horizon. That a special room for “ladies” was established, where they were to assume a sitting position looking at an album with autographs signals the assumption that most of the exhibition was of greater interest to men. However, it

⁷¹⁸ Anon., "Kunst-Nachrichten. Das Panopticon in Währing nächst Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, 25.08.1842, 1746, 1746.

⁷¹⁹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 192/27/4b, Hieronimus Oesterreicher: Hochwürdigstes fürsterzbischöfliches Consistorium 30.08.1842.

⁷²⁰ The small number of visitors was possibly due to the relatively high entrance fee which amounted to one gulden per adult who could bring one child for free. For each additional child half a gulden was charged. When a year later the exhibiton was re-openend for the summer months the fee charged was significantly lower.

also betrays an assumption about woman's highly-scripted codes vis-à-vis the act of looking. In the correspondence concerning the exhibition, the authorities emphasised the dangerous possibility of the girls themselves becoming an attraction for curious spectators. Another unmentioned danger lay in the possibility of the girls turning into spectators themselves, potentially broadening their visual horizon through their engagement with such an exhibition. Gendered attitudes toward "viewpoints" are an important element of Eduard von Bauernfeld's play as well. Uncle Blasé, for example, invites Hermann to look at Auguste in order to judge the particular merits of her appearance. When the future couple are finally together and alone in one room, Auguste assumes a sitting position, and starts to wrap up silk with downcast eyes. Hermann walks around the room, saying to himself "I should look at her – but she does not look up at me."

“Auguste (looks up, lowers her work). Young Gentleman! You are here?

Hermann (comes a bit closer). Yes, my lady.

Auguste. Right! You are told to keep me company.

Hermann. This is what I do. (Stares fixatedly into her eyes, then says to himself.) She is really pretty – but I don't want to tell her.

Auguste. Why are you observing me so attentively?

Hermann. The guardian wants – (Observes her again.) That means - - just continue to work.

Auguste. (Wraps silk, like above). You can't endure my gaze?"⁷²¹

In this scene Eduard Bauernfeld contrasts the active gaze of the female character Auguste, to the hesitating figure of Hermann. Although Hermann is supposed to be the adult and in charge of his businesses, he is in fact fully monitored and guided by his guardian Blase and the advisor Spitz. After this dialogue between Hermann and Auguste, a role reversal in physical expression and behaviour takes place between them. Hermann casts his eyes down when Auguste looks at him, she stands up and Hermann sits down, crosses his legs, and even looks up to her at some point.⁷²² The type of seeing/looking/gazing connected to assigned gender roles are an important part in the play as well as in the discussions surrounding the *Panopticon* exhibition at the estate of the Dreger couple. Looking back at the drawing that was used for advertising the institute in

⁷²¹ Original: "Hermann (in einiger Entfernung, für sich). Ich soll sie ansehen – aber sie blickt nicht auf. Auguste (trällert bei der Arbeit). Hermann (räuspert sich). Auguste (aufblickend, läßt die Arbeit sinken). Junger Herr! Sie sind hier? Hermann (näher sich ein wenig). Ja, mein Fräulein. Auguste. Richtig! Sie sollen mir ja Gesellschaft leisten. Hermann. Das thu' ich (Blickt ihr starr in die Augen, dann für sich.) Sie ist wirklich hübsch – aber sagen mag ich ihr's nicht. Auguste. Warum betrachten Sie mich so aufmerksam? Hermann. Der Vormund will – (Betrachtet sie wieder.) Das heißt – arbeiten Sie nur weiter. Auguste (Seide wickelnd, wie oben). Sie können meinen Blick nicht aushalten?" Bauernfeld, "Großjährig," Act 1, Scene 9.

⁷²² The play "Adult" ends with the prospect of a marriage between the characters Auguste and Hermann. Marriage, depicted as the only meaningful purpose in life for Auguste becomes the new regime for Hermann.

August 1842, the question arises if the closed shutters and strong emphasis on the fence had an additional meaning. The purpose of the depiction could have been not only to show the house but also to signal that the girls were not part of a spectacle since most of the windows appear to be shuttered, not permitting a spectator's view.

A Rapid Decline

From 1842, several sources suggest that the Dreger couple was in severe financial need. Already in summer 1841 the offer of a "summer apartment" preferably for a couple with daughters was advertised, followed by an offer in June 1842 to rent apartments for a year for sixty to eighty gulden in house No. 59 in Währing. Additionally, the rental of the wine cellar attached to the Housewife Educational Institute was advertised.⁷²³ The newspaper advertisements and announcements for the institute got smaller and the number of pupils decreased. Sources give no reason for the decline. In spring 1842 Therese von Dreger applied to change the location of the institute from Währing to the centre of Vienna, in the hope of attracting a broader audience. However, the move was not permitted. Government official Anton von Lago argued that the purpose to educate girls for their future duty as housewives through practical knowledge in home economics was not fulfilled if the institute was located in the city centre where no practical knowledge of farming could be gained.

The expenses for travelling through Europe using daguerreotype and equipping the *Panopticon* exhibition must have been enormous. After the exhibition was opened during the summer months of 1842 in Währing, the display was transferred to Vienna. It reopened in June 1843 in Währing with a significantly lower entrance fee than the previous summer, possibly to attract more visitors.⁷²⁴ In autumn 1843 the last advertisement for the enrolment of girls to the educational institute appeared. Therese von Dreger closed the institute in April 1844.⁷²⁵ In the same month Gottfried advertised his search for a business partner in the newspaper an attempt to start a business in silk, cotton- and sheep-wool production. Gottfried possibly hoped to participate in the still prosperous silk industry but it turned out to be a dead end.⁷²⁶ A month after this attempt, a private sale of the property including the gardens was advertised. Another option proposed was the exchange of the "*palais*" in Währing with a similar property in

⁷²³ Anon., "Um 60 bis 80 Gulden sind Jahreswohnungen von 3-4 Zimmern in Währing Nr. 59 [...] zu beziehen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 22.06.1842, 1039.

⁷²⁴ Anon., "Panopticon's Wiedereröffnung im Landhause zu Währing," *Wiener Zeitung*, 07.06.1843, 1210.

⁷²⁵ DAW, Schulamtsakten 189/4/2, Therese von Dreger legt ihr Befugnis zurück.

⁷²⁶ Anon., "Ein sachverständiger Seiden-, Baum- und Schafwollenstoff-Fabriks-Compagnon [...]," *Wiener Zeitung* 12.04.1844, 523.

Hungary plus an adequate surcharge.⁷²⁷ How the house was sold is unclear. Its ownership changed several times. In 1846 the floors were divided into apartments and rented with or without a garden.⁷²⁸ During the second half of the nineteenth century the sections were unified again and an Orthopaedic Medical Institution was opened.⁷²⁹

After the last advertisement for the school in autumn 1843 Therese von Dreger disappeared from the public. Since there is no entry of her death in Vienna she probably died during the couple's stay in Trieste where Gottfried was appointed to the Provincial Treasury as a comptroller in 1848.⁷³⁰ For how long Therese's husband stayed in Italy is unknown. On a February morning in 1856 Gottfried died as a widower in the Imperial Royal Lunatic Asylum in Vienna aged fifty-six.⁷³¹

More Layers

The project of the Housewife Educational Institute has several layers. Therese von Dreger's institute resembled the private household in Eduard Bauernfeld's play, a space where social and political ideas and ideologies were expressed and negotiated. The House No. 59 in Währing where girls were supposedly prepared for their domestic duties was not only a school building but also a home for the Dreger couple and their eight children of whom two died at a young age.⁷³² Except Gottfried junior all other children of the couple, Friedrich, Therese Maria Octavica, Maria, Benjamine Theresia and Mathilde were born at home with the help of the midwife Aloisia Oesterreicher.⁷³³ Therese von Dreger was forty-three when the youngest daughter Mathilde was born in autumn 1843. Besides the low number of pupils and monetary issues at the time, another reason for the closure of the institute was the Dreger's exhaustion.

⁷²⁷ Anon., "Das herrschaftl. Palais zu Währing Nr. 59 [...]," *Wiener Zeitung*, 08.05.1844, 701.

⁷²⁸ Anon., "Beachtenswerth. In Währing Nr. 59, sind mehrere, theils Herrschafts- theils kleinere Wohnungen [...] zu vermietten," *Wiener Zeitung*, 07.05.1846, 728.

⁷²⁹ Eduard Seis, *Führer durch Wien und Umgebung. Praktisches Handbuch für Reisende und Einheimische*, 4th Edition ed. (Wien: Lechner, 1878), 19.

⁷³⁰ Anon., "Die k.k. allgemeine Hofkammer [...]," *Klagenfurter Zeitung*, 29.03.1848, 116, 116. The couple had three court cases pending in 1848, which means Therese von Dreger was still alive then.

⁷³¹ Sterbebuch Pfarre Währing, Gottfried von Dreger, k.k. Provinzial-Zollamts-Kontrollor, Witwer, geb. von Wien, 10.02.1856 Morgens, Sign. 03-06, 0045.

⁷³² Sterbebuch Pfarre Währing, Dem wohledlen Herrn Gottfried von Dreger, Scriptor in der k.k. Universitätsbibliothek sein Kind, Canutus, 18.06.1836, Sign. 03-05, 0055. Pfarre and Währing, Dem Herrn Gottfried von Dreger, Cassa Offizier der k.k. Staatsschuldencassa, s. Kind Caroline, 15.05.1840, Sign. 03-05, 0105.

⁷³³ The two younger sisters were likely educated together with the pupils of the school. Taufbuch der Pfarre Währing, Friedrich 27.09.1836, Sign. 01-06, 0068. Taufbuch der Pfarre Währing, Theresia Maria Octavia 19.06.1833, Sign. 01-06, 0035. Taufbuch der Pfarre Währing, Maria 11.04.1838, Sign. 01-06, 0112. Taufbuch der Pfarre Währing, Benjamine Theresia 23.10.1841, Sign. 01-06, 0220. Taufbuch der Pfarre Währing, Mathilde 09.10.1843, Sign. 01-07, 0057.

In her correspondence with the Archiepiscopal Consistory the institute owner mentioned her health problems. Giving birth to eight children within a fifteen-year period was not unusual for a woman of her time but surely put pressure on her health.

The institute provided the Dreger family the means and the reason to live on a big estate that would not have been affordable otherwise for a clerk in Gottfried's position. The institute was not only a place for theoretical learning and needlework instruction; the girls also performed farm labour free of charge at the institute as part of their practical education. At this place of production girls between the ages of five and nineteen were prepared for their future roles to produce and reproduce. The sources unfortunately provide no glimpse into the events in the lives of the Dreger couple, such as deaths, accusations and professional changes, which could have influenced the climate at the school. Moreover, it is hard to gauge how Therese and Gottfried as two separate individuals and as a couple influenced the climate of the institute. The same applies to the experiences of the school pupils. How efficient, constructive, attentive or in certain aspects abusive this education was, has left no trace behind.

Therese von Dreger's educational mission was to prepare her pupils for family life by transmitting knowledge about this future position and connected expectations. This project enabled Therese herself and her husband to rise, at least for a decade, above their social standing. Through the school project their household became a publicly acknowledged institution. In official correspondence Gottfried von Dreger was often addressed as the principal of the institute even though his wife Therese held the school licence and publicly represented her business. In the few remaining letters Therese appears vocal and self-reliant. It is doubtful that her husband stood behind every letter she wrote. However, the couple publicly appeared together on numerous occasions. Besides of educational objectives this aspect of representation seemed to have been a driving force for both of them. Therese and Gottfried had a shared goal of getting close to an interesting but also stimulating audience. In financial terms the institute did not promise an adequate cash flow. What it did promise, however, was the realisation of pedagogic aims and public visibility and prestige; for example, it created the opportunity to meet members of the high aristocracy. The institute enabled Therese to position herself as an educational professional within the distinguished circles of Viennese society. In this sense the Dreger couple is an example of members of the low nobility, from families in the second or maybe third generation of civil servants, trying to position themselves within the social fabric of the time and seeking recognition. Both tried to spark attention for their causes, sometimes individually and sometimes as a couple, using their home as a meeting point.

5.2. The Sanctity of Marriage

In 1789 Maria Anna Klement opened one of the first private girls' educational institutes in Vienna's city centre. After her death, a long bureaucratic process concerning the transfer of her school licence took place.⁷³⁴ Finally the widow Marianne von Ostoich received the licence and ran the institute for more than twenty years. When she died in March 1844 her daughter Louise took over the business.⁷³⁵ Louise broadly announced the continuation of the educational institute with her as director and owner:

"This will be so much easier and assured as the undersigned was strongly involved in helping her deceased mother with the maintenance of the institute during the last ten years. Vienna, 7th August 1844. Louise Schilling, born Ostoich."⁷³⁶

In November 1844 Louise Schilling's educational institute became the focus of the police and school authorities; the bureaucratic procedure was to last for two years. The couple Louise and Ernst Schilling had married in April 1839 in the church of St. Peter in Vienna.⁷³⁷ Ernst Schilling was born in 1809 in Lofer not far from Salzburg and had studied philosophy in Salzburg and medicine at the University of Vienna. At the time of his marriage, he was a widower, his first wife had died three years earlier and left him with a son. Ernst Schilling was living with his new wife Louise and his mother-in-law Marianne von Ostoich in a house in the vicinity of St. Stephen's cathedral, in which the distinguished educational institute of Marianne von Ostoich was situated.

In autumn 1840 a schoolgirl from the institute, named Aloisia Schütz, returned from a countryside health retreat. The reports of the following events diverge strongly in language and description of the facts of the case. What is certain is that Ernst Schilling had sexual intercourse with the fifteen-year-old girl. The reports vary from narrating the act as rape to drawing Aloisia Schütz as a temptress with a bad moral background. In the first report of the case from 2nd November 1844 the incidence is still referred to as abuse by the Imperial Commission on Education. However, the case was not prosecuted by the police in 1840. The final investigation, which closed the case, called the events an act of "cohabitation with little resistance."⁷³⁸

⁷³⁴ See Chapter 2.3.

⁷³⁵ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Louise Schilling, 619 [5].

⁷³⁶ Anon., "Anzeige: Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt ihrer seligen Mutter Marianne v. Ostoich," *Wiener Zeitung*, 19.08., 197.

⁷³⁷ Anon., Trauungsbuch der Pfarre St. Peter, Sign. 02-03, 0226.

⁷³⁸ ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

As a consequence, Ernst Schilling was ordered to stay away from the house, where the institute was situated in, and the Schilling couple moved to a nearby apartment. Four years later the case was reinvestigated. As long as Marianne Ostoich was alive the separate living arrangement of the Schilling couple was not a problem. The institute owner Marianne lived at the institute which also functioned as a boarding school for some pupils. In her new function as school owner after her mother's death, Louise Schilling had to move into the school building to monitor the girls who stayed for board and lodging. As a result of this change, she technically lived apart from her husband – an arrangement unacceptable to the Catholic church authorities in charge of school monitoring. Mathias Pollitzer, Bishop of Telmeß, who reported on this matter, insisted on closing the school with the following persistent argument.

“The Schilling couple is now living apart from the educational institute but this is not calming the Consistory. It has the opinion that it will not give in to this arrangement. It insists that the husband goes to his wife. It thinks further that a complete avoidance of the institute by Dr Schilling will not be always realisable. The wife will always be occupied with the institute and implicitly the contact to his wife would be prohibited if the named Dr. med. is forbidden to enter the institute. Therefore, the community of the couple would be forbidden and this is not permitted by law.”⁷³⁹

The law the bishop was referring to was paragraph 92 of the ABGB that defined the necessity for the wife to follow the husband to his place of residence. If a couple was inclined to separate their marriage, they had the option to apply for a so called “Separation of Table and Bed.”⁷⁴⁰ Bishop Pollitzer accused the Schilling couple of undertaking an unauthorised separation of this kind. The storm caused by the Archiepiscopal Consistory did not resonate with other official authorities, who emphasised that nobody had advised the couple to end their union. On the contrary, it was argued that in other professions wives often lived apart from their working husbands. The police referred to the examples of hospital administrators and military officers whose wives lived outside the hospital or barracks. The police court spoke in favour of the couple: the husband of Louise Schilling was partially excused for the wrongdoing because no further event had occurred since the original incident and “the pupil in question made the first

⁷³⁹ Original: "Die Schilling'schen Eheleute wohnen zwar jetzt abgesondert, so das Dr. Schilling mit den Zöglingen der Anstalt gar nicht in Berührung kommt, allein damit beruhigt sich das Konsistorium nicht. Es meint, es lasse sich nicht darauf dringen, das diese Eheleute abgesondert wohnen, ja man möge vielmehr darauf bestehen das ihr Mann zu seiner Frau gehe. Es glaubt ferner, eine gänzlich Fernhaltung des Dr. Schilling von der Anstalt, werde nicht immer Ausführbar seyn. Die Frau desselben werde unaufhörlich in der Anstalt beschäftigt seyn, u. es würde, wenn dem genannten Med. Dr. der Zutritt zur Anstalt verboten würde, implicite ihn auch der Umgang mit seiner Frau untersagt, somit die Gemeinschaft der Eheleute verboten seyn, was nicht zulässig seyn würde." ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Louise Schilling.

⁷⁴⁰ A Separation of Table and Bed [Trennung von Tisch und Bett] was the only available form of separation; the couple was permitted to live apart, but the marriage could not be dissolved.

steps to what caused the immorality.”⁷⁴¹ Louise Schilling herself was regarded to be a “very moral woman with the best reputation.”⁷⁴² The insistence of Bishop Pollitzer’s report nevertheless bore fruit; the school was closed by the Imperial Commission on Education.

Six months later Louise Schilling submitted a petition requesting the continuation of her educational institute. The provincial governor Johann Talatzko recounted her petition in a report to the Imperial Commission on Education. The decision by the commission had caused the “deepest hardship” since the institute was the source of livelihood. Governor Talatzko emphasised that Louise did not know how to protect her three underage children from poverty. Her husband Ernst was only mentioned once in Louise’s petition. He still had to establish a career, she argued, which meant that Louise was the sole provider for the family. Over time the tone in the reports changed towards “Dr Schilling”, who was currently seeking redemption, and was now portrayed as a man who had been seduced by the pupil Aloisia. The school district supervisor Andreas Kastner voiced his opinion in favour of the Schillings. Not mentioned in the report was that the clergyman was the same priest who had married the Schilling couple and whose church was the closest to their apartment. Louise and Ernst probably visited his mass regularly.⁷⁴³ Besides the appeal for forgiveness in a Christian sense the priest touched an important aspect in his appeal to the authorities in support of the Schilling couple. Kastner had taken into consideration whether the abuse was withheld from the public back in 1840, or whether the reputation of the institute helped to keep the trust of the parents despite the negative public attention. The priest opted for the second possibility and emphasised that, in his opinion the parents were reconciled with the “offence” [*das Vergehen*] and they “wanted it to be veiled” [*dasselbe verhüllt wissen wollen*].⁷⁴⁴ The priest’s expression suggests that it was likely he himself who wanted to omit the abuse from the picture and projected this wish onto pupils’ parents with knowledge of the incident. The constant ambivalence of the language in this narrative is striking. While the superintendent called the incidence an offence, the provincial governor changed the tone from Ernst Schilling being portrayed as a repentant perpetrator to a man who was seduced by a girl who “came from an immoral environment.”⁷⁴⁵ According to the report by Johann Talatzko for the Lower Austrian government, the police had investigated the background of the girl in 1841 after a request by the Archiepiscopal Consistory. Aloisia

⁷⁴¹ ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

⁷⁴² ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

⁷⁴³ Trauungsbuch der Pfarre St. Peter, Sign. 02-03, 0226.

⁷⁴⁴ ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

⁷⁴⁵ ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

Schütz was according to the findings of the investigation an “illegitimate child from an illegitimate mother, surrounded by very immoral circumstances and entered the institute of Ostoich with corrupted morals and a stubborn character [*verdorbenen Sitten und verstocktem Charakter*].”⁷⁴⁶

Who paid for the schooling is not mentioned in the report.⁷⁴⁷ A point repeatedly underlined is that the girl was not “deflorished” by Schilling, but by another man, according to the police report. In fear of being pregnant she went to the medical doctor and then it came to the “carnal” interaction: “Doctor Schilling cannot be blamed for seduction; the accusation of immorality is striking him unquestionably but he already suffered for it.”⁷⁴⁸

According to this understanding of events, the abuse was not abuse, since the girl was no longer – in Christian terms – “innocent”. The aspect of redemption is a recurrent theme. As underlined in the report Ernst Schilling had on several occasions been consumed by the “Sacrament of Penance” since the incident. Interestingly it was argued that he could no longer be a danger to the institute because he “is full of grief about the mortification and sorrow he caused his innocent wife.”⁷⁴⁹ The dichotomisation of the two females in this narrative, the fifteen-year-old Aloisia Schütz and the then 1845 forty-year-old Louise Schilling is remarkable. Ultimately a reversal of perpetrator and victim was performed and displaced: the pupil Aloisia was transformed into the role of the seducer while Ernst Schilling’s wife Louise was narrated as the innocent victim – the praise of her personality brings her closely in line with a saint.

Besides the role of Christian rhetoric and considering that he mostly was referred to as Doctor Schilling, might his profession have helped twist the story so effectively? The Archiepiscopal Consistory still insisted on the appeal of 1845 to keep the institute closed on grounds of the marriage law. In the end the Imperial Commission on Education decided to permit the institute but only as a day school. This decision could have had a strong financial impact on the institute because in January 1846 Louise Schilling petitioned once more the Imperial Commission on Education. Louise had found a solution to satisfy the demands of the church authorities concerning the residence issue as a married couple and her duty to stay with her pupils. Her husband moved into an apartment in the same house which was only accessible “through an

⁷⁴⁶ ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

⁷⁴⁷ Similar to other cases such free of charge places in schools were usually paid by school foundation, an association or the institute offered a few free of charge place for pupils with poor background.

⁷⁴⁸ Original: "Dem Dr. Schilling könne daher Verführung nicht angeschuldet werden, der Vorwurf begangener Unsittlichkeit treffe ihn unstreitig, allein hierfür habe er schon gebüßt." ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

⁷⁴⁹ ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

entirely different staircase.”⁷⁵⁰ Figuratively speaking the couple then lived *under the one roof*. The petition of Louise Schilling for the removal of the exception was granted without further discussion.⁷⁵¹ In a survey from 1846/47 Louise Schilling’s institute counted sixty-eight pupils, forty-four of whom were staying for board and lodging. Thirteen teachers including Louise worked at the institute. In addition to the compulsory subjects (religious education, reading, writing and arithmetic), also geography, world- and natural history, French, Italian, English and Hungarian were taught. Drawing, music, dancing and education in needlework were also taught.⁷⁵²

The lives of the couple left a few more records: Ernst Schilling received his full doctoral degree in the mid-1840s. He joined the Widower Association of the medical faculty in Vienna which was to benefit his wife Louise in case of his death and was soon elected as an agent for the widower’s association; in this position Ernst was in charge of book-keeping. During the 1848 Revolution Ernst Schilling served as a politician in the parliamentary groups “Deutscher Hof” and “Märzverein”⁷⁵³ and received in 1848 the honorary citizenship of Salzburg.⁷⁵⁴ After the revolution the imperial government pressed criminal charges against delegates of the Frankfurt National Assembly. This caused a wave of emigration. Louise Schilling’s husband fled Vienna and immigrated to New York where he died in 1858.⁷⁵⁵ Ernst Schilling likely supplemented the financial resources for his escape with five thousand gulden taken from the Widower Association. The Widower Association filed in October 1850 a lawsuit for theft against the physician and requested him to appear in court.⁷⁵⁶ Whether Louise was liable for her husband’s acts is unknown. She maintained her institute until 1851. In the same year a print of the institute owner was made, possibly dedicated to her pupils as it was signed with “May the look onto

⁷⁵⁰ "Louise Schilling bittet um die Aufhebung der Beschränkung vom 12.07.1845" ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Louise Schilling.

⁷⁵¹ ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

⁷⁵² DAW, Schulamtsakten 171/5/2, Erledigung des Hauptberichtes 1846 über die öffentl. u. privaten Konvikte.

⁷⁵³ Anon., "Verstorbene zu Wien den 10. August," *Wiener Zeitung*, 19.03., 1054.

⁷⁵⁴ Josef Gassner, *Die Ehrenbürger der Landeshauptstadt Salzburg. Katalog zur 10. Sonderausstellung* (Salzburg Selbstverlag des Museums Carolino-Augusteum, 1954).

⁷⁵⁵ Eike Wolgast, "Demokratische Gegeneliten in der amerikanischen Emigration: Politisch motivierte Auswanderung aus Deutschland nach 1819, 1832/33, 1849 und 1878," in *Deutschland und die USA in der internationalen Geschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Philipp Gassert and Manfred Berg, Transatlantische Historische Studien (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004), 195-217, 206-209.

⁷⁵⁶ Anon., "Aufforderung an Herrn Ernst Schilling, Doctor der Medicin," *Wiener Zeitung*, 19.10., 716. The case is explained in detail in an anniversary publication of the association. See Adolf Heinrich Gerstel, *Die Witwen-Societät der medizinischen Facultät zu Wien, von 1758 bis 1858. Historische Skizze zur Säcular-Feier auf Veranlassung der Societät auf den Quellen verfasst von ihrem Actuare und Mitglieide* (Wien: Mechitharisten Buchdruckerei, 1858), 149.

this picture always awake in you a warm feeling of everything that is good, true and noble. Louise Schilling.”⁷⁵⁷



16 ÖNB Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, Digitale Sammlung: Porträtsammlung.⁷⁵⁸

In the school authorities' reports, the story of the couple quickly became the centre of attention. This left a void of information about the pupil Aloisia. Easier to trace were stations in Ernst Schilling's life, as is often the case in the search for historical evidence.⁷⁵⁹ An important feature of this case is the attempt to control the intimacy of a couple. Far beyond discussions on the

⁷⁵⁷ Original: "Möge ein Blick auf dieses Bild in Euch stets ein warmes Gefühl für alles Gute, Wahre und Edle erwecken. Louise Schilling." ÖNB Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, Digitale Sammlung: Porträtsammlung, online available at <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/baa3999471>> (10.02.2016).

⁷⁵⁸ ÖNB Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung, Digitale Sammlung: Porträtsammlung, online available at <<http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/baa3999471>> (10.02.2016).

⁷⁵⁹ Women's historical research has revealed that archives are by no means neutral places. In the process of the production of knowledge women's traces have frequently been obscured and lost. For a broad perspective on this problem see Sherry J. Katz, Nupur Chaudhuri and Mary Elizabeth Perry, ed. *Contesting Archives. Finding Women in the Sources* (Urbana/Chicago/Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

abuse of power towards the fifteen-year-old pupil, the narrative focuses on the Schilling couple, their marriage, and their reputation. The different opinions about Louise Schilling living apart from her husband are instructive and provide insights into ideal gender roles anchored in the public/private dichotomy. The Police Court Chancellery compared the situation of Louise Schilling with male professionals, like hospital administrators or military officers, who often lived apart from their wives for different reasons. For the Church authorities, the idea of the couple living apart from each other was unacceptable, since their community was distorted by such an arrangement. However, what actually distorted the picture was that suddenly the private girls' institute of Louise Schilling, which was to be her private household at the same time, would have been separated into a household and a workplace. From the very beginning the focus also shifted away from the fact that Louise Schilling was the owner of a business. Although the Imperial Commission on Education emphasised that Louise earned her income through the maintenance of the school it is done so by highlighting her role as a mother with the obligation to feed and educate her children: "[...] she would fall from a happy and carefree standing into a position without livelihood and that would mean the saddest consequences for a good mother and innocent children."⁷⁶⁰ In emphasising Louise's motherly role, the male-connotated public character of earning money and owning a business, was moved into the realm of the family. The professional identity ascribed by the Police Court Chancellery was displaced by the identity of the good mother. After Louise Schilling discontinued running her institute, Delphine Lefèvre took over her licence. Her case described in the following section further illustrates the communication strategy of emphasising motherhood. Being a mother of five, economic considerations were successfully presented in order to secure the school licence.

⁷⁶⁰ Original: "[...] daß sie selbe aus einer glücklichen, sorgenfreyen Stellung in eine subsistenzlose Lage stürzen und so die traurigsten Folgen über eine brave Mutter und schuldlose Kinder bringen müßten." Report by Talatzko von Gestieticz on 9th October 1844. ÖStA, AVA StHK, Louise Schilling.

Previously Ostoich-Schilling

A n z e i g e.
Die Befertigte gibt sich die Ehre, einen hohen Adel und das verehrte Publikum in Kenntniß zu setzen, daß am

3. Mai 1852
der neue Lehrkurs in ihrem von der hohen k. k. n. österr. Statthalterei autorisirten
Fräulein- Lehr- und Erziehungs- Institute
in der innern Stadt, Singerstraße Nr. 898, 1. Stiege, 2. Stock,
(vormals Ostoich-Schilling)
beginnt, und die Aufnahme der Zöglinge daselbst während des ganzen Monats Mai stattfindet.

Im Vereine mit den, seit einer langen Reihe von Jahren bei dieser Anstalt verbliebene n und allgemein als ausgezeichnet anerkannten Lehrern, wird die Befertigte den, durch die bis- her erzielten günstigen Erziehungs- Resultate wohlbegründeten Ruf dieser Anstalt auf das Sorgfältigste zu wahren, und so das hochgeehrte Zutrauen der P. T. Eltern und Vormünder zu erhalten bemüht sein.

Wien, am 1. Mai 1852.
Delphine Lefèvre, geb. De Mudder,
Vorsteherin dieser Anstalt.

3761—3

17 Classified, Delphine Lefèvre, Fremdenblatt 13.05.1852. ANNO/Austrian National Library

In January 1851 Delphine Lefèvre applied for permission to absolve the teaching exam without attending the obligatory two-year course offered by the Ursuline convent. She had studied for it privately since her duties as wife and mother of five children did not allow her to attend the “time-consuming instruction”. After successfully passing the exam she intended to take over Louise Schilling’s girls’ educational institute. The Ministry of Education granted her permission. Starting in September 1851 Delphine advertised her institute for the next two years, making referencing to the previous owners Louise Schilling and her mother Marianne von Ostoich.

Delphine underlined the continuity of the staff at the institute and prominently positioned the names of the previous owners in her advertisement.⁷⁶¹ In July 1853 her husband Ludwig, who worked as a civil servant, applied for permission to absolve the teacher’s exam without attending the teacher training course. His request was also granted on the basis of his most recent school results.⁷⁶² However, the school authorities emphasised that only his wife was the “authorised director” of the institute.⁷⁶³

⁷⁶¹ "Delphine Lefèvre: Anzeige," *Fremdenblatt*, 13.05.1852, 10.

⁷⁶² For more information see Section 8 "Bildung der Katecheten, Lehrer, Lehrerinnen, Gehülfen, Privatlehrer und Hofmeister": PSchV.

⁷⁶³ DAW, Schulamtsakten 162/3/2, Andreas Kastner: Gesuch des Ludwig Wilhelm Lefèvre.

Das Fräulein-Lehr- und Erziehungs-Institut

der
Frau Delphine Lefèvre, geb. de Rudder,

in Wien, Alservorstadt, Adlergasse Nr. 170, 1. Stock,

welches durch viele Jahre in der innern Stadt bestanden, und sich des Vertrauens und der Günst der P. T. Eltern und Vormünder im vollsten Maße zu erfreuen hatte, ist nunmehr in dem obgenannten Lokale eröffnet, wo es, fern von dem zweckwidrigen Getümmel und der nicht zuträglichen Stadt-Luft, und im Genuße eines prächtigen Hauses und damit verbundenen

großen, parkähnlichen Gartens,



allen Anforderungen sowohl in Bezug auf intellectuelle Ausbildung der weiblichen Jugend, als auch in Hinsicht auf die eben so wichtige physische Erziehung derselben, auf das Beste zu entsprechen im Stande ist. Der Unterricht besteht in der Religion, deutschen Sprache, französischen Sprache, andere moderne Sprachen, Geographie, Geschichte, Rechnen, Physik, Botanik, Aesthetik, Musik, Choralgesang, Zeichnen, Malen, weiblichen Arbeiten, Tanzen u. u., selber wird von accreditirten Lehrern und Lehrerinnen besorgt, und kann auf Verlangen auf alle Zweige des Wissens ausgedehnt werden.

Zuschriften aus den Provinzen wird durch die portofreie Uebersendung dieses Programmes Schnellstens entsprochen.
Wien, im August 1854.

Da die unterzeichnete Vorsteherin durch die Acquisition dieses ganz zweckentsprechenden Aufenthaltes bewiesen, daß sie kein Opfer scheute, um dem angekrebten Ziele der Errichtung einer in jeder Beziehung entsprechenden Bildungsschule für Töchter möglichst nahe zu kommen, so hofft sie auch in Zukunft, das ihr bisher geschenkte ehrenvolle Vertrauen zu rechtfertigen und empfiehlt daher ihre Anstalt den P. T. Eltern und Vormündern zur Aufnahme von Eleven, welche täglich im Instituts-Localität findet, und woselbst Programme über die Aufnahme-Bedingnisse zur gefälligen Einsicht aufstehen.

Delphine Lefèvre, Instituts-Vorsteherin.

9728-1

18 Classified Delphine Lefèvre, *Fremdenblatt* 26.08.1854. ANNO/Austrian National Library

In 1854 Delphine and her husband moved with the institute to the suburb Alservorstadt. In the new advertisements the garden features prominently. The classified praised the location of the institute which was situated “remote from the [urban] turmoil and the not beneficial city air” and connected to a “spacious, park-like garden.”⁷⁶⁴ In the garden two girls are pictured playing a ball-game with hoops. The emphasis on space and the healthiness of a green area outside the city is similar to Therese von Dreger’s advertisements for her Housewife Educational Institute. Delphine Lefèvre repeated the description of a healthy environment in the educational mission of the school. In addition to acknowledging the significance of “intellectual education of the female youth” the institute incorporated the latest developments “in respect of the equally important physical education”.

Another communicative strategy was to publish a father’s recommendation letter for the institute which described the school owner as a “tender mother”.⁷⁶⁵ The author, signed with

⁷⁶⁴ "Delphine Lefèvre: Das Fräulein-Lehr- und Erziehungs-Institut," *Fremden-Blatt*, 26.08.1854, 7.

⁷⁶⁵ Whether the recommendation was in fact written and published by an actual parent whose daughter attended the institute cannot be verified.

“Edler v. N.....”, recounted his and his wife’s attendance of a public exam held at the institute. The girls appeared “rosy and blooming”, their movements were free and light “with that graceful shyness/timidity, which gives young girls their unique charm.” The author added that this “graceful shyness” was unfortunately increasingly absent in the present day. Since the 1848 Revolution, concerns about the transformation of gender roles were voiced regularly. Women’s participation in revolutionary activities had clearly sent shockwaves throughout Viennese society.⁷⁶⁶

After the move of the institute Delphine Lefèvre had difficulties in maintaining a stable number of pupils. In the school survey of 1853/1854 expenses for the school maintenance exceeded the institute’s income. Not only was Delphine’s institute in great debt, but also other school owners struggled, “partly because of the too small number of pupils, partly due to the price increase of foodstuffs, and particularly also because of high rents.”⁷⁶⁷ The high rents in Vienna’s city centre a likely reason for Delphine’s decision to move the institute in the first place. In 1853/54 members of staff nearly equalled the number of pupils. Fourteen staff members (nine teachers including the institute owner, a cleaner and four servants) for seventeen pupils of which seven were boarding pupils and ten external pupils. The number of pupils remained unstable. In May 1864 she informed the school inspector of her district that she was forced to close her institute. Two weeks later Augustine Steulet, a forty-four-year-old French woman, applied for permission to take over the school. Her request was denied as the school inspector did not anticipate more success with a different school owner. The institute’s licence, which was originally granted to Anna Maria Klement in 1789, was discontinued after seventy-five years.

5.3. Protestant Pupils: Integration vs. Separation

In a number of Edicts of Toleration Joseph II extended the right of religious freedom to members of the Protestant, Jewish and Greek Orthodox communities in the 1780s. These rights also entailed, to a certain extent, the possibility of pursuing higher education and for individuals and communities to establish their own educational institutes. With the School Administration Act of 1805/1806, the Catholic church was put in charge of monitoring all schools. Dignitaries of the Augsburg and the Helvetian Confession were concerned about the school monitoring of Protestant schools by the Catholic clergy and in 1807/1808 they appealed to the Lower Austrian

⁷⁶⁶ A search in the Austrian Newspaper Archives does not give any results for the term "Frauenfrage" before 1860.

⁷⁶⁷ DAW, Schulamtsakten 277/1/2-3, Übersicht der mit hohem Statthalterei-Regierungs-Dekrete bestehenden Erziehungs-Anstalten für das Schuljahr 1853/54.

government to end this practise. In their opinion a suitable secular individual should be responsible for monitoring the Protestant schools in the city. In the countryside district authorities should be put in charge of Protestant school monitoring. Governor Augustin Reichmann sanctioned these changes in the monitoring practise.⁷⁶⁸ However, in the years that followed the district authorities only sporadically performed their monitoring duties. In 1820 the Lower Austrian government put the Protestant clergy in charge of monitoring Protestant schools and issuing reports twice a year.⁷⁶⁹

Educational policies concerning Protestant children clearly promoted the separation of Protestant and Catholic children. In this sense they followed a similar pattern to policies legislating the separation of boys and girls in the educational setting. Ideally separate schools were established, financed by the local Protestant community. If no separate school was available Protestant children attended, similar to Jewish or Greek Orthodox children, Catholic schools and were exempt from religious instruction.⁷⁷⁰ While Jewish communities in Vienna pursued the line that separate schools had the potential to cause even more isolation, Protestant communities found the establishment of schools for Protestant children to be a great priority.⁷⁷¹ In this spirit the Augsburg and Helvetian Consistory approached the Lower Austrian government in 1813 for permission to establish a girls' educational institute with a curriculum featuring not only the elementary subjects and needlework, but also natural science [*Naturlehre*], natural history and geography. At first these three subjects were met with suspicion; however, the Archiepiscopal Consistory argued in favour of their inclusion in the curriculum.

“[...] however, since this institution is developed and solely funded by beneficent members of both confessions, who wish to provide their daughters with a higher degree of education commensurate with their class, fortune, and other conditions, this should be even less withheld since the Institute for Daughters of Civil Servants offers the same subjects.”⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁸ DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, Sitzungsprotokoll, Dekret der Landesregierung, die Aufsicht protestantischer Schulen betreffend.

⁷⁶⁹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 232.

⁷⁷⁰ This exemption was not very effective since the daily school routine was permeated by Catholic prayers. See Felbiger, *ABC oder Namenbüchlein*.

⁷⁷¹ Ernst Hausensteiner, "Evangelische Schulen Wiens," in *Evangelisch in Wien. 200 Jahre Evangelische Gemeinden*, ed. Karl Weinberger (Wien: Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1982), 26-27.

⁷⁷² Original: "[...] allein da diese Anstalt durch Beyträge der wohlhabenden Mitglieder beyder Gemeinden ihr Entstehen erhält, welche darin ihren Töchtern eine höhere, ihrem Stande, Vermögen und sonstigen Verhältnissen angemessenen Grad an Bildung zu verschaffen wünschen, so wäre ihnen dieses um so weniger zu versagen, als auch in dem k.k. civil Mädchen Pensionate dieselben Gegenstände gelehret werden." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, Ansuchen um Genehmigung zur Errichtung einer höheren Töchterschule für Protestanten.

The Lower Austrian government permitted the establishment of the institute which opened in the same year. In practise Protestant girls also often attended private girls' schools run by Catholic school owners whose focus was not necessarily on religious education but knowledge and skills, deemed necessary and appropriate for girls of affluent parents. However, the reverse situation, whereby Catholic children attend Protestant schools was seen as highly controversial. In 1825 the Protestant Karolina Seits, a District Commissioner's widow, received permission to open a girls' day school in the Galician town of Zhovkva/Żółkiew. However, the provincial government informed her that her school licence permitted Protestant girls to attend the institute. Karolina appealed the decision and in her appeal letter she referred to Joseph II's Patent of Tolerance which had granted the "unhindered maintenance of every kind of employment."⁷⁷³ The wish to provide separate education also provided an employment opportunity for male teachers. In 1829 the first Protestant boys' educational institute opened in the Josephstadt, which was run by Christian Anton Geißler. The annual fee of seven hundred gulden was quite high. No documents provide information as to whether the business was successful, or not.⁷⁷⁴

Protestant communities grew significantly in Vienna and its suburbs during the first half of the nineteenth century, counting ten thousand members of Augsburg Confession and three thousand members of Helvetic Confession in 1850.⁷⁷⁵ The increasing number of Protestant schools stirred Catholic anxieties over the risk of Protestant influence. These anxieties surely played a role in the drafting of a law enacted in April 1830 which formally prohibited Catholic children from attending Protestant [non-Catholic], schools.

"Catholic children should not be left to non-Catholics for board, lodging and education. Altogether it is not allowed to leave and entrust the education of a Catholic to a non-Catholic. The Provincial Government has to ensure that this highest expressed volition is followed thoroughly."⁷⁷⁶

The Catholic clergy greeted this regulation with great enthusiasm. This enthusiastic response is illustrated by a letter from Candidus Lösch, the parish priest of the suburban village of

⁷⁷³ ÖStA, AVA StHK, 13B2 Galizien Zolkiew, Karolina Seits.

⁷⁷⁴ Christian Anton Geißler, "Evangelische Knaben-Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt in Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, 21.07.1829, 105.

⁷⁷⁵ Bertrand Michael Buchmann, "Kultus und Kultur," in *Wien : Geschichte einer Stadt. 3. Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Ferdinand Opll and Peter Csendes (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2006), 149-157.

⁷⁷⁶ Original: "Daß zur Folge wiederholter höchster Entschließungen katholische Kinder bey Akatholiken in Kost, Wohnung und Unterricht nicht untergebracht, und überhaupt die Erziehung eines Katholiken keinem Akatholiken überlassen und anvertraut werden darf." Dekret 24.04.1830: Nichtüberlassung der Erziehung eines Katholiken an Akatholiken, Studienhofkommission, 1830.

Rossau, to the Archiepiscopal Consistory: "The undersigned received the regulation above with a merry heart as he had wished since a long time to be able to control this disadvantageous influence often for the whole religious life of children."⁷⁷⁷

Lösch approached the Archiepiscopal Consistory in August 1830 for instruction on how to deal with the fact that Catholic children who received poor aid were sometimes placed for bed and lodging with Protestant adults. The priest was specifically concerned with the question: "[...] should they be removed and if so where to, as so few people show inclination to take on children possessing little into their house."⁷⁷⁸

A month later, in August 1830, the tinsmith Franz Swoboda petitioned the Archiepiscopal Consistory for help with a delicate family matter that related to the new regulation. His sister Viktoria, "born in the emperor's city, and Catholic baptised and raised"⁷⁷⁹ had married a Protestant, the coppersmith Friedrich Klem. The couple lived in the Viennese suburb Landstraße. Franz Swoboda was clearly appalled by the marriage and emphasised his sister's Catholic upbringing. He expressed his concern about the upbringing of the couple's children. All children were baptised Catholic; however, since a few months ago the oldest son Joseph attended a Protestant school, and not the Catholic parish school. Joseph, who later took over his father's business, was born in March 1823 and had just started elementary education.⁷⁸⁰ His uncle Franz explained to the Consistory that he had tried to change his brother-in-law's mind but without success.

"All interventions, even the complaint to the district parish did not bear fruit, and now the obediently undersigned sees himself as the closest relative compelled to beg for the mercy of this high clerical authority to stop this unlawful act."⁷⁸¹

School superintendent Turzan delegated the case to the local parish priest at Landstraße. In this case the son and his siblings were indeed registered as Catholic in the parish register. Turzan

⁷⁷⁷ Original: "Übrigens nimmt der Unterzeichnete die obige Verordnung mit recht frohem Herzen hin, da er schon lang gewünscht hatte, diese, oft für das ganze religiöse Leben der Kinder nachtheilige Beeinflussung zu steuern." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, Hochwürdigstes Erzbischöfliches Consistorium! Pfarre Rossau 13. July 1830.

⁷⁷⁸ Original: "[...] sollen sie entfernt werden, und wohin, da so wenig Menschen Neugung [sic] zeigen, fremde, doch gering betheilte Kinder in ihr Haus zu nehmen." DAW, 95/8.

⁷⁷⁹ Original: "[...] welche hier in dieser Kaiserstadt geboren, und katholisch getauft und erzogen wurde [...]." DAW, Schulamtsakten 95/8, Anzeige wider Friedrich Klem, befugter Kupferschmied.

⁷⁸⁰ Taufbuch der Pfarre St. Rochus, Joseph Klem, geb. 15.05.1823, Sign. 01-07, 0319.

⁷⁸¹ Original: "Alle Vorstellungen, ja selbst die Anzeige bey der Bezirks-Pfarre fruchteten nicht, so sieht nun der gehorsamst Unterzeichnete, als nächster Anverwandter sich genöthigt, die Gnade dieser hohen geistlichen Stelle anzuflehen, um gesetzwidrigen Handlung Einhalt zu thun." DAW, 95/8. Franz Swoboda requested the Consistory to preserve his anonymity in order to avoid a family dispute.

ordered the priest to intervene and question the parents as to the reasons why they intended to commit an unlawful act by sending their children to a Protestant school. Any further developments in the case are not documented.

Another case documents the difficulties of interreligious marriages. The Catholic Friederike Kästner opened a girls' day school in Vienna in 1823. Seven years later she married Ernest Wacke, a Protestant of Augsburg Confession. In January 1831, a few months after the above-mentioned decree was enacted, which forbade Catholic children from attending Protestant schools, Friederike's school caught the attention of the Catholic church authorities. The Archiepiscopal Consistory filed a complaint to the Imperial Commission on Education. The case was only processed ten years later, however. In 1841 Emperor Ferdinand requested information about whether the school still existed and if anything irregular had happened since the initial complaint. In the meantime, Friederike's husband had died in 1837 so the Commission found no reason to intervene.

The previous examples show that Catholic church authorities were the driving force behind the investigations into the compliance of school laws concerning Protestant education rather than the imperial government. However, the separation of children was in practice not strictly monitored. This is illustrated by the case of the Catholic Johanna Schröder, nee Harker, who had opened a school offering needlework and review classes in German language in Prague in 1838. In 1841 she married a Protestant producer of wood-carved goods. Protestant, Jewish and Catholic girls attended this school, which ultimately led the Catholic school district supervisor to make a complaint. He directly appealed to the Imperial Commission on Education in Vienna, who called a meeting to discuss the case. The key concern in this meeting was not Johanna's marriage to a Protestant but that her business was crucial for her livelihood. The Prague magistrate emphasised that Johanna Schröder's husband was about to start his business and the young couple was not financially secure. For this reason, the continuance of the school business was permitted. The church authority in Prague received the order to closely monitor the school but not to intervene otherwise. In 1867 the needlework teacher Theresia Brugger submitted an application to open an industrial school in Neunkirchen, making the argument that she wanted to protect Catholic children from Protestant influence. She argued that in Neunkirchen only one industrial school for Protestant girls existed which actively tried to reach a Catholic audience: "There is no industrial school for Catholics yet, and she believes therefore in the need to open such a school as from the Protestant side all kinds of efforts are made to get

Catholic girls for the education in needlework.”⁷⁸² Furthermore, the applicant described that she had been approached by the parish and citizens [*Gemeindebürger*] to open a school for Catholic girls. Hence, permission to open the school was granted.

5.4. Jewish Educational Institutes

From the first half of the nineteenth century Jewish women and men participated in the educational sector by opening private schools.⁷⁸³ The existence of Jewish private schools in Austria is usually acknowledged in the context of associational history and for Jewish private school owners from around 1900. This chapter sheds light on several more outstanding Jewish educators.

Flora Unger

On the 13th of February 1835 Flora Unger advertised the opening of her girls’ educational institute at Kärtnerstraße No. 1053 in the newspaper *Wiener Zeitung*.

“In this institute the religious education as well as all the mandatory subjects of the German school education [...] are taught with the schoolbooks required by law in the same number of hours as in a public school and by tested and excellent teachers. [...] In the other purposeful planned hours the pupils are instructed carefully in needlework such as: knitting, sewing, crafting, net-making, looping, crocheting, lace making, white- and silk-embroidery, bead working and clothes making, as well as education in French, music, drawing, reciting and dancing.”⁷⁸⁴

A month later she advertised the school with similar wording in a leading Hungarian newspaper.⁷⁸⁵ Flora Unger’s efforts to open her own business dated back to 1828 with a petition to Emperor Francis for permission to open a trading business for cleaning utensils. At the time

⁷⁸² Original: "Besteht noch keine Arbeitsschule für Katholiken, und glaubt sie um so mehr eine solche errichten zu sollen, da protestantischer Seits (sic) alle möglichen Anstrengungen gemacht werden, um katholische Mädchen zum Unterrichte in weiblichen Handarbeiten zu bekommen." DAW, 168/4/19a.

⁷⁸³ An exception is Elisabeth Malleier's publication on Jewish women in Vienna. Malleier shows that Jewish women were also highly involved in charitable associational work. See Malleier, *Jüdische Frauen in Wien 1816-1938. Wohlfahrt - Mädchenbildung - Frauenarbeit*.

⁷⁸⁴ Original: "In diesem Institut werden sowohl die Religionslehre, als auch alle vorgeschriebenen Gegenstände des deutschen Schulunterrichtes [...] nach den vorgeschriebenen Unterrichtsbüchern in der gleichen Stundenzahl von geprüften und ausgezeichneten Lehrern, wie an öffentlichen Schulen, vorgetragen. [...] In den übrigen zweckmäßig eingetheilten Stunden mit den Zöglingen die sorgfältigste Anleitung zu allen weiblichen Handarbeiten, als: Stricken, Nähen, Merken, Netzen, Schlingen, Häkeln, Knüpfen, Weiß- und Seiden Sticken, Perlarbeit und Kleidermachen, so wie auch Unterricht in der französischen Sprache, Musik, im Zeichnen, im Declamiren [sic] und Tanzen erteilt." Flora Unger, "Erziehungsanstalt für israelitische Mädchen von 6 bis 12 Jahren in der Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien," *Wiener Zeitung*, 13.02.1835, 175, 175.

⁷⁸⁵ Flora Unger, Erziehungs-Anstalt für Israelitische Mädchen, Vereinigte Ofner-Pester Zeitung, 29.03.1835, 479.

Flora's husband Martin was going bankrupt and the family was in danger of losing their Patent of Tolerance. This patent, usually linked to high fees, granted Jewish individuals and families permission to live and work in Vienna, and was subject to an expiration date. The biographer of the couple's son Joseph, Salomon Frankfurter described through an anecdote how Flora Unger tried to avert the loss of the family's residence permit.

"Because the efforts of her husband did not bear fruits the wife entered into action. In the year 1828 Flora Unger handed in her petition - it is said that the emperor was surprised when she came to be received in audience. When asked for whom she needed the Tolerance she answered "for myself" whereupon the emperor commented: 'Such a good wife!' [*So a schön's Weiber!*]." ⁷⁸⁶

Unfortunately, the English version does not perfectly translate the Viennese dialect and does not contain the patronising and simultaneously jesting tone of the alleged statement of the emperor, in which the applicant was reduced to the role of wife. The biographer Salomon Frankfurter, struggled throughout his account to place the self-reliance of Flora Unger into the right light, depicting her as an unselfish, sacrificing wife who took action in desperate times. The notion of surprise of the emperor is the key to this anecdote. A decree from the 13th June 1820 prohibited issuing Tolerance to women, who only were able to receive this right through the male head of the family.⁷⁸⁷ Not only was it legally prohibited to grant the Tolerance to women but Flora's application was also an antidote to the bourgeois domestic ideal. Despite her repeated efforts, Flora's appeal was denied. Her husband Martin managed to petition for Tolerance again and the couple stayed in official bureaucratic channels until 1831.⁷⁸⁸ In this year Flora petitioned the Imperial Commission on Education requesting permission to open an educational institute for Jewish girls in Vienna and to obtain on the basis of this business the Patent of Tolerance. It is worth pointing out that such an institute for Jewish boys and girls did not exist in Vienna at the time. A lengthy decision process followed which produced forty-six pages of reports. In addition to the normal proceedings concerning private school applications, all authorities involved in school matters were asked for their opinions.⁷⁸⁹

⁷⁸⁶ This quotation stems from a biographical publication on the life of Joseph Unger. The son of Martin and Flora Unger was a liberal politician and jurist in the second half of the nineteenth century. Salomon Frankfurter, *Josef Unger. Das Elternhaus - die Jugendjahre 1828-1857* (Wien, Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller k.k. Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1917), 33. Salomon Frankfurter also published lifestories about the most influential educational reformers in the second half of the 19th century: Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein, Franz Exner and Hermann Bonitz.

⁷⁸⁷ Alfred Francis Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, vol. 2 (Wien: Braumüller, 1918), 385.

⁷⁸⁸ Frankfurter, *Josef Unger*, 33-34.

⁷⁸⁹ Additional to the church authorities, the officials of the Imperial Commission on Education and the Lower Austrian provincial government, the president of the High Police Court Chancellery was contacted as well as the

The number of Jewish residents in Lower Austria with 2,800 individuals was low in comparison to the Jewish population in Galicia, Hungarian regions or Bohemia.⁷⁹⁰ In 1829 only 135 “tolerated” Jews lived with their families in Vienna.⁷⁹¹ This fact appears to be important in the decision-making process of the case. The Crown Prince, later Emperor, Ferdinand IV, who succeeded Francis in 1835, posed two questions to the Court Chancellery concerning the application: “(1) Is such an institute purposeful and enhancing for the common good, and (2) In this case can the conduct be entrusted without objection to the mentioned married couple according to their intellectual, moral and other qualities?”⁷⁹²

On the first point the Vice Chancellor Johann Knight of Lilienau replied the

“desirability of such an institute for Israelite girls is acknowledged by the representatives from the Jewish community but they believe that this institute is unnecessary for the Jews living in Vienna because the local Jews provide education to their children through home-schooling or in the Christian schools.”⁷⁹³

Against this backdrop, they added that “For the respective daughters of Jews in the provinces such an institute could be useful.”⁷⁹⁴ With this suggestion leaders of the Viennese Jewry offered a tactful opinion, in line with the refusal to establish separate communal Jewish schools at the time, emphasising that Jewish parents in Vienna preferred home schooling or Christian schools.⁷⁹⁵ And yet they supported Flora Unger by acknowledging the possible interest among

chair of the General Imperial Court Chancellery [Präsidium der k.k. vereinigten Hofkanzley] and members of the Jewish community in Vienna. The latter was undertaken by the Archiepiscopal Consistory and is only mentioned in the report, who was contacted cannot be traced.

⁷⁹⁰ The whole of Monarchy counted approximately thirty-five million inhabitants. This number has to be treated with care but gives an idea of the proportions. Siegfried Becher, *Statistische Übersicht der Bevölkerung der österreichischen Monarchie nach den Ergebnissen der Jahre 1834 bis 1840* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1841), 26.

⁷⁹¹ Marsha L. Rozenblit, "Habsburg Monarchy: Nineteenth to Twentieth Centuries," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* Jewish Women's Archive, (March 2009), available at <<http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/habsburg-monarchy-nineteenth-to-twentieth-centuries>> (retrieved 12.05.2015).

⁷⁹² Original: "1. ob die gedachte Anstalt zweckmäßig, und für das allgemeine Wohl beförderlich wäre, und 2. ob in diesem Falle die Leitung derselben dem genannten Ehepaare nach ihrem intellektuellen, moralischen, und sonstigen Eigenschaften ohne Bedenken anvertraut werden könnte?" ÖStA, StHK AVA, 13B2 Niederösterreich/Wien, Flora Unger. It is important to note that Emperor Ferdinand did not refer to Flora Unger who petitioned for herself and her family for the Tolerance, but to the “mentioned married couple.”

⁷⁹³ Original: “Das Wünschenswerthe einer Erziehungs-Anstalt für israelitische Mädchen wird von den Vertretern der Israeliten anerkannt, nur glauben sie, daß diese Anstalt für die in Wien wohnenden Israeliten unnöthig, für die in den Provinzen wohnenden Israeliten aber bezüglich ihrer Töchter verwendbar und nützlich seyn kann, indem die hiesigen Israeliten ihre Kinder eher zu Hause oder inden christlichen Schulen unterrichten lassen, als einer Erziehungsanstalt übergeben dürften.” ÖStA, AVA, StHK, Flora Unger.

⁷⁹⁴ ÖStA, AVA, StHK, Flora Unger.

⁷⁹⁵ Sara Yanovsky discusses in her disertation the "disputes around the Establishment of Jewish Communal Elementary Schools in Pre-Emancipated Vienna." Sara Olga Melinda Yanovsky, "Facing the Challenge of Jewish Education in the Metropolis. A Comparative Study of the Jewish Communal Organizations of Budapest and Vienna from 1867 until World War II" (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2013), 26-31.

Jewish parents from other provinces to send their girls for education to Vienna. The proposal to set up a Jewish school was not pulled out of thin air; parents were quite willing to send their children to boarding schools of a considerable distance, especially for German language education. The school superintendence, however, questioned the possibility of the school's economic success and its location in Vienna "if it should be useful for Israelites in Moravia and Hungary."⁷⁹⁶ Interestingly the existence of an institute for Jewish girls in Pest at the time of Flora Unger's application, which was run by S. Eibenschitz and his wife and was frequently advertised in the newspapers *Vereinigte Ofner-Pester Zeitung* and *Der Ungar*, was not acknowledged by the authorities.⁷⁹⁷ The Police Court Chancellery explicitly expressed the wish for such an institute, with the interesting observation that parents already sent their daughters to Vienna, "[...] Jewish girls are often sent here to learn needlework and for this purpose there is no restriction for their [the pupils'] temporary residence."⁷⁹⁸

The Court Chancellor confirmed this opinion. Police authorities supported Flora Unger's case and attested to her and her husband's respectability and high morality. They emphasised the beneficial prospect of enhancing the general morality through education.

"It cannot be denied that the existence of the planned educational institute of Flora Unger, if established and maintained purposeful, will have a positive impact on the sense for religion, morality, and useful occupation, as well as for a homely, well-regulated lifestyle of the female youth. The common good will be fruitfully influenced through education and moralisation of the female youth."⁷⁹⁹

Upon request Flora Unger submitted testimonies of her ability to teach; one was from her local school and the obligatory needlework exam tested by the Ursuline convent. After all necessary documents were submitted, another obstacle arose. The Lower Austrian government doubted the intentions of Flora Unger's application to establish an educational institute and alleged that she only dedicated herself to girls' education in order to obtain the Tolerance. The "true" intentions of Flora Unger were under strict scrutiny notwithstanding the fact that she never

⁷⁹⁶ ÖStA, AVA, StHK, Flora Unger.

⁷⁹⁷ S. Eibenschitz, "Israelitische Mädchen-Lehranstalt in Pesth," *Vereinigte Ofner-Pester Zeitung*, 23.08.1835, 1391.

⁷⁹⁸ Original: "weil häufig israelitische Mädchen zur Erlernung weiblicher Arbeiten hierher geschickt werden, zu welchem Zwecke ihnen auch der hiesige Aufenthalt gesetzlich nicht verweigert werden könne." ÖStA, AVA, StHK, Flora Unger.

⁷⁹⁹ Original: "Es sey wohl kaum zu verkennen, daß der Bestand der von Flora Unger beabsichtigten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtsanstalt, wenn sie zweckmäßig eingerichtet, und geleitet werde, auf den Sinn für Religiosität, Sittlichkeit, nützliche Beschäftigung, so wie für eine häusliche, wohl geregelte Lebensweise bei der weiblichen Jugend vortheilhaft wirken, und durch die Ausbildung, und Versittlichung derselben auf das allgemeine Wohl von ersprißlichen Einflusse seyn würde." ÖStA, AVA, StHK, Flora Unger.

made a secret about the family's precarious situation and her quest for gaining the Tolerance. Two stereotypes are triggered in this argument; the ideal of the unselfish, sacrificing woman and the stereotype of the profit-oriented Jew. Historian Hannelore Burger has shown that the Court Chancellery in fact often defended the right of Jews against such accusations.⁸⁰⁰ Before the Chancellery got a chance to put an end to the speculation Flora Unger herself clarified the matter: "[...] she does not deny [*sie verhelet es nicht*], that she wants to dedicate herself to the education sector in order to get Tolerance for herself and her husband."⁸⁰¹

The reporting Vice Chancellor Lilienfeld added to the statement that this "outspoken intention is not illegal."⁸⁰² Lilienfeld summarised his recommendation to the emperor who on the 31st of October 1834 finally decided to grant permission for the business and the Tolerance but on one condition. The permission was only valid as long as Flora Unger ran her institute with a minimum of six pupils.⁸⁰³

Salomon Frankfurter, the biographer of the Unger couple's son Joseph, noted that Flora's husband applied for Tolerance again in the year 1845. This time the family received unlimited permission to stay in Vienna free of charge.⁸⁰⁴ Martin Unger died in 1850 at the age of seventy-five.⁸⁰⁵ In his will he praised his wife for not turning her back on him after he went completely bankrupt in 1829, "[...] I lost at that time not only my whole fortune but also the entire contributed dowry."⁸⁰⁶ The couple had married in 1822, when Flora Unger was fifteen and Martin Unger was forty-seven. A year after her husband's death the forty-four-year-old widow converted to Catholicism and married the Court Councillor Alois Czaslawski a year later.⁸⁰⁷ Female education remained a concern for her, since Flora Czaslawski later joined the Women's Employment Association and was a member until her death in 1882.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰⁰ Hannelore Burger, *Heimatrecht und Staatsbürgerschaft österreichischer Juden. Vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis in die Gegenwart*, ed. Wolfgang Mantl, Christian Brünner and Manfred Welan. Studien zu Politik und Verwaltung (Wien/Köln/Graz: Böhlau, 2014), 45-46.

⁸⁰¹ Original: "[...] und die Bittstellerin selbst verhelet es nicht, daß sie sich dem Erziehungswesen widmen wolle, um die Toleranz für sich und ihren Ehegatten zu erhalten." ÖStA, AVA, StHK, Flora Unger.

⁸⁰² ÖStA, AVA, StHK, Flora Unger.

⁸⁰³ ÖStA, AVA, StHK, Flora Unger.

⁸⁰⁴ Frankfurter, *Josef Unger*, 41.

⁸⁰⁵ Anon., "Verstorbene zu Wien. 19. September," *Wiener Zeitung*, 26.09., 2890, 2890 [8].

⁸⁰⁶ Original: "[...] ich verlor damals nicht nur mein ganzes Vermögen, sondern auch das gesamte mir zugebrachte Heiratsgut meines Weibes." Martin Unger's will is reprinted in Joseph Unger's biography. See Frankfurter, *Josef Unger*, 42.

⁸⁰⁷ Amalie Koppel, who was her Godmother, became later one of the six founders of the Viennese Women's Employment Association.

⁸⁰⁸ Wiener Frauen-Erwerb-Verein, *Rechenschafts-Bericht des Ausschusses für das Jahr 1869* (Wien: Selbstverlag des Vereines, 1870), 41.

Charlotte Löw

Three years after Flora Unger had opened her educational institute in Vienna another institute for Jewish girls opened in Prague in 1838: “On this occasion I inform you that Mad. Charlotte Löw [also Löwe], known through several of her witty journal articles, brought an educational institute for Jewish girls into life and satisfied a deeply felt need.”⁸⁰⁹ Only a few newspaper articles and advertisements provide information about Charlotte Löw’s institute. Charlotte Löw was not only a school owner but also published in small journals and newspapers. Specifically, her publishing activities during 1837 and 1838 are unusual for they questioned gender norms. These activities were likely to be unknown to the school authorities in Prague, which permitted the institute’s establishment on the 30th of August 1838. Charlotte Löw’s articles, in the newspaper “*Wiener Telegraph*” predominantly on topics of gender relations and injustices, were not received without criticism.⁸¹⁰

“Charlotte Löwe [sic] tries to establish herself as a representative of journalistic efforts and defender of social tendencies. Up until now only she promenades in the ornamental garden of journalism [...], but sometimes she takes a run-up as if she wanted to jump over the garden fence in order to start a war in the open against the ‘gentlemen of creation’ as she uses to scold men in a mocking and ironic way.”⁸¹¹

The author of these lines, Uffo Horn, characterised Charlotte Löw as “martial nature”⁸¹² and emphasised that he preferred other female poets, such as Betty Paoli and Juliane Ebert who produced “heartfelt and simple poetry”, instead of the “forced reformatory efforts” of Charlotte Löw. What caused Uffo Horn, who was published himself occasionally in the *Telegraph*, to attack Charlotte’s writing? Starting in December 1837 a new section titled *Frauenhallen* [“Women’s Halls”] appeared infrequently in the *Telegraph* and was announced with the notice:

⁸⁰⁹ Original: "Bei dieser Gelegenheit zeige ich Ihnen an, daß Mad. Charlotte Löw, bekannt durch mehrere geistvolle Journalartikel, ein Lehr- und Erziehungsinstitut, für israelitische Mädchen, ins Leben treten ließ, und so einem tiefgefühltem Bedürfnisse abhalf." Anon., "Aus Prag. (Schluß.)," *Wiener Theater-Zeitung*, 21.11.1838, 1059.

⁸¹⁰ The *Wiener Telegraph* was published two to three times a week between 1836 and 1838. On about four to six pages of each issue, there were two to three articles, often as a series, with news and programmes regarding theatre life in Vienna.

⁸¹¹ Original: "Als Repräsentantin der journalistischen Bestrebungen und Verfechterin sozialer Tendenzen sucht sich Charlotte Löwe geltend zu machen. Sie promenirt bis jetzt nur in dem Ziergarten der Journalistik [...], aber sie nimmt zuweilen einen Anlauf, als wollte sie über die Gartenmauer hinwegsetzen und im freien Felde Krieg führen mit den "Herren der Schöpfung," wie sie mokant und ironisch die Männer zu schelten pflegt." Uffo Horn, "Die Schriftstellerinnen in Oesterreich," in *Der Novellist. Zeitschrift für unterhaltende, moderne Lektüre*, ed. Johann Umlauf (Prag: Kronberger`s Wittwe und Weber, 1838), 373-376.

⁸¹² Horn, "Schriftstellerinnen," 375.

“Under the headline: *Frauenhallen* the Telegraph will place a special column for all interests of the fine femininity. The rights of women should be defended, or also approached with thornless humour. Scenes of the lives of famous women, character and moral stories of the female gender of different nations should be provided in a nice and easy style, to grant the Telegraph admission to the boudoirs of the fair sex.”⁸¹³

Already in the previous issue of the *Wiener Telegraph* the first article of the series had been published. Charlotte Löw fervently appealed to “Honour women!”: “Up, my dear sisters! Come to me, let us gather under my banner! [...] Our weapon should be reason; our battle cry: recognition; and the protecting goddess of our army: persistence.”⁸¹⁴ While the call for a battle against men [*Männergeschlecht*] was for the time and place quite unusual, the proposed means were in line with bourgeois ideals of the time; reason, recognition and persistence. Charlotte Löw argued with numerous references to Greek and German mythology for the intellectual freedom of women. She used gender stereotypes referring to the weak, gentle, quiet and patient nature of women to make her argument: “A tender word out of our mouths, a friendly, pleading look of our eyes, and the waves of excited calm in the very angry nature [...]”⁸¹⁵

As with many of her contemporaries Charlotte Löw conceptualised masculinity as intrinsically aggressive, which lies in the polar opposition to a patient and gentle woman. However, for Charlotte, natural female traits did not stand in contradiction to equal intellectual abilities. Giving examples of truly great figures of the female world, she made explicit reference to Elizabeth I of England and the new queen, the then eighteen-year-old Victoria. While Catholic writers, like Caroline Pichler, usually took Maria Theresa as an example of an influential woman, Charlotte as a Jewish woman presumably had issues identifying herself with this ruler who had made no secret of her anti-Jewish sentiments.⁸¹⁶

At the time of publication in the late 1830s, discursively femininity had been already firmly fixed within the privacy of the home. Although Charlotte Löw seemed to have been in complete agreement with prevailing gender stereotypes, she was at the same time convinced of women’s intellectual abilities and eligibility to participate in public life.

⁸¹³ Anon., "Ankündigung des dritten Jahrganges," *Der Telegraph*, 24.12.1837, 1915.

⁸¹⁴ "Auf, meine theuren Schwestern! Heran zu mir, unter meiner Fahne sollt Ihr Euch versammeln! [...] Unsere Waffe sei: Vernunft; unser Feldgeschrei: Anerkennung; und die Schutzgöttin unseres Heeres: die Ausdauer." Charlotte Löwe, "Ehret die Frauen!," *Der Telegraph*, no. 151 (1837), 621-622.

⁸¹⁵ Original: "Ein sanftes Wort aus unserem Munde, ein freundlich bittender Blick aus unseren Augen und in dem so eben schwer erbitterten Gemüthe legen sich die Wogen der Aufregung [...]." Löwe, "Ehret die Frauen!," 621.

⁸¹⁶ In a recent biography Maria Theresa's abhorrence of Jews is portrayed and contextualised. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Maria Theresia. Die Kaiserin in ihrer Zeit* (München: C.H. Beck, 2017), 634-644.

“In case we want to dedicate ourselves to the areas of arts and science: schools and university courses are closed to us, public life we only know from magic fairy tales and hearsay; because you took care thoroughly that our reputation and with it also our whole earthly luck goes down if we would participate in public life. But despite this insurmountable wall of obstacles many of my sisters already achieved to bread a laurel wreath around their name, even though their judges – were men.”⁸¹⁷

Charlotte Löw did not suggest women should be the judges of their own actions but emphasised that it was impossible to receive recognition from men “who feel to be by nature above us, but at the same time they are often lying at our feet as slaves.”⁸¹⁸ From her generation of men Charlotte did not expect recognition: “We have to evoke a new sex, [...] we have to raise judges for ourselves.”⁸¹⁹ While mothers should plant the seed of “gentleness, tenderness, love and faith” in their sons, daughters were remarkably omitted. Three weeks after the first appearance under the rubric of *Frauenhallen*, Charlotte Löw published another article titled “*Nadelstiche*” [Needle Pins].⁸²⁰ Again the author called for better education, but on this occasion, she wrote about women and men. She deployed a binary equation to make her argument for female emancipation: “The relationship between the male and female sex is similar to the relationship of the right and left hand. Both are branches of a tree; both are the same in their form; but the preconception has made them into completely different sexes.”⁸²¹

In this article Charlotte Löw presented not nature, but prejudices, as the reason for gender inequality. Women were subordinated while men, the “degenerated sex”⁸²², made the law. The preconception that women were naturally weak was openly contested by the writer.

“It is said that both are weak [women and the left hand], but this is not true! Education is to blame, the lack of exercise, they were weakened through the withdrawal of any strong development. [...] Oh only your education is to blame! If you would grant both hands the

⁸¹⁷ Original: "Wollen wir im Gebiete der Künste und Wissenschaften uns ergehen: Schulen und Collegien sind uns verschlossen, das öffentliche Leben kennen wir nur wie aus Zaubermärchen und vom Hörensagen; denn Ihr habt ja genugsam dafür gesorgt, daß unser Ruf, und mit ihm auch unser ganzes irdisches Glück, zu Grunde geht, wenn wir dem öffentlichen Leben uns anschließen würden. Aber trotz diesem unübersteigbaren Wall von Hindernissen ist es doch schon vielen meiner Schwestern gelungen, einen Lorbeerkrantz um ihren Namen zu flechten, obgleich ihre Richter - Männer waren." Löwe, "Ehret die Frauen!," 622.

⁸¹⁸ Löwe, "Ehret die Frauen!," 622.

⁸¹⁹ Original: "Wir müssen uns ein neues Geschlecht heraufbeschören; [...] wir müssen uns erst Richter erziehen!" Löwe, "Ehret die Frauen!," 622.

⁸²⁰ Already throughout the year 1837 Charlotte had published short articles under this headline.

⁸²¹ Original: "Das Verhältnis des männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechtes gleicht dem Verhältnisse der rechten und linken Hand. Beide sind Zweige eines Baumes, beide sind an Gestalt gleich; aber das Vorurtheil hat sie zu ganz verschiedenen Geschöpfen gemacht." Charlotte Löwe, "Nadelstiche," *Der Telegraph*, 10.01.1838.

⁸²² Löwe, "Ehret die Frauen!," 622.

same tasks since young age, also their power would be the same. But you are afraid that the left [hand i.e. women] gets emancipated and your right will suffer."⁸²³

To a certain extent Charlotte Löw received support in her call for equality by Ignaz Kuranda, who in March 1838 published in the column *Frauenhallen* an article with the title "A Thought-Provoking Revelation".⁸²⁴ Ignaz Kuranda addressed female stereotypes in his article and described a middle-class woman as naive, beautiful, "or at least pretty", who falls victim to the gallantry of men. Ignaz questioned the lower status of women in society with the legend of the Czech Maidens. According to this legend women and men had lived as equals in long-ago Bohemia until women under their leader queen Vlasta decided to subjugate their fathers and brothers.

"They explained to men that in future they have to give away all their freedom; they won't have the right to fight with sword and spear anymore; from now on they have to wear undershirts, stay in the kitchen, cook, do the dishes, clean the room, not go without veil on the street, put their eyes down decently when a person of the other sex is looking at them, and so forth."⁸²⁵

Hence ultimately the Bohemian women were defeated and, in the light of the events, men all over the world started to subjugate women as a preventative measure.⁸²⁶ Ignaz Kuranda presented the absurdity of gender norms through this legend of their inversion: "I pushed away the curtain, my dear female readers, so you can see clearly the conspiracy that is plotted against you and that you can take measures [...] Show that you do not want offerings, but that you demand justice, equality, but not deification."⁸²⁷ The one-time contribution of Ignaz Kuranda

⁸²³ Original: "Man sagt: beide seien schwach, aber es ist nicht wahr! Durch die Schuld der Erziehung, durch den Mangel an Uebung, durch das Entziehen jeder kräftigen Entwicklung sind sie geschwächt worden. [...] O, nur an eurer Erziehung liegt die ganze Schuld! Würdet ihr von Jugend auf den beiden Händen gleiche Beschäftigung einräumen, so würde auch die Kraft eine gleich starke. Aber ihr fürchtet, wenn ihr die Linke emancipiert, eure Rechte darunter leiden zu sehen." Löwe, "Nadelstiche," *Der Telegraph*, 10.01.1838, 20-21.

⁸²⁴ Ignaz Kuranda, native of Prague, was an editor of the newspaper. When the senior editor of the paper, Wenzel Lempert, discontinued the publication in the middle of 1838, Ignaz Kuranda planned to re-publish the newspaper under the same name from January 1839. However, the head of police and the censorship bureau Count Joseph Sedlitzky prevented these plans. Kuranda left Vienna and published from 1841 to 1848 the liberal newspaper *Die Grenzboten*. He returned to Vienna in 1848 and published the *Ost-Deutsche Post* from 1848 to 1866. His famous challenge to the anti-Semitic publications by Sebastian Brunner led to a trial in 1860. Anon., *Preßprozeß. Doktor Brunner - Ignaz Kuranda* (Wien: Ludwig Mayer, 1860).

⁸²⁵ Original: "Sie erklärten daher den Männern, daß sie künftighin sich aller ihrer Freiheiten begeben müssen; daß sie von nun an stets in Unterröcken gekleidet seyn müssen; hübsch in der Küche bleiben; kochen; Geschirr abreiben; Stube waschen; nicht ohne Schleier auf die Straße gehen; fein sittsam die Augen niederschlagen, wenn sie eine Person des andern Geschlechtes anschaut u.s.w." Ignaz Kuranda, "Eine inhaltsschwere Offenbarung," *Der Wiener Telegraph*, 02.03.1838.

⁸²⁶ This legend remarkably reverses responsibilities and positions since it portrays the subjugation of women as their own fault.

⁸²⁷ Original: "Ich habe den Vorhang vor Ihren Blicken hinweggezogen, meine Leserinnen, und Sie können die Verschwörung, die man gegen Sie gemacht, klar durchschauen und Ihre Maßregeln darnach treffen. [...] Zeigen

to the column *Frauenhallen* is, similar to Charlotte Löw's call for equality and is strongly informed by Mary Wollstonecraft's "Vindication of the Rights of Woman." For a newspaper published in Vienna in the 1830s the articles in the women's column of the Telegraph, mainly penned by Charlotte Löw, were remarkably radical. With the exception of Uffo Horn's derogatory reply to Löw this article series received little public reaction since the Telegraph likely had only a small circulation.⁸²⁸

Charlotte Löw's publishing activities in Vienna did not hinder her from becoming an owner of a girls' institute in Prague. The Bohemian school authorities presumably did not even know about the articles, otherwise it is doubtful that Charlotte would have received permission to educate girls. In the institute's educational programme advertised in the *Lemberger Zeitung* [Lviv Newspaper] in February 1839, Charlotte Löw balanced her visions of equal opportunities with educational ideals of the time.

"The restless progressive development of the religious and moral life of Jews in Bohemia suggested the need for a modern upbringing and education of the female sex. [...] While for the higher education for sons resources of all kind, schools of each rank, are available, the education of daughters is confined to the narrow borders of the house."⁸²⁹

In advertising her business these acknowledged "narrow borders" were not crossed by the institute owner who emphasised that "the endeavour of the institute will be to educate the pupils in all subjects of domestic businesses practised by girls."⁸³⁰ Charlotte Löw led her institute to the satisfaction of parents, and five years later, in 1844, forty girls attended her institute as the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* [General Newspaper of the Jewry]. The newspaper was directed to a liberal readership and frequently reported on Charlotte Löw's institute. In a report on an annual exam in the institute the thoroughness of the education the girls received was underlined.⁸³¹

Sie, daß Sie keine Opfer, sondern nur Gerechtigkeit, Gleichstellung, aber nicht Vergötterung, verlangen!" Kuranda, "Eine inhaltsschwere Offenbarung," *Der Wiener Telegraph*, 02.03.1838, 112.

⁸²⁸ The fact that the continuation of the newspaper was not permitted by the censorship bureau after the chief editor dissolved the publication is an indicator that not all writers and the newspaper content were classified as harmless.

⁸²⁹ Original: "Die unter den Israeliten in Böhmen immer rastlos fortschreitende Entwicklung des religiösen und sittlichen Lebens hat auch das Bedürfnis einer zeitgemäßen Erziehung und Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechtes angeregt. [...] Während für die höhere Ausbildung der Söhne Hilfsmittel jeder Art, Schulen jeden Ranges offen stehen, ist die Erziehung der Töchter auf die engen Grenzen des Hauses beschränkt." Charlotte Löw, "Lehr- und Erziehungs-Anstalt für israelitische Mädchen," *Lemberger Zeitung*, 25.02.1839, 93-94.

⁸³⁰ Original: "[...] da es überhaupt das stete Augenmerk dieses Instituts sein wird, die Zöglinge zu lebenspraktischen, in allen Fächern der häuslichen Geschäfte geübten Mädchen heranzubilden." Löw, "Mädchen," *Lemberger Zeitung*, 25.02.1839, 93-94.

⁸³¹ The further destiny of Charlotte Löw and her institute did not leave any traces.

"[...] when the pupils were widely applauded for their examination in Jewish and world history, in German language and style of letter writing, in mental and figure arithmetic, in geography, history and French language, and showed, however, for their tender age and sex a highly remarkable rigour, [...] the occasion was used to give a farewell party for the four girls leaving the institute."⁸³²

Emilie Löwenberg in Lviv

The institutes for Jewish girls of Flora Unger in Vienna and Charlotte Löw in Prague served as sample cases of the decision-making process in the application of a Jewish teacher in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv in 1842. The case of Emilie Löwenberg offers a vivid example of how standard procedures of the centralised bureaucratic state apparatus enabled women in all parts of the Habsburg Empire to become educational professionals. At first Emilie Löwenberg's application had been denied on the basis of Emilie's young age of eighteen years because the minimum age to hold a school licence was twenty-four. When Emilie petitioned again in 1842 for permission to open an educational institute for Jewish girls in Lviv, the provincial authorities were unsure on what grounds to decide the case. Possibly because Charlotte Löw's institute was known through her advertisements in the newspaper *Lemberger Zeitung*, the Galician provincial government contacted the Prague authorities for information as to whether they had processed a similar case. The reply confirmed the existence of a girls' institute in Prague and contained information on the first case of an educational institute for Jewish girls in Vienna. The Galician authorities granted the school licence to Emilie Löwenberg on the basis of the procedures and the decisions in the cases of Flora Unger and Charlotte Löw. The institute was initially successful and attended by twenty-one pupils in 1844.⁸³³ In 1847 the number of pupils attending Emilie Löwenberg's institute had declined to six.⁸³⁴ This was possibly the reason why Emilie Löwenberg closed her institute in Lviv. In 1854 she moved to Brody where she opened a girls' institute and taught German in the newly-established German-

⁸³² Original: "[...] die Pflöglinge in der jüdischen und Weltgeschichte, in der deutschen Sprachlehre und im Briefstyle, im Kopf- und Zifferrechnen, in der Geographie, Geschichte und französischen Sprache unter allgemeinem Beifall geprüft worden waren, und dabei eine allerdings für ihr zartes Alter und Geschlecht höchst auffallende Gründlichkeit an den Tag legten, [...] und die Gelegenheit zu einem Abschiedsfeste für die ausscheidenden vier Mädchen benutzt." Anon., "Gestern hatten wir hier Gelegenheit einem würdigen Feste beizuwohnen," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 29.04.1844, 249.

⁸³³ It is important to emphasise that in 1844 ten girls' educational institutes were maintained in Lviv, some of them already since several years. Röskau-Rydel, *Kultur an der Peripherie*, 101. The number of girls' schools is drastically lower when only contemporary statistical overviews are consulted; this is illustrated by an overview for the year 1840. Although several schools existed at the time in Lemberg/Lwów/Lviv, none of them show a count in the listing of "private education institutes for the female youth". Johann Springer, *Statistik des österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, vol. 1 (Wien: Fr. Beck's Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1840).

⁸³⁴ Isabel Röskau-Rydel, *Kultur an der Peripherie des Habsburger Reiches. Die Geschichte des Bildungswesens und der kulturellen Einrichtungen in Lemberg von 1772 bis 1848*, vol. 15, Studien der Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993), 103.

Jewish secondary girls' school until she retired in 1876.⁸³⁵ In 1859 Emilie made a contribution to the Patriotic Aid Society [*Patriotischer Hilfsverein*] as "Owner of a Seminary in Brody."⁸³⁶ The use of the term seminary [Catholic convent] is an interesting detail of girls' schools in Galicia. Women frequently petitioned for permission to open a seminary, not a "school" or an "institute". This choice of terminology, even employed by a Jewish school owner, highlights the significance of the Catholic convent school model, serving both as a point of reference and also possibly as a role model for women since religious women had been exercising authority for centuries within the convent space.⁸³⁷ This example shows how Catholic religious orders were a role model to build on.

Emilie Löwenberg died in 1897. Her identity as a teacher was of such importance that her profession was engraved on her gravestone. "Here rests Miss Emilie Löwenberg, former teacher at the Jewish Secondary School and Head of a Daughter's School".⁸³⁸

The Szántó Family

In the midst of revolutionary events of 1848 Joseph Szántó and his younger brother Simon established the first private educational institute for Jewish boys in Vienna. The brothers announced their programme emphatically in a pamphlet [*Flugschrift*]: "A new era has started for the education history of mankind!"⁸³⁹ The Szántó brothers expressed their strong hope that a reorganisation of education was about to take place in the Habsburg Empire. Hence they wanted to contribute with their educational institute for boys to reflect the educational reform.

⁸³⁵ Emilie's annual wage at this school amounted to 350fl. Leopold Herzel, *Bericht der Deutsch-Israelitischen Haupt- & Mädchenschule in Brody zur 25 Jährigen Jubiläumsfeier* (Brody: Selbstverlag, 1879), 23.

⁸³⁶ Fr. Emilie Löwenberg, Konvikts-Inhaberin in Brody, *Wiener Zeitung*, 24.09.1859, 4032

⁸³⁷ In her advertisement for the opening of a private educational institute for Catholic girls in Lemberg/Lviv in 1817 Sophia Piasecka for example explained that in her "Convikt" the "virgins" were supplied with board and lodging, heating, lighting, laundry and attendance for a reasonable fee. Sophie Piasecka, "Kundmachung," *Lemberger Zeitung*, 05.09.1817, 153-154.

⁸³⁸ Original: "Hier ruht Fräulein Emilie Löwenberg, gewesene Lehrerin an der Isr. Hauptschule und Vorsteherin einer Töchterchule. Friede Ihrer Asche!" "Anon., "Search "LOWENBERG": Gesher Galicia Database with focus on researching Jewish roots in this region," available at <<http://search.geshergalicia.org/>> (retrieved 20.03.2015).

⁸³⁹ Original: "Eine neue Ära ist für die Bildungsgeschichte der Menschheit aufgegangen!" WB, Sammlung Flugschriften Signatur Q0404, Wien, 1. August 1848, online available under "Flugschriften der Revolution" <<http://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbr/nav/classification/1970961>> (10.06.2017), Josef Szántó, Simon Szántó: Programm. Einer Erzieh- und Unterrichtsanstalt für Knaben isr. Confession in Wien. Wien, 1. August 1848.

“Similar institutes by the Jews in Hamburg and Frankfurt have shown encouraging outcomes, so it really does not need proof that such an institute in Vienna, the locus of the Austrian Monarchy, is an urgent necessity.”⁸⁴⁰

Simon Szántó, originally from Großkanizsa/Nagykanizsa in Hungary had moved in 1845 to Vienna after studying philosophy under Franz Seraphin Exner in Prague and theology under Salomon Rapoport. Simon completed the teacher training course in Vienna in 1846. Little is known about the education of Simon’s older brother Josef, who was a Rabbi and completed his teacher training in Vienna in 1842.⁸⁴¹

“The undersigned who apply themselves for several years to education and who dedicated their career and purpose to this important task [...] were encouraged by many renowned houses in Vienna [...] to open an educational institute for boys of Jewish confession.”⁸⁴²

In the centre of the educational programme stood the instruction of morality and religion to the future useful citizens. It is important to acknowledge that the communication strategy of the institute owners was similar to the announcements of other educational institutes at the time, irrespective of whether it was an institute for boys or girls: “Not acquisitiveness or monetarily advantage is the reason for the founding of this institute, but the inner drive for the profession and the expert knowledge which we could not fully apply as private teachers [...]”.⁸⁴³

At the time when the Szántó brothers advertised their institute, the institute owner Johann Schubert commenced a poster campaign for his boys’ educational institute. These posters are an indicator that not only Jewish parents were looking for an alternative to public schooling: “As can be seen from posters, an institute recently has come forward, which really in all

⁸⁴⁰ Original: "Erfreuliche Früchte haben dergleichen Institute bei den Israeliten in Hamburg und Frankfurt zur Reise gebracht, und daß eine solche Anstalt für Wien, als den Brennpunkt der österreichischen Monarchie, ein dringendes Bedürfniß sei, bedarf kaum eines Beweises." WB, Sammlung Flugschriften, Signatur Q0404.

⁸⁴¹ His training was financially secured through a request by Lea Löwenstein in Nagykanizsa/Groß-Kanizsa. Anon., "Zeitungs- und Nachrichten, Groß-Kanischa, 1. Okt.: das für bedürftige Rabbinatskandidaten bestimmte Legat der Frau Lea Löwenstein (600 fl. W. W. für Aussteuer) an Josef Szanto vergeben, Sohn des Rabb. Meier Szanto," *Allgemeinen Zeitung des Judentums*, 06.11.1843, 673.

⁸⁴² Original: "Die Gefertigten, welche durch eine Reihe von Jahren dem Erziehungswesen obgelegen, und ihren Lebensberuf und Zweck in diese wichtige Aufgabe gesetzt haben, fühlten sich [...] durch den vielfach gegen sie geäußerten Wunsch vieler achtbarer Häuser Wiens aufgefordert [...] ein Pensionat für Knaben israelitischer Confession zu errichten." WB, Sammlung Flugschriften, Signatur Q0404.

⁸⁴³ Original: "Daß uns endlich nicht Erwerbsucht und lucrativer Vortheil zu der Errichtung dieser Anstalt bestimmt, als vielmehr der innere Berufsdrang und das natürliche Streben, unsere Fachkenntniß, die wir als Privatlehrer nicht so fruchtbar machen konnten, eine ausgedehnte Wirksamkeit zu geben [...]" WB, Sammlung Flugschriften, Signatur Q0404.

respects and earlier than all others, is characterised by a freer and more progressive tendency.”⁸⁴⁴

When Caroline Schlesinger opened an educational institute for Jewish girls in the Viennese district Leopoldstadt in 1850, the hopes for a progressive new era had been destroyed.⁸⁴⁵ A year after Caroline had established her girls’ educational institute, she married Joseph Szántó and her sister Katharina Schlesinger married his brother Simon. Caroline continued her institute and added “nee Schlesinger” to her advertisements. However, the credit for establishing and maintaining the institute was from the point of marriage often attributed to her husband Joseph and his brother who worked, in addition to maintaining the boys’ institute, as teachers in Caroline’s girls’ institute.⁸⁴⁶

“The Szántó brothers founded an educational institute for boys, and then also for girls, one is existing for five years, the other for three years, the first counts now [1853] ninety pupils of which fifty are for board and lodging, the latter fifty female pupils with about thirty boarding pupils. [...] The Szántó gentlemen bring their uttermost sacrifice, follow their path in the most liberal sense, and will – we should be very wrong – exactly therefore reach their interests.”⁸⁴⁷

Both educational institutes thrived during the 1850s. It is worth pointing out that the establishment of Jewish educational institutes was not only met with enthusiasm. In 1852 Joseph Kaiser, the editor of the weekly journal *Pädagogisches Wochenblatt*, agitated against the inclusion of Jewish teachers in the educational landscape in Vienna. Specifically, Kaiser criticised that since 1847

⁸⁴⁴ Original: "Wie aus Plakaten ersichtlich, hat sich erst ein Institut gemeldet, das wirklich in jeder Beziehung auch früher schon vor allen andern durch eine freiere und fortschrittsreichere Tendenz sich hervorthat." Anon., "Der Bote von gestern," *Der Humorist*, 02.09.1848, 866.

⁸⁴⁵ Caroline Schlesinger, "Israelitische Eltern," *Fremden-Blatt*, 20.07.1850, 4. One of the first teachers in her institute was the Jewish historian Gerson Wolf, who had been nearly banned from Vienna by Governor von Welden for his political writings. Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Österreich Band 57, "Gerson Wolf," (1889), available at

<<http://www.literature.at/viewer.alo?objid=12541&page=289&scale=3.33&viewmode=fullscreen>> (retrieved 20.06.2017).

⁸⁴⁶ An interesting detail about Caroline's girls' institute is that Emma Kner, a special gym teacher from Berlin, provided physical exercise in the institute. This subject was increasingly found on curricula of educational institutes during the 1850s.

⁸⁴⁷ Original: "Die Gebrüder Szanto haben eine Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt für israelitische Knaben, dann eine für Mädchen gegründet, die erstere besteht seit 5 Jahren, die letztere seit 3 Jahren, die erstere zählt jetzt circa 90 Schüler, wovon 50 zugleich Pensionäre, die letztere 50 Schülerinnen, von denen wohl 30 das Pensionat besuchen. [...] Die Herren Szanto bringen die möglichsten Opfer verfolgen ihren Weg im liberalsten Sinnen und werden - wir müßten uns sehr irren - gerade dadurch auch zu eigenem Vortheil gelangen." Anon., "Reisebericht," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 14.11.1853, 598-599.

“seven Jewish educational institutes have opened and they try to spread more and more. We know that Mr. Brandeis, teaching at the Jewish children’s home in the Leopoldstadt, applied several times for permission to open a Jewish Bürgerschule (!!?) [sic] and a preparation school for the male Jewish youth, which was rejected altogether.”⁸⁴⁸

In 1859 Richard Rotter, a history and geography teacher at the *Ober-Realschule* [a secondary school] in Ofen/Buda, published a brochure agitating against all private boys’ educational institutes.⁸⁴⁹ He claimed that ninety-two private educational institutes for boys were run alone in Pest. The institutes had spread unchallenged throughout the *Vormärz* period all over Hungary and allegedly had not promoted Catholic Christian values. Rotter’s criticism is based on the argument these institutes were led in a “spirit of simultaneity” [*Simultaneitätsgeist*], mixing confessions and ideologies.⁸⁵⁰ The public school teacher was not the only one who agitated against private educational institutes. Private schools were often disregarded which put institute owners, women and men, in a defensive position. Adolf Josef Pick, the brother-in-law of the Szántó siblings, defended private educational institutes against Richard Rotter’s disregard and criticised Rotter for declaring the Catholic doctrine as the only valuable one. The institute owner had opened the private school in 1857 in the Viennese Leopoldstadt, possibly influenced by the success of the ventures of his wife’s relations.⁸⁵¹

“Institutes have their eligibility, their mission; they are necessary for numerous reasons that will not decay with increasing education; they are to a higher degree as public schools appointed to work for the progress of the pedagogical and educational method; finally, they are important in regard to national-economic considerations.”⁸⁵²

⁸⁴⁸ Original: “[...] als seit der Zeit auch 7 israelitische Lehranstalten entstanden sind, und sich immer mehr auszubreiten suchen. So wissen wir, daß der Lehrer Herr Brandeis an der isralitischen Kinderbewahr-Anstalt in der Leopoldstadt wiederholte Gesuche überreichte, eine israelitische Bürgerschule (!!?) [sic], dann eine Vorbereitungsschule für die israelitische männliche Jugend errichten zu dürfen, welche aber sämmtliche zurückgewiesen wurden [...]” Joseph Kaiser, “Ueber Emporbringung des Volks-Unterrichtes und der allgemeinen Volksbildung,” *Österreichisches pädagogisches Wochenblatt*, 31.10.1852.

⁸⁴⁹ Rotter argued that the diversity in denominations [Confessionsverschiedenheit] was an evil not only in schools but also in marriages. In this time of moral decay marriage constituted the condition for public wellbeing. The sons sent to private boys’ educational institutes were taken away from the family unit for an education dedicated to materialism. Richard Rotter interestingly promoted in his brochure Catholic conservative values but had been at the same time an editor of the liberal newspaper *Konstitutionelle Zeitung* [Constitutional Newspaper] during the revolutionary period and later functioned as editor for the *Pressburger Zeitung* [Pressburg/Bratislava newspaper]. His pamphlet about boys’ private educational institutes was dedicated to Guido Schenzel, a priest at the Abbey Admont in Styria. Richard Rotter, *Pädagogische Randzeichnungen aus Ungarn* (Wien: A. Pichler’s Witwe, 1859).

⁸⁵⁰ Rotter, *Pädagogische Randzeichnungen aus Ungarn*.

⁸⁵¹ Previously he had worked as assistant of the astronomer Carl von Littrow at the observatory.

⁸⁵² Original: “Die Institute haben ihre Berechtigung, ihre Mission; sie sind nothwendig für zahlreiche Verhältnisse, die mit zunehmender Bildung durchaus nicht abnehmen werden; sie sind in höherem Grade als öffentliche Schulen dazu berufen, für den Fortschritt der pädagogischen und unterrichtlichen Methode zu arbeiten; sie sind endlich wünschenswerth aus nazional-ökonomischen Rücksichten.” Adolf Josef Pick, *Zweiter Jahres-Bericht über Dr.*

Private and state-funded schools had their advantages and faults but for private schools the stakes and expectations were considerably higher, especially since private schools were often viewed as correction institutes. Adolf Joseph Pick explained that pupils who had failed in the public school system were often put into private institutes in the hope that the boarding school environment would work magic. The realisation that this was not always possible quickly led to disregard of such institutes. In this context Pick made an important point: class size. One of the advantages of private institutes, not only for girls who were more dependent on private education but also for boys, was that a smaller class number was achieved. Smaller classes meant that the individual pupil potentially received more attention. Another argument in favour of private education was greater freedom in the curriculum design which was strictly standardised in public schools. The institute owner emphasised that even great pedagogues, like Pestalozzi had run private schools and demonstrated innovation in their teaching methods.⁸⁵³

Discussions discrediting private education did not hinder institutes from thriving. In 1859 the Imperial Commission on Education permitted Caroline Szántó to offer Jewish teacher training courses in her private educational institute. In 1860, the same year Caroline gave birth to her fourth child, she held the first teacher training course. In consequence of this decision Caroline held a gatekeeping role on who was to become a female Jewish teacher in Vienna. An assessment letter from 1861 on the teacher candidate Josefine Spitäler gives an idea of how Caroline exercised her authority.⁸⁵⁴

“To the referential School District Authority of the II. Viennese District! [...] [The undersigned] allows herself in all conscience to explain that Josefine Spitäler is in her morality without fault and shows lots of diligence and honest pursuit. [...] Not so favourable, however, expressed the undersigned herself about the intellectual educational background of the candidate, as she lacks the most basic knowledge that can be expected from her exam of the 4th class of secondary school, and she seems to have forgotten the things she has learnt in her youth. However, the candidate is suited to provide instruction in needlework.”⁸⁵⁵

Ad. Jos. Pick's Lehr- und Erziehungs-Institut für Knaben israelit. Konfession (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1859), 7.

⁸⁵³ The institute owners' business flourished during the next two decades and even was granted the right of publicity in 1873.

⁸⁵⁴ Caroline Szántó surely wrote a great number of evaluations of her students, only this case is documented.

⁸⁵⁵ Original: "[Die Unterzeichnete] erlaubt sich dieselbe nach bestem Wissen u. Gewissen zu erklären, daß Josefine Spitäler sich in Sitten untadelhaft erwiesen u. vielen Eifer u. redliches Streben an den Tag gelegt. [...] Nicht so günstig kann sich jedoch die Gefertigte bezüglich der intellektuellen Vorbildung der Candidatin aussprechen, da dieselbe selbst der elementaren Kenntniße, wie solche laut ihres Zeugnißes aus der 4. Hauptschulklasse

On the basis of this opinion Josefina was denied an exemption from the pedagogical qualification examination necessary to teach subjects other than needlework. In 1869 the boys' educational institute received the public status [*Öffentlichkeitsrecht*]. In the same year Simon Szántó stepped down and left the organisational matters of the institute to his brother. The institute was closed when Josef Szántó died in 1873.⁸⁵⁶ Simon Szántó together with his brother-in-law, Adolf Josef Pick, founded the weekly newspaper *Die Neuzeit* which frequently contained advertisements for Caroline's educational institute. Her institute received public status in 1871.⁸⁵⁷ The Szántó family was for many decades engaged in liberal Jewish life in Vienna.

5.5. Summary

Private educational institutes were bourgeois institutions par excellence. Examples in this chapter show that such institutes and their owners were embedded in family networks that influenced the education business in manifold ways. Remarkable from today's perspective is their knowledge about rules and legal procedures and their application across the Empire as the specific example of Jewish private educational institutes has shown. Girls' educational institutes had the important function of providing both education and guidance, which usually did not end at the age of twelve but assured a safe transition to matrimony. Significantly the family home was increasingly not seen as suitable place to prepare girls for their future matrimonial duties, although their education was increasingly designed to make them into competent homemakers. In particular, the Housewife Educational Institute can be seen as attempt to professionalise the bourgeoisie ideal of the homemaker.⁸⁵⁸ The subjects taught at such institutes were tailored to the gendered ideal of the future wife and mother running a household, despite the fact that the institute owners themselves did not exactly fulfil this domestic ideal. Private boys' educational institutes were also an option for parents who did not,

vorausgesetzt würden, entbehrt, und das in früherer Jugend gelernte vergessen haben mag." DAW, Schulamtsakten 162/2/22d, Äußerung der Inhaberin des israelitischen Mädchen-Institutes, Karoline Szanto.

⁸⁵⁶ A concentrated number of applications to open Jewish private schools reached the school authorities after the Emancipation of 1867 which granted residential freedom. An interesting question for future research is how authorities and applicants negotiated these applications and how many new institutes opened in fact. DAW, Schulamtsakten 238/1-2, Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalten 1867/1868.

⁸⁵⁷ Caroline far outlived Joseph and Simon, she died in 1912. Her educational institute was continued under the name "C. Szanto", the last advertisement for the institute was published in 1929. Anon., "Institut C. Szanto, II., Obere Donaustr. 43, Tel. A 43-9-98, Internat, Tagesheim, Externat, franz. Spielkurs, Volks-Hauptschule (Oest.-R.), Fortbildungsch. Musik, Sprachen, Sport," *Prager Tagblatt*, 18.08.1929, 24.

⁸⁵⁸ Particularly the negotiations of the use of spaces of the institute at the time of the exhibition organised by Therese's husband Gottfried are telling about social anxieties surrounding girls' education at the time.

for different reasons, want to expose their sons to public schooling. While the language of instruction became a factor for educational entrepreneurs to establish private institutes as a niche in the education system, during the second half of the nineteenth century religious confession also increasingly became a niche factor.

6. New Experts Claiming Spaces

From the late eighteenth century, teachers set out to establish themselves as experts in the field of pedagogy. Women, however, rarely published pedagogical writings and were confronted with numerous gendered preconceptions. Some female writers emphasised their *natural* expertise in the field of female education and used this argument to claim spaces. Who else could understand the needs of the female mind better than a woman? In this chapter I will explore female expertise in pedagogical writings and the founding of the Viennese Women's Employment Association in 1866. I focus on pedagogical writings of less-known Austrian female pedagogues, all of whom were at some point in their careers private school owners. I specifically explore the question of how these teachers discussed aspects of the emerging bourgeois domestic ideal. The departure at the beginning of the nineteenth century helps to show continuities and transformations of gendered norms throughout the nineteenth century.

6.1. Antonie Wutka (1763-1824)

Antonie Wutka's "Encyclopaedia for the Female Youth" [*Encyclopädie für die weibliche Jugend*] is a forgotten example of female pedagogical expertise in early nineteenth century Habsburg monarchy. The twelve-volume *Encyclopaedia*, of which the first volume was published in 1804, by no means contained radical assumptions. Similar to Theodor Gottlieb Hippel, the Hamburg writer and educator Amalie Holst (1758-1829), for example, challenged purportedly natural gender differences around 1800, while Antonie Wutka used and reproduced these very assumptions. Antonie's ideas of gender differences and the method of teaching through dialogue are from today's perspective closer to Caroline Rudolphi's (1753-1811) pedagogical ideas who published the "Portrait of Female Education" in 1807.⁸⁵⁹ However, Antonie's line of argument bears greater ambivalence since she shared with Hippel and Holst the conviction that women were no less mentally capable than men. Another prominent German pedagogue at the time was Betty Gleim (1781-1827), who in 1806 started running a famous girls' educational institute in Bremen. In 1810 Betty Gleim published the "Education and Instruction of the Female Sex"⁸⁶⁰ in which she outlined the necessity of similar educational content for girls and boys. Yet ultimately girls were to be prepared for their future purpose as

⁸⁵⁹ Caroline Rudolphi, *Gemälde weiblicher Erziehung* (Heidelberg: Mohr und Zimmer, 1807).

⁸⁶⁰ Betty Gleim, *Erziehung und Unterricht des weiblichen Geschlechts* (Leipzig: G. J. Göschen, 1810).

wives, mothers and housewives.⁸⁶¹ However, Antonie Wutka did not mention her fellow contemporary female pedagogues in her twelve-volume periodical published between 1804 to 1816. A biographical entry about German writers in 1825 sketched Antonie's life as a series of unfortunate events and emphasised her zeal for learning and education was her only joy. Antonie's parents died when she was six. Not much is documented about her upbringing and education other than that she allegedly learnt how to read and write from a woman who did not know how to spell properly herself. Since she possessed an "outermost propensity to read"⁸⁶² she was given the German translation of the children's magazine of Jeanne Marie Leprince de Beaumont, a French educator and writer living and working in London. Johann Joachim Schwabe had translated and adapted Beaumont's publication for a German audience. The magazine contained educational conversations between a female educator and her pupils as well as a number of fairy-tales among which *Beauty and the Beast* features most prominently from today's perspective. Antonie Wutka appropriated Beaumont's structure as a template for her later publications and similarly invented seven female pupils who received knowledge in biblical stories and Greek mythology, history, geography, and physics from a female educator, Antonie's alter ego Auguste: "One will recognise that it consists of conversations between an understanding and knowledgeable educator and a few of her subordinate young girls of different ages."⁸⁶³

It is important to acknowledge that in Antonie's narrative instead of the female educator presenting knowledge to her pupils, the fictional girls themselves are put in the centre, who read and prepare content in each of the 108 conversations. Antonie Wutka herself had gained many years of experience as a private educator, as a teacher in the Ursuline convent in Laibach/Ljubljana, and later as the head of her own educational institute for girls in Klagenfurt.

⁸⁶¹ For an overview of the key ideas of these female writers and excerpts of their core texts see Christine Mayer Elke Kleinau, "Caroline Rudolphi (1754-1811), Amalia Holst (1758-1829), und Betty Gleim (1781-1827)," in *Erziehung und Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechts: Eine kommentierte Quellensammlung zur Bildungs- und Berufsgeschichte von Mädchen und Frauen*, ed. Elke Kleinau and Christine Mayer (Weinheim: Studien-Verlag, 1996), 70-83. Elke Kleinau, "Pädagoginnen der Aufklärung und ihre Bildungstheorien," in *Tugend, Vernunft, und Gefühl: Geschlechterdiskurse der Aufklärung und weibliche Lebenswelten*, ed. Ulrike Weckel, Claudia Opitz and Elke Kleinau (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 309-338.

⁸⁶² Carl Wilhelm Otto August v. Schindel, *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zweiter Teil M-Z* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1825), 462.

⁸⁶³ Original: "Man wird wahrnehmen, daß sie aus Gesprächen besteht, die eine verständige und weise Hofmeisterinn mit einigen ihrer untergebenen jungen Frauenzimmern von verschiedenem Alter führet." Johann Joachim Schwaben, *Der Frau Marie le Prince de Beaumont lehrreiches Magazin für Kinder zu richtiger Bildung ihres Verstandes und Herzens für die deutsche Jugend eingerichtet*, 5 ed. (Leipzig: M.G. Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1767), IV.

“Already during the time as a teacher in the monastery and generally in the whole period of fourteen years, in which she dedicated herself to the educational business, she felt the lack of a teaching system for female educational institutes for the higher classes [...].”⁸⁶⁴

In the introduction to the twelve volumes Antonie explained her convictions in detail. Although she had hoped to marry and to become the leader of a household, she in fact had spent a lot of her time in solitude.

“My solitude gave me time to read all good pieces that were published in this field [of pedagogy]. But in vain I searched for a publication which equalled the education I had received in its true inner value. Enough books! Enough indoctrinations! But all of them only in pieces, and nowhere as a whole.”⁸⁶⁵

Antonie emphasised that she herself had been brought up with a clear moral compass and a strong sense of duty of a woman’s purpose in life; to become a virtuous wife and companion. However, the pedagogue argued that girls were no longer properly prepared for their duties. Too much entertainment and distractions, such as attending dance halls and theatre productions, influenced their imagination and too much information on “appropriate” behaviour was available: “Nowadays all these virtues are packed in hundreds of rules, but none of them are obeyed.”⁸⁶⁶ Remarkably Antonie Wutka’s conviction of her own knowledge is evident in how she emphasised her modesty. By pointing to her humility, she positioned herself as a knowledgeable pedagogue: “I was able to contribute in every conversation without fear and I believed honestly not to know more than I was obliged to know. It did not come to my mind to pride myself.”⁸⁶⁷

The writer argued that it was exactly this sense of obligation that was currently lacking in girls and boys. Children would play instead of performing their duties. Her sense of obligation led Antonie to become an educator. Similar to many other nineteenth century female pedagogues she emphasised that neither ambition, nor money, but her heart had led down this path. In line

⁸⁶⁴ Original: "Sie hatte schon als Lehrerin im Kloster und überhaupt in dem ganzen Zeitraum von 14 Jahren, in welchem sie sich dem Erziehungsgeschäft widmete, den Mangel eines Lehrsystems für weibliche Erziehungsinstitute der höhern Stände gefühlt [...]." Schindel, *Schriftstellerinnen*, 466.

⁸⁶⁵ Original: "Meine Einsamkeit gab mir Zeit, alles zu lesen, was in diesem Fache an guten Schriften heraus kam. Aber vergebens suchte ich nach einem Werke, welches demjenigen, welchem ich meine Bildung verdanke, an wahren innerm Werthe gleich gekommen wäre. Bücher genug! Belehrungen genug! aber alles nur stückweise, und nirgends ein Ganzes." Antonie Wutka, *Encyklopädie für weibliche Jugend* (Wien: A. Strauss, 1815-16), vol. 1, VII.

⁸⁶⁶ Original: "Jetzt sind diese schönen Tugenden in hundert Vorschriften enthalten, ohne befolgt zu werden." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 1, VII.

⁸⁶⁷ Original: "Ich konnte also überall ohne Furcht mitsprechen, und glaubte doch ganz ehrlich, auch damit nicht mehr zu wissen, als was meine Schuldigkeit wäre. Es konnte mir also nicht einfallen, mir etwas darauf einzubilden." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 1, X.

with nineteenth century female authorship Antonie described her decision to publish as a passive act; she had not intended to go public with her writings. She allegedly had written the first volume in private and was urged by people in the surroundings to publish the compendium.⁸⁶⁸ However, the publication process was difficult. Antonie published the first volume in the midst of the Napoleonic Wars in 1802, possibly in the hope of earning an income as she had to close her institute during the first occupation of Klagenfurt in 1797. In 1804 the author was acknowledged by Emperor Francis II (I) for her publication project. According to several biographical accounts the Imperial Commission on Education had informed the emperor about Antonie's piece and Emperor Francis subsequently rewarded her with one hundred dukaten. The publication of the other volumes was only made possible more than a decade later in 1815 and 1816 through the involvement of the Society of Aristocratic Women to Enhance the Good and the Useful, to whom Antonie Wutka subsequently dedicated her volume series.⁸⁶⁹ The society's subsidy for printing costs kept the price of each volume relatively low and therefore affordable for private school owners and an interested readership. One volume cost one gulden and thirty kreuzer in 1815; all twelve periodicals together cost fifteen gulden. To enrich and expand the content of the twelve-volume collection Antonie used a number of popular pedagogical publications. The writer drew on Johann Matthias Schröckh's world history, geography for school purposes by Johann Ernst Fabri, stories of Greek mythology based on two popular editions by Karl Wilhelm Ramler and by Karl Phillip Moritz, as well as a periodical on natural history by Carl Philip Funke. Bible stories and fables often served to introduce a specific topic which was further analysed and enriched with selective pickings of moral stories and thoughts by Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, Joachim Heinrich Campe and Sophie La Roche.

Antonie Wutka offered detailed instruction on how to use her educational periodicals which were in her view solely directed to mothers and educators: "Oh dear men! Do not engage yourself in female education ever again!"⁸⁷⁰

⁸⁶⁸ This expression of modesty was a communication strategy for female writers at the time to justify their activities within a male sphere. A classic feminist analysis of nineteenth century female authors and their "Anxiety of Authorship" can be found in Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, 2 ed. (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2000), 45-92.

⁸⁶⁹ Anon., "So eben wird der vierte Band einer Encyclopädie [...]," *Friedensblätter. Eine Zeitschrift für Leben, Literatur und Kunst*, 02.05.1815, 208.

⁸⁷⁰ Original: "Es würde dem Endzwecke der Encyclopädie gänzlich zuwider seyn, wenn männliche Lehrer dieses Buch mit unter die übrigen Lehrbücher mengen wollten." Wutka, *Encyclopädie*, vol. 1, XIII.

Female educators who intended to use the twelve-volume work were instructed to let their pupils read each section aloud, starting with volume one. However, they were not to read more than one section per day and, even more importantly, only in communication with their mother or educator, and not in solitude. Teachers were reminded to keep volumes eight to twelve of the book a secret until the pupils reached the age of fifteen as it contained information on behaviour as a potential bride, future wife and mother. This knowledge was limited to appropriate behaviour and conduct. When it came to the body, Antonie recommended providing children with as little knowledge as possible, particularly knowledge of the male anatomy was to be withheld not only from girls but also from boys themselves.⁸⁷¹ At this stage and age, bodily desires were the wrong motivation for marriage, which should be motivated by love, Antonie argued.

“Both sexes only desire each other now; but they do not love each other anymore. And there we have the most significant part of the reason why so many marriages go wrong, and then in our days proliferating marriage-timidity [Ehescheu] up to the decay of the state.”⁸⁷²

Marriage and Singlehood in the *Encyclopaedia for the Female Youth*

The topic of monogamous, heterosexual relationships in the form of marriage played a central role in the fictional conversations between the teacher Auguste and her seven pupils. An ideal marriage was an arranged marriage. In the second volume of the series the fictional pupil Clarisse asks the question “What if I do not want to marry?” to which the teacher Auguste replies that the choice about her life and future marriage is not up to Clarisse but up to God. With this explanation also the single status the teacher Auguste, and subsequently of the author Antonie herself, was justified as God’s choice. In volume nine the topic of marriage is elaborated on even further. Here the explanations show a great ambivalence in what message to convey to the female pupils. While the importance of complying with the choice of the parents is underlined, room is left for agency during the process of getting to know the future husband: “[Auguste.] [...] at least such an acquaintance never has to be continued against your will.”⁸⁷³

⁸⁷¹ Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol.1, XXVI.

⁸⁷² Original: "Beyde Geschlechter begehren sich jetzt nur; aber sie lieben sich nicht mehr. Und da haben wir den beträchtlichsten Theil jender Grundursache so vieler mißrathener Ehen, und der in unsern Tagen bis zum Staatsverderben um sich greifenden Ehescheue." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 1, XXVIII.

⁸⁷³ Original: "[...] wenigstens muß niehmals wider Ihren Willen eine Bekanntschaft dieser Art unterhalten werden." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 9, 116.

A few sentences later the same fictional teacher Auguste repeats that the choice of partner is up to the parents and is seen as “holy” even if the girl detests the potential husband. However, then Antonie Wutka offers a surprising alternative to her young readers – to stay single in the case when the parent’s choice is unacceptable for their daughter. As the conversation between Auguste and her pupils on the topic unfolds the *credo* of the importance of obeying the parents’ choice is repeated again. The fictional pupil Luise argues that at least when it comes to marriage an exception should be made.

“[Luise] However, dear Auguste, concerning marriage one should at least make an exception from this obedience, because we marry for us and not for our parents, we are the ones who have to live with the men. Would you like that we give up the true love of a respectable man in order to tie us to a person who we do not know and with whom a happy life is unclear.”⁸⁷⁴

God’s will and the parents’ choice were a crucial prerequisite for a good marriage, and not love, which is the teacher’s Auguste reply to Luise’s concerns. The negotiation between the teacher and her pupils did not end with this conversation. Luise reinforces her doubts by arguing that only a saint could live with an unpleasant man without developing feelings of hatred. The ambivalence in the message concerning love and partner choice becomes clear in Auguste’s answer to Luise.

“[Auguste] Did you forget that one has to be holy in order to enter the kingdom of God? However, I will not recommend to any of you to choose an unpleasant man with intent in order to have the opportunity to become a saint; but if you get one of them without your intervention then he can become the means for bliss.”⁸⁷⁵

It is crucial to understand how Antonie Wutka created spaces for different opinions for her young readers through describing a negotiation process between a teacher and her pupils. Throughout the volumes the pupils are allowed to voice their opinions and fears, to comment on each other’s statements and to even contradict their teacher Auguste. The messages Antonie Wutka conveyed through her alter ego Auguste and her pupils were not coherent but usually

⁸⁷⁴ Original: "Aber, liebe Auguste, man sollte wenigstens, was die Heirath betrifft, eine Ausnahme von diesem Gehorsam machen, denn wir heirathen für uns und nicht für unsere Ältern, wir sind es, die mit den Männern leben müssen. Wollten Sie wohl, daß man auch die wahre Liebe von einem achtungswerthen Manne aufgeben sollte, um sich an einen Menschen binden zu lassen, den man kaum kennt und mit dem glücklich zu leben nicht abzusehen ist." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 9, 119.

⁸⁷⁵ Original: "Auguste. Haben Sie vergessen, daß man heilig seyn muß, wenn man in das Reich Gottes eingehen will? Ich werde indessen doch keiner von Ihnen rathen, mit Vorsatz einen unangenehmen Mann zu wählen, damit sie Gelegenheit habe eine Heilige zu werden; wenn sie aber einen dergleichen ohne ihr Zuthun erhält, so kann er das Mittel zur Seligkeit für sie werden." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 9, 121.

contained an alternative or opposing argument that had the potential to broaden the scope of at least thinkable possibilities.⁸⁷⁶ The writing style enabled the readers to focus on the message closest to the author's point of view and to blank out contradicting arguments. It would therefore be a mistake to dismiss Antonie Wutka's pedagogical writing simply as conservative and complying with the prevailing norms of the time. Rather her work displays controversial opinions and unveils societal changes in the perception of gender roles and marriage. It is possible for example that the strong focus on discussing love and marriage in the latter volumes was connected to "*Corinne ou l'Italie*" by Madame de Staël, which was translated into German in 1808. The historian Edith Saurer has analysed the popularity of this tragic novel in which the main figures Corinna and Lord Oswald long for a love marriage but fail due to incompatibilities of class, religion and traditional ideas connected to their place of origin.⁸⁷⁷ The novel reflects the doubts of established gender roles, marriage practises and family relations in a similar way the pedagogue Antonie Wutka let her fictional characters voice such doubts.

How much room for negotiation and choice was in fact available for girls and young women in the process of finding a partner is difficult to determine. The pressure to comply with the parents' wishes was surely high, as were financial support and inheritance an effective leverage. Also this topic was touched by Antonie Wutka by allowing the character Auguste to explain that it was indeed an option to stay poor rather than to marry.

"[Auguste] There is a big difference between being in love with a person and feeling repulsed by somebody. I want to recommend to every girl to rather live from alms than to give her hand to a man against whom she feels hatred and reluctance."⁸⁷⁸

Interestingly the question of the control of a woman's assets, which were brought into a marriage, was not left to God or the parents in Antonie Wutka's viewpoint. In a conversation between Auguste and her pupils the pupil Friderike [sic] decided emphatically "[Friderike] I

⁸⁷⁶ Gabriella Hauch came to the same conclusion when she analysed Sophie von Scherer's "Erfahrungen aus dem Frauenleben" [Experiences of women's life] published in 1848. Hauch, *Frau Biedermeier*, 26-33. In this chapter I focus on less known pedagogues who were at the same time private school owners. I therefore did not include a discussion of Sophie von Scherer's three volume publication.

⁸⁷⁷ Edith Saurer, *Liebe und Arbeit. Geschlechterbeziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Margareth Lanzinger (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2014), 21-33.

⁸⁷⁸ Original: "Es ist ein großer Unterschied zwischen dem, in eine Person verliebt seyn, und dem, eine Abscheu vor ihr haben. Ich wollte jedem Mädchen eher rathen, von Almosen zu leben, als seine Hand einem Manne zu geben, gegen den es Haß und Widerwillen empfände." Wutka, *Encyclopädie*, vol. 9, 118.

will under no pretext give up the free administration of my assets.”⁸⁷⁹ The teacher Auguste endorsed this decision. She emphasised that no honest man would ask this of his wife. When it came to married life itself, the burden of keeping the marriage together was not surprisingly presented as a female task. The honesty and actions of a man in a marriage were made dependent on the honesty and actions of his wife. This trope can be found in Christian tradition in the bible story of Adam and Eve, where Eve is made responsible for having tempted her husband to evil. Although Antonie Wutka advised her readers to keep control over their assets, she emphasised the importance of being obedient to their future husbands. A woman had to be virtuous, economical, and patiently bearing everything in life. In the last volume of the book edition the question of female endurance was analysed in detail by a statement of the pupil Luise:

“[Luise] However, dear Auguste, does a wife really have to accept patiently if her husband makes side steps [cheats on her]? With which right could anybody ask that from us? [Auguste] With the right of modesty. A man who really forgets himself one time to that extent such that he infringes the fidelity of his wife he has either a particular reason to dislike her, and it is her duty to find it and remove it unnoticed, or he has a flighty and low heart.”⁸⁸⁰

In the latter case the pupils were instructed to force their future husbands into secrecy about their activities. Under no circumstance was an open dispute to be instigated by the wife. This topic was discussed on the basis of Sophie La Roche’s literary figure Ulrike von Dankenberg.

“[Auguste.] Patience brings the flighty one back, the woman has won everything with a vile man, if she, as Ulrike did, knows how to force him to keep his sideways a secret.”⁸⁸¹

While ideal femininity was portrayed with the qualities of being calm, tender and obedient, depictions of a rather aggressive masculinity dominated the narrative.⁸⁸² Vindictiveness and

⁸⁷⁹ Original: "Die freye Verwaltung meines Vermögens werde ich mir unter keinem Vorwande aus den Händen winden lassen." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 12, 309.

⁸⁸⁰ Original: "Luise. Aber liebe Auguste, muß es eine Frau denn wirklich so geduldig hinnehmen, wenn ihr Gatte Nebensprünge macht? Mit welchem Rechte könnte man so etwas auftragen? Auguste. Mit dem Recht der Bescheidenheit! Ein Mann, welcher sich einmahl so weit vergißt, daß er die seiner Gattin schuldige Treue verletzt, hat entweder eine bestimmte Ursache zur Abneigung gegen sie, die sie aufzufinden und unvermerkt wegzuräumen schuldig ist, oder er besitzt ein flatterhaftes niedriges Herz." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 12, 309-310.

⁸⁸¹ Original: "[Auguste.] Den Flatterhaften bringt Gedult meistens bald wieder zurück, bey einem Niederträchtigen hat die Frau alles gewonnen, wenn sie ihn, wie Ulrike, zu zwingen versteht, daß er seine Nebenwege insgeheim gehen muß." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 12, 310.

⁸⁸² For a detailed analysis of those characteristics see Karin Hausen and Barbara Duden. Karin Hausen, "Die Polarisierung der "Geschlechtscharaktere" - Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben," in *Sozialgeschichte der Familie in der Neuzeit Europas*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1976); Barbara Duden, "Das schöne Eigentum. Zur Herausbildung des bürgerlichen Frauenbildes an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert," *Kursbuch* 47 (1977), 125-140.

anger were, for example, depicted as terrible traits in a woman; however, in a man these characteristics were easier to excuse “because he is and has to be more intense/violent [*heftig*].”⁸⁸³ For gendered norms Joachim Heinrich Campe’s writings were paradigmatic.

“The wife was made by God as small, weak, tender, sensitive, afraid, the man on the other hand as strong, tall, hard, daring, enduring and powerful; accordingly, it is the wish of nature and society that the man is the head and protector of the wife, she on the other hand is the nestling, faithful, thankful, obedient partner and helper of his life.”⁸⁸⁴

The fictional character Auguste repeatedly warned her pupils to be careful not to be seduced and to accept that men were the polar opposites of women.

“[Auguste] Take it always as a rule that the man, even the better one, is, if he really is a man, he is more or less, but always to a certain degree proud, authoritative, quick-tempered, and in the heat of passion up to injustice, hard and insensitive being.”⁸⁸⁵

The nature of male hegemony is elaborated in further detail; however, on several points it is humorously interrupted by outcries of the dissenting character Luise. “[Luise] However, dear Auguste, this is to run away [zum Davonlaufen]!”⁸⁸⁶ Two pages later Luise questions the rationality behind the subjection of women: “[Luise] But dear Auguste, I do not understand why a girl who has her healthy five senses together could possibly decide to take even the best man by the hand when she really considers all this?”⁸⁸⁷ Antonie Wutka lets her alter ego Auguste explain that it was no option for a woman to flee from one relationship of dependency to another one.

“[Auguste] Does she not put herself into a much greater, harder and more pressurised dependency, partly from other people, partly from the preconceptions, traditions and the

⁸⁸³ Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 3, 27.

⁸⁸⁴ Original: "Das Weib bildete der Schöpfer klein, schwach, zart, empfindlich, furchtsam, den Mann hingegen stark, groß fest, kühn, ausdauernd und kraftvoll; es ist also der übereinstimmende Wille der Natur und der Gesellschaft, daß der Mann des Weibes Oberhaupt und Beschützer, sie hingegen die sich an ihn schmiegende treue dankbare, folgsame Gefährtin und Gehülfinn seines Lebens seyn sollte." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 10, 241-242.

⁸⁸⁵ Original: "Nimm es immer zur Regel an, daß der Mann, selbst der bessere, wenn er wirklich Mann ist, ein mehr oder weniger, aber doch immer in einigem Grade stolzes, gebietherisches, herrschsüchtiges, aufbrausendes, und in der Hitze der Leidenschaft bis zur Ungerechtigkeit hartes und fühlloses Geschöpf ist." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 10, 244.

⁸⁸⁶ Original: "Oh liebe Auguste, das ist zum Davonlaufen!" Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 10, 245.

⁸⁸⁷ Original: "Luise: Aber, liebe Auguste, ich sehe nicht ein, wie ein Mädchen, das seine fünf gesunden Sinne hat, sich entschließen kann, auch dem besten Manne die Hand zu geben, wenn sie sich das alles so recht überlegt?" Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 10, 245-246.

bourgeois constitution, to which she has to stay subdued? In the cloister you have to obey the superiors, as a single woman you never have full freedom.”⁸⁸⁸

Luise replies with a question about her teacher’s lifestyle as a single woman.

“[Luise] You are speaking against yourself, dear Auguste! Are you not single and happy with it?”

[Auguste] Yes, my dear, I am, and all those who choose to stay single in this way will be [happy] as I am myself, whatever the men have to object to it.”⁸⁸⁹

This statement in an educational volume for girls is remarkable since despite the overwhelming rhetoric on the centrality of marriage and motherhood, singlehood is presented as another viable option. In this context an outstanding essay by the Viennese writer and *salonnière* Caroline Pichler is worth mentioning.⁸⁹⁰ She first published this essay in the newspaper *Vaterländische Blätter* on the 9th of January 1810. Caroline Pichler voiced her opinion on the education of girls of middle-class background in the light of their future marital status. Pichler argued for a deeper education of the female youth, allegedly not diverting “even an inch from the through nature prepared path for us.”⁸⁹¹ In the centre of Caroline’s argument stood potential employment opportunities for women. Tailoring, cobbler’s work and tasks related to accounting and correspondence, the latter preferably within a family network, were for the writer particularly suitable occupations for women, “to which in our times already one or the other woman with better education had to decide upon because of the necessary [monetary] limitations [...]”⁸⁹² Caroline Pichler emphasised that education had to be thorough in order to enable women to manage their livelihood: “Of course, education cannot be superficial and minor any more for girls who will be educated that way [described by her] in order to secure

⁸⁸⁸ Original: "Setzt sie sich nicht dadurch der weit größeren, härteren, drückenderen Abhängigkeit, theils von anderen Menschen, theils von den Vorurtheilen, Sitten und bürgerlichen Verfassungen aus, denen sie unterworfen bleiben muß? Im Kloster müssen Sie Ihren Obern gehorchen, als lediges Frauenzimmer haben Sie nie volle Freyheit." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 10, 250.

⁸⁸⁹ Original: "[Luise] Sie sprechen gegen sich selbst, liebe Auguste! Sind Sie nicht ledig und doch vergnügt dabey? [Auguste] Ja, mein Schatz, ich bin es, und alle, die den ledigen Stand nur auf eine Art wählen und anwenden, werden es seyn wie ich, was auch die Männer dagegeben einwenden mögen." With this formulation Antonie Wutka likely referred to her profession as a teacher. This career justified singlehood to a certain degree in its fulfilment of a parental role. Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 10, 250.

⁸⁹⁰ For details about Caroline Pichler's life and work see Waltraud Heindl, "Caroline Pichler oder der bürgerliche Fortschritt. Lebensideale und Lebensrealität von österreichischen Beamtenfrauen," in *Von Bürgern und ihren Frauen*, ed. Peter Urbanitsch, Margret Friedrich, Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1996), 197-208.

⁸⁹¹ Caroline Pichler, "Über die Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechtes," in *Prosaische Aufsätze von Caroline Pichler, geborene von Greiner* (Wien: Anton Pichler, 1822).

⁸⁹² Original: "[...] wozu sich in unseren Zeiten schon manches Frauenzimmer von besserer Erziehung, der so nothwendigen Einschränkungen wegen, entschließen mußten, [...]" Pichler, "Bildung," 164.

their living through a skill.”⁸⁹³ The *salonnière* emphasised the great importance of bargaining power of girls. She linked this bargaining power directly to the ability to earn an income.

“In case an honest young man is offering his hand to an educated girl like this, she does not have to start to count anxiously; because she is also able to gain income and be his confidante, friend, active participant of his destiny, the helper of his luck.”⁸⁹⁴

Caroline found yet another reason for the necessity for a better education of the female gender: – patriotism. If the beloved husband had to serve the fatherland, the educated wife had to provide for her family. Caroline Pichler argued that an educated woman would be not anxious or distressed to take on this responsibility but understand it as a patriotic contribution to the general effort as a “member of the state, as a citizen of the greatly beloved fatherland.”⁸⁹⁵

Moreover, Caroline Pichler frequently emphasised the importance of marriage in her writings; however, stronger than Antonie Wutka, she presented her readers with singlehood as a valuable option. Before entering a relationship with an unpleasant man for the purpose “to be fed”, it was better to stay alone or become a *Gesellschafterin* [companion] in a family, “[...] to say it short, the versatile educated girl will be, marrying or not, a complete being, a whole person.”⁸⁹⁶

Condemnable Cravings

For Antonie Wutka and other pedagogues the act of craving male admiration was the downfall for girls and women, so much that moral stories about the topic often ended with the tragic death of a girl. The fictional teacher Auguste repeatedly explains to her pupils that it is their duty to withhold themselves from too much fineries and public appearances. In volume five this appeal is connected to a girl’s value as a good match for marriage; girls were encouraged to see themselves as commodities.

“[Fridericke] But men are really unjust.

[Auguste] Not at all. When you get a product presented, for example a piece of linen, and if you knew that you can easily be deceived, that it is possible to be presented with an

⁸⁹³ Original: "Freylich würde den Mädchen, die sich so ausbilden müßten, um einst mit irgend einer Fertigkeit ihren Lebensunterhalt zu sichern, diese Ausbildung nicht mehr oberflächlich und unbedeutend sey." Pichler, "Bildung," 166.

⁸⁹⁴ Original: "Biethet ein redlicher Jüngling dem so gebildeten Mädchen die Hand, so braucht sie nicht ängstlich zu rechnen; denn auch sie ist im Stande, zu erwerben, seine Vertraute, seine Freundin, die thätige Theilnehmerinn seines Schicksals, die Mitgehülfinn seines Glückes zu seyn." Pichler, "Bildung," 167-168.

⁸⁹⁵ Original: "[...] ein Glied des Staates, eine Bürgerinn des heißer geliebten Vaterlandes." Pichler, "Bildung," 168.

⁸⁹⁶ Original: "[...] kurz, das vielseitig gebildete Mädchen wird, sie mag heirathen oder nicht, ein vollendetes Wesen, ein ganzer Mensch seyn." Pichler, "Bildung," 169.

already used piece with some skill a new look, would you not apply all caution, to check very well, what you buy?"⁸⁹⁷

Antonie Wutka not only discussed the issue of craving admiration, called *Gefallsucht*, but also *Rangsucht*, the craving for a better status. She explained in reference to the pedagogue Campe the condemnable cravings of girls of the middle classes and bourgeoisie [*Mittel- und Bürgerstande*] in greater detail. These girls allegedly longed for finery in order to imitate the upper classes. Instead Antonie promoted simplicity and modesty against this tendency. Antonie's alter ego Auguste, for example, reprimands her pupil Elise for her attempts to cross class boundaries:

"[Auguste] You are, first of all, very rash in displaying your wealth, your clothes, your whole fineries, even your behaviour does not fit to the modest bourgeois merchant profession, to whom you belong; to the noble you look ridiculous and to your own kind odious."⁸⁹⁸

The display of the body, clothes, and fineries was condemned in numerous educational conversations in the volumes. In this context the children were also warned to avoid contact with "women who appear in all public places without discipline and shame with inappropriate clothes [...]"⁸⁹⁹ A lack of discipline was also discussed in the context of the carnival; women who allegedly fell sick and even died from too much dancing.⁹⁰⁰

"He even started to smell" – the Issue of Death

The recurrent topic of death in all volumes deserves a brief discussion. To a certain extent this can be attributed to the use of bible stories, Greek mythology and recounting historical events in which death features prominently. Additionally, the fictional teacher openly discussed the topic with her pupils. Already on the first pages of volume one the reader is introduced to loss, the pupil Amalie's father dropped dead after receiving the message that he had lost his whole

⁸⁹⁷ Original: "Frid. Aber die Männer sind denn doch ungerecht. Auguste. Gar nicht. Wenn man Ihnen eine Waare zum Kaufe vorlegte, etwa ein Stück Zeug, und Sie wüßten, daß sie leicht damit betrogen werden könnten, daß es möglich wäre, einem schon abgenützten Stücke ein neues Ansehen durch Kunst zu verschaffen: würden Sie da nicht alle Sorgfalt anwenden, recht genau nachzusehen, was sie kaufen?" Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 5, 29.

⁸⁹⁸ Original: "Erstens sind Sie mit dem Auskramen Ihres Reichthumes sehr unbesonnen, Ihre Kleidung, Ihr ganzer Putz, selbst Ihr Betragen paßt nicht zu dem schlichten bürgerlichen Kaufmannsstande, zu dem Sie doch gehören; dadurch werden Sie den Vornehmen lächerlich, und Ihres Gleichen verhaßt." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 10, 179.

⁸⁹⁹ Original: "[...] besonders jene Frauenzimmer, die in allen öffentlichen Orten ohne Zucht und Scham in unanständiger Kleidung erscheinen [...]" Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 2, 110.

⁹⁰⁰ Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 2, 148. Dancing was frequently condemned since the Middle Ages as it could lead to "Tanzsucht" [dancing addiction]. In this conception dancing was often directly connected to the devil. For a detailed analysis of this phenomenon see Gregor Rohmann, *Tanzwut. Kosmos, Kirche und Mensch in der Bedeutungsgeschichte eines mittelalterlichen Krankheitskonzepts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

fortune because of bankruptcy. During the period of Napoleonic Wars, when Antonie Wutka wrote and published her educational volumes, bankruptcy was a mass phenomenon. In this sense the text provided children with an opportunity to identify with the destiny of a family who lost their fortune.⁹⁰¹ Moreover, death is presented as result of disobedience. The pupil Marie gives an account of her family's cook, who refused to take the medicine her physician had prescribed. The female cook inquired about the content of the prescribed medicine, but the physician was not willing to tell her. In his opinion she would not understand anyway. After refusing to take the medicine, the cook was admitted to hospital where she again declined to take medication. Soon after her condition deteriorated and she died.⁹⁰² Later in the volume the same character Marie discusses another encounter with death in the course of a conversation about the senses and the soul.

"Yes. My younger brother died this winter. When the soul had left his body, he was lying there, like a lump of flesh, and could not move anymore. On the other day he even started to smell."⁹⁰³

With high infant mortality at the time surely many pupils reading Antonie Wutka's volumes could relate to this detailed description of the infant's dead body. In volume six the question of what happens to the soul and the body after death is elaborated on further. In case of a virtuous life all will meet again in heaven, argued teacher Auguste in a very graphic description of her future dead body.

"The time will come and who knows how soon it will be here, when death will part us from each other; this mouth who is educating you now will then forever be shut, this hand which is leading you to goodness will be eaten by worms, expired to dust, I will not be with you anymore."⁹⁰⁴

What a Girl should Read

Antonie Wutka's volumes offer no coherent didactical message on the question of a girl's reading list and what it should contain. The first volume introduces the topic immediately with the character Friderike in a rage and tears after overhearing a comment by male friends about her father, who called her knowledgeable "a plague of society". And yet in conversations

⁹⁰¹ Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 1, 10.

⁹⁰² Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 2, 62.

⁹⁰³ Original: "Ja. Diesen Winter starb mein jüngstes Brüderchen. Als die Seele heraus war, lag der Leib da, wie ein Klumpen Fleisch, und konnte sich nicht mehr bewegen. Den andern Tag fing er sogar an zu stinken." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 2, 124.

⁹⁰⁴ Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 6, 281.

with her they had praised her for her knowledge. Throughout the twelve-volume collection her thirst for knowledge is problematized but interestingly not entirely rejected by the fictional teacher Auguste. In the third conversation between Auguste and her pupils, for example, it is not Friderike's drive for knowledge but her desire to be knowledgeable, which gives cause for reprimand. Friderike confesses in volume two that she felt the itch in her fingers and read a book from her father's library to which Auguste replies:

"[Auguste] Secondly, the reading of any other book, besides of those which are necessary for the lessons, is really a waste of time. You still have so much to learn, so much to exercise, there cannot be any time left. There are also many books, my beloved children, which are partly not written for us women and not understandable, partly there are many others whose content spoils the heart [...]."⁹⁰⁵

However, in a later volume of the *Encyclopaedia* the young readers were presented with a very different conversation between Friderike and Auguste. In the course of conversations on the Roman Empire the educational reading circle, which includes the pupils and their teacher addressed the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius. The teacher Auguste emphatically praises the *Meditations* by Marcus Aurelius and the practise of self-reflection apparent in them.

"[Auguste] It is a writing that should be recommended to all young princes, so that they strive to take after this for reason admired emperor, but also every other person can learn lots of useful things."⁹⁰⁶

Antonie Wutka explicitly recommended this reading to girls.

"[Friderike] But why did the good emperor not speak German, then we could also read this good book."

[Auguste] I already thought you would want to read it, and to your comfort you should know that it is now really also available in German, but in the meantime I can satisfy your curiousness already a little bit."⁹⁰⁷

⁹⁰⁵ Original: "Zweytens ist das Lesen eines jeden andern Buches, außer denen, die zu Ihrem Unterrichte gehören, jetzt wirklicher Zeitverlust. Sie haben noch so viel zu lernen, sich in so Vielem zu üben, daß wahrlich keine Zeit übrig bleiben kann. Auch gibt es viele Bücher, meine lieben Kinder, die theils für uns Frauenzimmer gar nicht geschrieben, und also auch nicht verständlich sind, theils viele andere, deren Inhalt Ihr Herz verderben [...]." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 2, 17.

⁹⁰⁶ Original: "Es ist eine Schrift, welche allen jungen Fürsten empfohlen werden sollte, damit sie diesem mit Recht bewunderten Kaiser ähnlich würden, woraus aber auch jeder andere Mensch viel Nützlichliches lernen kann." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 8, 412.

⁹⁰⁷ Original: "Frid. Warum konnte der liebe Kaiser nicht Deutsch, so könnten wir sein schönes Buch auch lesen? Auguste. Ich dachte es wohl, daß Sie es zu lesen wünschen würden, und zu Ihrem Troste sollen Sie wissen, daß es jetzt wirklich im Deutschen zu haben ist, indessen kann ich Ihre Neugierde auch in Kürze ein wenig befriedigen." Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 8, 413.

The writer left no doubt that she was confident that female pupils were able to comprehend the philosophical writings of Marcus Aurelius. Moreover, Antonie emphasised at the beginning of volume nine the importance of writing regular diary entries for the purpose of self-reflection.⁹⁰⁸ The pedagogue heavily criticised teenage girls for reading love stories. Her alter ego Auguste harshly reprimands her pupil Emilie for her consumption of romance novels: “[...] you overload your head with dangerous love stories, I myself saw dozens of such books at your place.”⁹⁰⁹ The concern about girls reading romance novels was widespread at the time. For example, Antonie’s detailed knowledge of Joachim Heinrich Campe’s pedagogical writings surely shaped her own perception of such novels. Not surprisingly reading romance novels was for Campe connected to the vice of masturbation. The Göttinger physician Friedrich Benjamin Osiander even declared “*Romanensucht*” [addiction to novels] as a pathology in 1817.⁹¹⁰ It is important to acknowledge the change in perceptions about reading as a practise in general, and particularly concerning girls, during the turn of the nineteenth century. The ever-increasing suspicion of reading and the power of imagination is one explanation for Antonie Wutka’s ambivalent messages when it came to the issue of a girl’s reading habit. The Viennese writer Caroline Pichler explained this shift in perception towards reading somewhat nostalgically in her posthumously published “Memorables from my Life” [*Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*].⁹¹¹ She associated the freedom of speech [*Denk- und Preßfreiheit*], cherished under Joseph II during the 1780s, with a relaxed attitude towards female reading habits.

“If the mind was allowed to be free, everything could be written and printed if it was not in the strict sense of the word against religion and state. [...] All above mentioned plays [...] were based on a lot of inappropriate circumstances. It was seen, admired and read by the world and by each young girl without seriousness and offence. [...] No mother was concerned to make her daughter acquainted to such pieces, and in front of our eyes there were enough living examples – as if a mother could leave her daughters in ignorance about it.”⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁸ Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 9, 16-17.

⁹⁰⁹ Original: “[...] Sie überladen sich den Kopf mit gefährlichen Liebesgeschichten, ich habe derley Bücher selbst zu Dutzenden bei Ihnen gesehen.” Wutka, *Encyklopädie*, vol. 10, 179.

⁹¹⁰ Susanne Barth, *Mädchenlektüren. Lesediskurse im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/New York: Campus, 2002), 112.

⁹¹¹ Caroline Pichler, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben [1769-1843]*, ed. Emil Karl Blümml (München: Georg Müller, 1914).

⁹¹² Original: “Der Geist durfte sich frei bewegen, es durfte geschrieben, gedruckt werden, was nur nicht im strengsten Sinne des Wortes, wider Religion und Staat war. [...] Alle jene obengenannten Stücke [...] waren auf lauter unanständige Verhältnisse gegründet. Ohne Arg und Anstoß sah, bewunderte, las sie die Welt und jedes junge Mädchen. [...] Keine Mutter trug ein Bedenken, ihre Tochter mit solchen Werten bekannt zu machen, und vor unsern Augen wandelten der lebenden Beispiele genug herum, deren regellose Aufführung zu bekannt war, als daß irgend eine Mutter ihre Töchter in Unwissenheit darüber hätte erhalten können.” Pichler,

By the time Antonie Wutka published her educational *Encyclopaedia* not much was left of this spirit. On the contrary, reading and watching theatre productions were perceived as dangerous activities, since they had the potential to permeate the body in the most destructive ways. The physician Osiander tellingly called this danger “*Körpertext*”, the imagination produced by the text had potential to invade the body.⁹¹³ For Isabel Hull the measures and discourse produced by “the anti-masturbation campaign, along with the fulminations against ‘reading mania’ (whose evil was epitomized by sexual misconduct, in any case), were perhaps the two strongest expressions of the fear of the chaos of imagination.”⁹¹⁴ Anxieties concerning the practise of reading also materialised through the decision to ban certain types of books as crime preventative measure. In 1799 Emperor Francis issued a decree banning all knights’ tales, as well as ghost and fraudster stories. In 1806, shortly after the first French occupation of Vienna, this prohibition was repeated and expanded. In addition to the ban stories involving knights, ghosts and fraudster, all prints subsumed under the category “novels” [*Romane*] were prohibited.⁹¹⁵ 1810 marked the beginning of a stricter censorship system with a new edict. This new law sought to impose a total ban on reading novels.

“It is, therefore a matter of grave concern to put an end to the reading of novels. It goes without saying that these few good novels, which serve to elucidate the intellect and to refine the heart, are not included here, but the endless stream of novels, which revolve only around flirtation as their eternal axis, or which fill the imagination with fantasies.”⁹¹⁶

However, for members of the middle and upper classes it was not difficult to obtain forbidden writings, especially publications from abroad.⁹¹⁷ Against this backdrop Antonie Wutka’s balancing act, which sees her condemn reading romantic novels but does not condemn reading for girls altogether, becomes understandable.

Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben [1769-1843]. Caroline Pichler did not explicitly mention the censorship system already in place at the time, which was indeed more liberal during Joseph II's reign.

⁹¹³ Barth, *Mädchenlektüren*, 112.

⁹¹⁴ Hull, *Sexuality, State and Civil Society*, 275.

⁹¹⁵ Kurt Habitzel, "Die Wahrnehmung des "österreichischen" Historischen Romans im Literatursystem des Vormärz," in *Geschichte der österreichischen Literatur*, ed. Herbert Arlt Donald G. Daviau, Österreichische und Internationale Literatur Prozesse (St. Ingberg: Röhrig, 1996), 640-651.

⁹¹⁶ Original: "Es soll daher allen Ernstes getrachtet werden, der so nachtheiligen Romanen Lektüre ein Ende zu machen. Dabey versteht sich von selbst, daß hier jene wenigen guten Romane, welche zur Aufklärung des Verstandes und zur Veredlung des Herzens dienen, nicht gemeint seyn können, wohl aber der endlose Wust von Romanen, welche einzig um Liebeleyen als ihre ewige Achse sich drehen, oder die Einbildungskraft mit Hirngespinsten füllen." §6 of the Censurship Edict [Zensuredikt], 14th September 1810.

⁹¹⁷ For a detailed and balanced analysis on censorship during the Era Metternich see: Alan Sked, *Metternich and Austria. An Evaluation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 139-164.

The Afterlife of the *Encyclopaedia*

It is difficult to ascertain the level of distribution and the success of Antonie Wutka's educational volumes. A reviewer for the newspaper *Vaterländische Blätter*, for example, formulated a somewhat belittling account of the periodical:

"A cycle of things worth knowing, not very original but not collected in a bad way, for the education of the female youth. The selection of subjects could be more delicate, the placement more economical and some overtly discussed details expressed with fewer words."⁹¹⁸

The longevity of the publication speaks for its popularity. In 1839 a translation into the Hungarian language was initiated by Countess von Thurn. A Hungarian newspaper report noted that "in order that our female youth will receive a proper textbook in their increasingly more requested national language."⁹¹⁹ By the time the volumes were translated into Hungarian, they were already out of print in German and antiquaries sold copies as out of print [*vergriffen*]. In 1851 the twelve volumes were reprinted as a "new and cheap edition."

"The book seller of J. F. Gress [...] recommends as New Year's presents: The new and cheap editions of the Encyclopaedia for the female youth. By Antonia Wutka. 12 volumes, elegant paperbacks, only 8 gulden. This excellent piece covers everything worth knowing for the virgin [...] and is already since its first appearance acknowledged by critics and the audience so that we decided not to advertise this cheap edition."⁹²⁰

6.2. Barbara Netuschil (1783-1858)

Born in Erlangen in 1782, Barbara Brunst was the daughter of a Protestant producer of tights [*Strumpffabrikant*].⁹²¹ Aged seventeen Barbara moved to Vienna where she worked for more than ten years as a teacher in a school and a governess in private households. In 1810 Barbara

⁹¹⁸ Original: "Ein Cyclus des Wissenswerthen, wenig originell, aber nicht unglücklich gesammelt, zum Unterrichte und zur Bildung der weiblichen Jugend. Die Wahl der Gegenstände könnte delicateser, die Anordnung ökonomischer, und manche zu weit ausgeführte Details sparsamer mit Worten ausgedrückt seyn." Anon., ""Wutka, Antonia, Encyclopädie für die weibliche Jugend." 12 Bände," *Vaterländische Blätter*, 11.12.1816, 3-4.

⁹¹⁹ Anon., "Ofen und Pesth, 21. Dezember," *Der Adler*, 27.12.1839, 1208.

⁹²⁰ Original: "Die Buchhandlung von J.F. Gress [...] empfiehlt als Neujahrs-Geschenke: Die neuen billigen Ausgaben von Encyclopädie für weibliche Jugend. Von Antonia Wutka. 12 Bände, elegant broschirt, nur 8fl. C.M. Dieses ausgezeichnete Werk umfaßt alles für die Jungfrau Wissenswerthe [...] und ist bereits bei seinem ersten Erscheinen so sehr von der Kritik und dem Publicum anerkannt worden, daß wir uns jeder Anpreisung dieser billigen Ausgabe enthalten." Anon., "Die Buchhandlung von J. F. Gress [...]," *Wiener Zeitung*, 30.12.1851, 3790.

⁹²¹ Handwritten biographical notes prepared as entries for a planned lexicon by Franz Sartori in 1830 provide basic information on the lives of Barbara and Franz Netuschil.

married the teacher Joseph Hanappe. Together they applied for permission to open an educational institute for girls. However, a month after the wedding Barbara's husband died and she subsequently received permission to open a girls' educational institute. A year later, in October 1811 Barbara remarried.⁹²² With her new husband, the teacher Franz Netuschil, she continued to run the educational institute for girls at the Trattnerhof in the Viennese city centre.⁹²³ The couple began to engage in publishing activities in 1817. However, the authorship of some of the publications is unclear. While the first publication "Aphorisms for Girls"⁹²⁴ was published under Franz's name, an entry on female writers in the Habsburg Empire in 1825 attributes this publication to Barbara Netuschil.⁹²⁵ The next textbook was published under Barbara's name with the title "Philippine and her Hofmeisterin [governess]", counting one hundred pages with German on the left and the French translation on the right side of each page. It consisted of a fictional conversation between Philippine and her governess. Another central character in the conversations is Philippine's mother. Published six years after Antonie Wutka's *Encyclopaedia*, it included references to Wutka's work in the text and in a footnote.

"[Governess] Continue with the female Encyclopaedia. We stopped our last reading hour at the first volume, page 95.

[Philippine] Hear it is, should I begin?"⁹²⁶

This quotation remarkably shows that the *Encyclopaedia* was indeed known and used by private girls' school owners at the time. The fictional conversations between Philippine and her governess differed strongly from the conversations in the *Encyclopaedia* where the characters develop ideas together with their educator Auguste. Auguste appears as a knowledgeable leader, the Governess in Barbara Netuschil's story instructs and reprimands her

⁹²² The permission to head the girls' institute was extended to her new husband who signed advertisements as head of the institute, even after Francis I (II) decision in 1819 to only entrust women with the maintenance of private girls' schools.

⁹²³ Barbara's biographical summary also contains the information that she converted to Catholicism in November 1815. WB, Sign. H.I.N.-243421 Sammlung: Handschriften, Barbara Netuschil, Vorsteherin einer öffentlichen Mädchenschule. Franz Netuschil had grown up in the village Sobkowicz in Bohemia before he moved to Vienna. WB, Sign. H.I.N.-243422 Sammlung: Handschriften, Franz Netuschil, Vorsteher einer öffentlichen Mädchenschule.

⁹²⁴ Franz Netuschil, *Aphorismen für Mädchen. Zur Erweckung des Nachdenkens und zur Veredelung des Herzens* (Wien: Gerold, 1817).

⁹²⁵ Schindel, *Schriftstellerinnen*, 47.

⁹²⁶ Barbara Netuschil, *Philippine und ihre Hofmeisterin. Ein Gespräch zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung für die weibliche Jugend, und zur Uebung in der französischen Sprache, besonders im Conversations-Tone, nebst beygefügtten moralischen Erzählungen* (Wien: Leopold Grund, 1819). In the conversations abbreviated as Philip. and Hofm.

pupil Philippine. Both publications share the domestic ideal to become a good housewife and mother.

“[Philippine] [...] Dear mother, the Governess knows everything.
[Governess] Only God knows everything but I know enough to tell you what you need to become once you are grown up, a good housewife and mother.”⁹²⁷

The governess instructs her pupil in reading, writing, arithmetic and a number of practical skills such as food preparation and the production of garments. The story also contains a finely detailed instruction on how to make a men’s shirt [*Männerhemd*]. The focus of education is clearly to prepare the child for her future domestic duties. Marriage and motherhood are not specifically discussed in the dialogue but represented by Philipppines parents. Besides practical skills the governess explicitly encourages reading and yet again emphasises her own knowledgeability.

“[Philippine] A good book? But do you still need good books, dear Governess, you know already so much.”
[Governess] You live and learn, my child. Even though I tried to learn a lot in my youth I still feel very much the desire to learn even more.”⁹²⁸

The governess is portrayed as young of age and is similar to Barbara Netuschil herself who had worked from the age of seventeen as a governess and private teacher.

“[Governess] I am still young and unmarried and therefore fate can still haunt me in several ways.”⁹²⁹

Interestingly in the fictional encounters between the governess and Philippine’s mother the governess is, in contrast to the female servant and the cook, permitted to share lunch with the mother and daughter. After lunch the mother offers the governess to take a break to attend to her own personal matters. Reluctantly the governess takes up the offer and leaves the house. She returns after a short while and does so with hurried steps to the family.

⁹²⁷ Original: "Philip. [...] Liebe Mutter, die Hofmeisterinn weiß alles. Hofm. Alles weiß nur Gott, aber so viel Sie brauchen, um einmahl, wenn Sie groß sind eine gute Hausfrau und vernünftige Mutter zu werden, das glaube ich Ihnen sagen zu können." Netuschil, *Philippine*, 29.

⁹²⁸ Original: "Philip. Ein gutes Buch? Aber brauchen Sie denn noch Bücher, liebe Hofmeisterinn, Sie wissen ohnehin schon so Vieles. Hofm. Man lernt nie aus, mein Kind. So sehr ich in meiner Jugend mir Mühe gegeben habe, recht viel zu lernen, so fühle ich doch nur zu sehr das Bedürfniß immer mehr zu lernen." Netuschil, *Philippine*, 78.

⁹²⁹ Original: "Ich bin noch jung und unverheirathet, und kann daher vom widrigen Schicksale auf mancherley Weise heimgesucht werden." Netuschil, *Philippine*, 51.

“[Governess] Everything [is attended to] madam, now I won’t have to go out again for four weeks. [...]
 [Philippine] And what do we do now?
 [Governess] What we do every day: diligent sewing, sometimes tell something – in case you are behaving well, and so forth.”⁹³⁰

Crucially, the governess rarely left the house alone. By introducing the element of going for a walk Barbara Netuschil emphasised the possibility to go out together with the child.

“[Philippine] Go for a walk? But you already said, dear Hofmeisterin, that going for a walk is not appropriate for girls?
 [Governess] Just in case they do nothing else than play, decorate themselves, and show off with their beautiful dresses half days long, this is not good. But well-educated girls do not do this. [...]
 [Governess] But now come, my dear Philippinchen. I have to confess that I am also looking forward to catch some fresh air.”⁹³¹

The relationship between the pupil and her governess is described as close and full of admiration. This closeness is heightened by the spatial situation, since the educator sleeps in the same room as the girl. Interestingly, towards the end of the fictional conversation, Barbara Netuschil emphasised the inappropriateness of bodily contact between a governess and a child. When Philippine attempts to kiss her governess goodnight, the child is rejected. The governess reprimands her softly and explains that she would not want such closeness and even refuses a kiss on the hand. The expression of clear body boundaries might stand in direct connection to accusations voiced by anti-masturbation campaigners who described servants and educators as potential seducers.⁹³² Barbara and Franz Netuschil were presumably familiar with some of the literature by Campe and others, which is supported by one of the aphorisms published in 1817 that strongly echoes the convictions concerning industriousness: “We have to get the youth used to industriousness [...]. If you do not want to live in want in old age you have to avoid idleness in your youth; as it is the source of all vices and leads to our ruin.”⁹³³

⁹³⁰ Original: "Hofm. Alles gnädige Frau; jetzt habe ich wieder 4 Wochen keinen Ausgang nöthig. [...] Philip. Was thun wir dann jetzt? Hofm. Das, was wir alle Tage thun: fleißig nähen, mit unter etwas erzählen, wenn Sie sich recht gut aufführen, u.s.w." Netuschil, *Philippine*, 41.

⁹³¹ Original: "Philip. Spazieren gehen? Sie sagten ja, liebe Hofmeisterinn, daß das Spazierengehen den Mädchen nicht geziemt? Hofm. Wenn sie sonst nichts tun als spielen, sich putzen, und ihre schönen Kleider halbe Tage lang auf Spaziergängen zur Schau tragen, so muß dies allerdings nicht gut lassen. Doch das thun ja wohlerzogene Mädchen nicht. [...] Hofm. Nun kommen Sie, mein liebes Philippinchen. Ich muß gestehen, ich freue mich selbst ein wenig frische Luft zu schöpfen." Netuschil, *Philippine*, 21-22.

⁹³² Additionally, the fear of homoeroticism could have played a role in expressing such clear boundaries.

⁹³³ Original: "Wir müssen schon in der Jugend uns an Arbeitsamkeit gewöhnen, [...]. Willst du im Alter nicht darben, so meide den Müßiggang in deiner Jugend; denn er ist die Quelle aller Laster, und folglich unsers Verderbens." Netuschil, *Aphorismen*, 126.

While Barbara Netuschil described an ideal home-schooling setting she did not neglect to advertise the advantage of educational institutes. The character Philippine, for example asks her mother whether all children have a governess. Her mother explains to her another possibility of sending children to “expediently established schools.”

“[Philippine] Do you also learn something there?

[Mother] O yes, my child, a lot. And those who do not have the extraordinary luck to have an excellent governess as your one is, would accomplish more for the wellbeing of their children, if the guidance is given to even an average school instead to let them be under the authority of an unwise and inexperienced leader.”⁹³⁴

The rest of the volume contains moral stories transmitting typically female traits, like forgiveness, obedience, honesty, diligence and the avoidance of vanity, selfishness and malicious joy.

The content of several other pedagogical writings published under the name of Franz Netuschil was similar. The publication from 1826 contained German language exercises with 670 examples in addition to an alphabetical appendix of eighty brief moral sentences. In 1831 “Gabriele, or the Good Daughter. An “Original Story for German Women and Girls of more Mature Age” was released, followed by “Small Occurrences from the Field of the Female Youth. A New Entertaining House and Reading Book for Little Girls”.⁹³⁵ The couple successfully educated girls in their institute until Franz Netuschil’s death in 1831. Barbara continued the business alone. Unusually the widow decided to postpone the start of the new school year for a month because of her critical circumstances: “I have the honour to announce that I continue my school business after the death of my beloved husband [...]”⁹³⁶

The writer Ludwig August Frankl von Hochwart, who had studied medicine in Vienna, recalled Barbara Netuschil’s life and educational institute in an autobiographical essay on his formative study years. He revealed the authorship of the pedagogical writings, which were published

⁹³⁴ Original: "Philip. Kann man da auch etwas lernen?

Mutter. O ja, mein Kind, recht viel. Und wer nicht das seltene Glück hat, eine so vortreffliche Hofmeisterinn, wie die deinnige ist, zu finden, der würde das Wohl seiner Kinder mehr gewinnen, wenn er ihre Lietung einer nur mittelmäßigen Schule anvertraute, als wenn er sie unter der Aufsicht einer unklugen oder unerfahrenen Führerin ließe." Netuschil, *Philippine*, 39.

⁹³⁵ Franz Netuschil, „Uebungsspiele zur Anwendung der Regeln der deutschen Rechtschreibung. In 670 Beispielen nebst einem alphabetischen Anhang von 80 kurzgefassten moralischen Sätzen“ (Wien 1826); – „Gabriele, oder die gute Tochter. Eine Originalgeschichte für deutsche Fräulein und Mädchen von reiferem Alter“ (Wien 1831); – „Kleine Begebenheiten aus dem Gebiete der weiblichen Jugend. Ein neues unterhaltendes Haus- und Lesebüchlein für kleine Mädchen“ (Wien 1839).

⁹³⁶ Original: "Ich gebe mir die Ehre anzuzeigen, daß ich nach dem Tode meines innigstgeliebten Gatten [...] meine Schule fortführe [...]." Anon., "Nachricht, Barbara Netuschil, Vorsteherin der öffentl. Lehranstalt für Mädchen," *Wiener Zeitung*, 07.10.1831, 409, 409.

under Franz's name: "She wrote poems, short novels and pedagogical papers which she published under the name of her husband Franz Netuschil."⁹³⁷ Ludwig August Frankl noted that Barbara closed her institute in the late 1830s.⁹³⁸ New institutes had outstripped her and her physician, Frankl's teacher, had jokingly predicted her impending death. Barbara had no children and her nephew, a teacher in Vienna, did not provide for her financially. As a result the pedagogue had no other choice but to move in her early fifties to the asylum in Mauerbach not far from Vienna, where she lived until her death in 1858. The parish priest of Mauerbach ironically entered her into the death registry as the widow of a school owner.⁹³⁹

6.3. Betty and Marie Fröhlich

In 1848 the new Ministry for Education replaced the Imperial Commission on Education. Changes in the mode of instruction were for the time being solely concerned with the education of Catholic boys at secondary and university level.⁹⁴⁰ The education of girls, especially if it was to exceed the knowledge of the primary school level, was left to private initiatives. However, also in the private school sector a change of attitude towards educational practises can be witnessed. An example of this is the educational institute of Betty and Marie Fröhlich. In 1849 Betty Fröhlich turned forty when she opened with her sister Marie, who was ten years her junior, the Fröhlich Institute at Franziskaner-Platz No. 911 [later No. 1].⁹⁴¹ The sisters grasped the liberal spirit of the time and outlined in their educational programme a comparatively progressive approach towards girls' education. In 1853 a detailed sixty-page outline informed parents and readers interested in girls' education about the educational

⁹³⁷ Original: "Sie schrieb Verse, Novellen und pädagogische Abhandlungen, welche sie unter dem Namen ihres Gatten Franz Netuschil herausgegeben." Ludwig August Frankl, "Beginn meiner medizinischen Lehrjahre," in *Biographische Blätter. Jahrbuch für lebensgeschichtliche Kunst und Forschung. Zweiter Band*, ed. Anton Bettelheim (Berlin: Ernst Hofmann, 1896), 143-152, 148.

⁹³⁸ In 1837 her institute appeared in a statistical narration which counted twenty-four educational institutes in the city of Vienna. In the suburbs twenty-eight institute owners offered their services, among the fifty-two private school owners in total were three men.

⁹³⁹ Sterbebuch Pfarre Mauerbach, Netuschil Barbara, Witwe eines Schulvorstehers aus Erlangen, Sign. 03-03, 295.

⁹⁴⁰ For an analysis of this systematic disregard of girls' education see: Friedrich, "Hatte Vater Staat nur Stieftöchter? Initiativen des Unterrichtsministeriums zur Mädchenbildung 1848–1914." Gary Cohen shows the expanding educational system aimed at middle-class boys on the secondary and post-secondary level. Gary B. Cohen, *Education and middle-class society in imperial Austria 1848-1918* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1996).

⁹⁴¹ Anon., "Lehr- und Erziehungs-Anstalt für Töchter, geleitet von Betty und Marie Fröhlich," *Die Presse*, 14.06.1849, 4. Betty Fröhlich was born in 1806 in Weitenstein/Styria and died in 1888. Marie Fröhlich was born in Sauerbrunn/Styria in 1819 and died in 1875. Weitenstein and Sauerbrunn are today a part of Slovenia.

method and institute rules. The programme was widely distributed and even recommended as a guide book for girls' education in Linz.

“We recommend this publication to the local educational circles as a splendid practical handbook and we are convinced that in its usefulness and its simple, general understandable presentation format it will soon reach a wide distribution amongst the German readership [...].”⁹⁴²

In June 1849 the sisters Betty and Marie announced that they had undertaken “with approval of the high Imperial Royal Ministry of Education” a roundtrip through Germany in spring 1849.⁹⁴³ The purpose of this roundtrip was to visit the “excellent heads” of educational institutes. Moreover, the sisters intended to form ties “in order to receive quick and reliable notice about all useful innovations.”⁹⁴⁴ In the summer of 1853 the sisters undertook another tour visiting not only institutes in Germany but also in France, Belgium and Switzerland, a journey that had not been possible in the revolutionary aftermath. Switzerland was reported as a locus of progressive girls' education and the sisters expressed curiosity about the educational approach taken by Swiss educational institutes: “Is this all true or not? If it is true, on what does it rest? Why should it not be possible, to arrange something similarly good in our homeland [*Heimat*]?”⁹⁴⁵

The Fröhlich sisters were strongly influenced by the pedagogical ideas of Heinrich Pestalozzi and his followers. Although Pestalozzi wrote, similar to Rousseau, very little about girls' education, the Fröhlich sisters appropriated his educational concept that teachers should raise responsible, independent individuals with self-respect and a strong moral compass – an agenda that surely resonated well with liberal minded parents at the time. According to the Fröhlich

⁹⁴² Original: "Wir empfehlen diese Schrift den hiesigen Erziehungs-Kreisen als ein treffliches practisches Handbuch, und sind überzeugt, daß sie bei ihrer Brauchbarkeit und einfachen, allgemein verständlichen Darstellungsweise bald eine weite Verbreitung im deutschen Lesepublicum finden werde, [...]." Anon., "Literatur. Die Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt für Töchter, geleitet von Betty und Marie Fröhlich. Wien bei J. F. Greß in Commission. (Linz bei Eurich)," *Österreichisches Bürgerblatt für Verstand, Herz und gute Laune*, 14.01.1853, 31.

⁹⁴³ The Ministry of Education was founded in 1848 and replaced the Imperial Commission on Education. In 1860 the Ministry was dissolved and the responsibilities were moved to the state ministry [Staatsministerium] until in 1867 it was reestablished.

⁹⁴⁴ Anon., "Lehr- und Erziehungs-Anstalt für Töchter, geleitet von Betty und Marie Fröhlich," *Die Presse*, 14.06.1849, 4.

⁹⁴⁵ Original: "Ist dieses Alles wahr oder nicht? Wenn es wahr ist, worauf gründet es sich? Warum sollte es nicht möglich sein, in unserer Heimath etwas gleich Gutes hinzustellen?" Betty und Marie Fröhlich, *Die Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt für Töchter, geleitet von Betty und Marie Fröhlich. Gedrängte Darstellung der Grundsätze, nach welchen sie vorgeht, und ihrer inneren Organisation und Wirksamkeit, nebst Notizen über die im Interesse der Bildung des weiblichen Geschlechtes unternommenen Rundreisen durch Deutschland, Belgien, Frankreich und die Schweiz* (Wien: J.F. Greß, 1853), 5.

sisters, “[...] the educator will help her wards to realise early, that every person is appointed to think independently, to want and to do, to strive for the most possible perfection.”⁹⁴⁶

Betty and Marie’s view on lower classes also resonated with liberal ideas. The sisters criticised the “uneducated classes of society” who did not know about the properties and virtues of their children and who only sought practical knowledge for monetary considerations: “Nothing is done for true happiness which is living in us, only the satisfaction of bodily needs is the aim of their aspirations.”⁹⁴⁷

That the provision of basic physical needs was in actual fact an all-consuming task was completely ignored by the sisters. Moreover, the example of the “uneducated classes” served to praise the middle-class audience, who Betty and Marie addressed with their programme: “Better results show in this respect when you rise higher in society.”⁹⁴⁸

However, the sisters identified the shallow strive for brilliance as a problem of middle-class education. With their educational method they intended to find a balance between these two extremes and to teach their pupils to listen to the voice of God within themselves. It is worth noting that the sisters did not mention the words Catholic or Christian in their educational programme but spoke of God in general terms. In their explanation on religious and moral development Betty and Marie emphasised the importance of “accurate knowledge of human dignity which is living in the soul as the image of God.”⁹⁴⁹

The Domestic Ideal and a Patriotic Spirit

The Fröhlich sisters were committed to instilling a sense of right and wrong through religious education as one element of their “education of the soul.” This education of the soul did not only entail the ideal of self-respect but also the necessity to respect the dignity of every person: “Then he [the pupil] will not become the victim of egoism, this most terrible moral Hydra of our times, but he will exercise the virtue of self-denial with ever better success and gain an

⁹⁴⁶ Original: “[...] wird die Erzieherin ihre Schutzbefohlenen frühzeitig zur Erkenntnis bringen, daß jeder Mensch berufen ist, selbstständig zu denken, zu wollen und zu handeln, nach möglichster Vollkommenheit zu ringen.” Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 9.

⁹⁴⁷ Original: “Für das wahre Glück, das in uns wohnt, wird nichts gethan, nur die Befriedigung der leiblichen Bedürfnisse ist das Ziel ihres Strebens.” Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 10.

⁹⁴⁸ Original: “Bessere Resultate zeigen sich in dieser Beziehung, wenn man in der Gesellschaft höher steigt.” Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 10.

⁹⁴⁹ Original: “[...] genaueren Erkenntniß der Würde des Menschen, die in der Seele, als dem Ebenbilde Gottes, wohnt.” Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 14.

imperishable good.”⁹⁵⁰ In this educational framework the praise of self-denial had another broader social function. “A pupil who is led in this way will be easily satisfied with his social standing and his circumstances, [...] he will avoid by himself and with ease artificial life circumstances.”⁹⁵¹ Completely absent from this description of ideal womanhood and the educational outline is the subject matter of motherhood and marriage, which may come as a surprise.

“Because in contrast to the outward directed activity of a man the will of a woman should be employed towards her relatives; a woman operates in the home and shows her strength of character in always persevering gentleness, benevolence, forbearance and through lasting buoyancy; in the house she tries to do everything right for her [relatives]; in the house she prepares a safe resting place for love and mutual trust.”⁹⁵²

In contrast to many other institute owners Betty and Marie did not explicitly express the goal to prepare girls for their future lives as wives and mothers. Instead they focused on their domestic duties in more general terms. In an effort to justify their own lifestyle as single women, Betty and Marie claimed spiritual motherhood.⁹⁵³ The sisters pictured negative educational examples, like parents who were almost too dedicated to their children and forgot reason or other educators who showed little care for their pupils in order to emphasise that girls’ institute owners had to be motivated by acting in the spirit of “true and real motherly love.” The sisters argued that greed was often the motivation for educators and such teachers were not fit to “unravel the self-deceptions of vanity and addiction to shine [*Glanzsucht*].”⁹⁵⁴ In a next step Betty and Marie extended this view, by adding that a head of an educational institute not only substituted motherly love but also fatherly concern [*Vatersorge*]. Similar to

⁹⁵⁰ Original: "Dann wird er nicht das Opfer des Egoismus, dieser furchtbarsten moralischen Hyder unserer Zeit; er wird vielmehr die Tugend der Selbstverläugnung mit immer glücklicherem Erfolge üben, und sich dieselbe als unvergängliches Gut erwerben." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 15.

⁹⁵¹ Original: "Ein so geleiteter Zögling wird sich leicht mit seinem Stande und seinen Verhältnissen begnügen, [...] er wird von selbst und mit Leichtigkeit erkünstelte Lebensbedürfnisse vermeiden." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 15. Pestalozzi’s pedagogical writings were, similar to Rousseau’s, occupied with the education of male pupils which explains the Fröhlich sister’s use of the masculine form in their brochure.

⁹⁵² Original: "Denn, im Gegensatze zu der mehr nach Außen gerichteten Thätigkeit des Mannes, bezeuge sich des Weibes edler Wille vor Allem thätig an ihren Angehörigen; im Hause wirke die Frau; da zeige sie ihre Charakterstärke durch immer gleiche Sanftmuth, Güte und Duldsamkeit, und durch ausdauernden Frohmuth; im Hause suche sie den Ihrigen Alles wohl und recht zu machen; im Hause bereite sie der Liebe und dem gegenseitigen Vertrauen eine sichere, unverletzliche Ruhestätte." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 15.

⁹⁵³ Bärbel Kuhn discusses the concept of spiritual motherhood in her analysis on bourgeois single woman and men. Bärbel Kuhn, *Familienstand: ledig. Ehelose Frauen und Männer im Bürgertum (1850-1914)*, vol. 5, *L’homme Schriften* (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2000), 73-79. A classic on this topic is Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women. Work and community for single women, 1850-1920* (London: Virago, 1985).

⁹⁵⁴ Original: "[...] die Selbsttäuschungen der Eitelkeit und Glanzsucht zu enthüllen, [...]" Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 16.

many institute owners during the nineteenth century the Fröhlich sisters modelled their institute as a family environment.

“The relationship of the pupils and the institute’s head is child-like, towards the other female teachers related, and close and sisterly towards their fellow pupils. The conduct of the educator towards her pupils should be motherly, full of consistent calm and humorous seriousness.”⁹⁵⁵

In this context it is interesting that Betty and Marie requested their pupils to wear uniform house frocks, “to ensure also on the outside the sisterly equality amongst the pupils and to avoid in rich [pupils] unnecessary splendour, vanity and arrogance, and in poor [pupils] embarrassment, humiliation, envy and harmful desires.”⁹⁵⁶ To liberal parents this spirit of middle class *égalité* surely appealed. The allusion to familial circumstances went even further; the pupils of the Fröhlich Institute were described as “adoptive daughters” of the institute owners. Betty and Marie yet again emphasised that they pursued their educational mission by sacrificing love for these children.⁹⁵⁷ However, the omission of marriage and motherhood in the educational programme was a strategy taken by Betty and Marie for not having to discuss their own lifestyle. Their undertaking and lifestyle was discursively transformed into spiritual motherhood. Moreover, the sisters argued that educational institute owners who were mothers had too many tasks to fulfil simultaneously. This communicative strategy also encompassed the sister’s travelling activities, who creatively marketed their journeys as a signifier of their dedication to the educational cause and their pupils. The Fröhlich sisters already established themselves during the first year of their business undertaking as educational experts, who were approved by the Ministry for Education. Furthermore, the visits of institutes abroad allowed Betty and Marie to claim to be knowledgeable about all recent developments in the field of girls’ education.

The institute’s immediate success can be attributed not only to the educational content and leadership, but also to the skilful marketing of the Fröhlich sisters. On occasion of the twenty-year jubilee of the institute the liberal newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* explained the novelty of the Fröhlich Institute in the aftermath of 1848.

⁹⁵⁵ Original: "Das Verhältnis der Zöglinge sei also gegen die Vorsteherin kindlich, gegen die übrigen Lehrerinnen verwandtschaftlich, und innig und schwesterlich gegen die Mitschülerinnen. Das Benehmen der Erzieherin gegen ihre Zöglinge sei mütterlich, voll immer gleicher Ruhe, und heiteren Ernstes." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 16.

⁹⁵⁶ Original: "[...] auch im Äußeren die schwesterliche Gleichstellung der Zöglinge zu bewirken und bei den reicheren unnöthigen Prunk, Eitelkeit und Hochmuth, bei den ärmeren Verlegenheit, Demüthigung, Neid und schädliche Gelüste hintanzuhalten." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 28.

⁹⁵⁷ Anon., "Im rühmlich bekannten Fröhlich'schen Töchtererziehungsinstitute," *Wiener Zeitung*, 05.06.1864, 760.

“The principles, which were recognised as the best by German pedagogy, were emphasised practically and no effort was spared to keep this institute at the height of its purpose. And as the Fröhlich institute was the first one that broke with the barriers of the old Austrian paternalism [altösterreichischer Bevormundung] in school and education, it became a role model of all similar later established creations in the Empire. Most ‘higher daughter schools’ of recent times are more or less exact copies of the Fröhlich institute, whose organisational plans were even used for the establishment of public institutes.”⁹⁵⁸

The Fröhlich sisters and their family were typical proponents of the Viennese *Bildungsbürgertum*. Patriotic and loyal to the emperor [*kaisertreu*] and in many aspects liberal and enlightened.⁹⁵⁹ The demonstration of a patriotic spirit at the institute is documented in numerous reports of patriotic celebrations.⁹⁶⁰ For example, short before the marriage of the Emperor Francis Joseph I and Elisabeth von Wittelsbach, the institute acknowledged their engagement with a poem written by the head teacher Benjamin Possanner entitled “*The Emperor’s Brautfahrt* [wooing journey].” In reporting the recitation of this poem, the newspaper *Oesterreichischer Soldatenfreund* noted,

“we want to emphasise particularly that the love to the emperor and the fatherland is engrained in the youth as the first and most holy duty [...]”⁹⁶¹

In 1866, during Austria’s military conflict with Prussia, the sisters opened one of their frequent advertisements with the sentence:

“In the conviction that more than ever, a tireless advancement on the path of academic insights constitutes the duty of all friends of the fatherland, the institute board undertook last summer another, this time the fourth journey of instruction, seriously investigating the

⁹⁵⁸ Original: “Die Grundsätze, welche die deutsche Pädagogik als die besten anerkannte, wurden hier praktisch zur Geltung gebracht und kein Opfer gescheut, um die Ansalt ununterbrochen auf der Höhe ihrer Aufgabe zu erhalten. Und wie das Institut Fröhlich das erste war, welches die Schranken der altösterreichischen Bevormundung in Schule und Unterricht durchbrach, so hat es seither allen späteren derartigen Schöpfungen im Kaiserstaate zum Muster gedient. Die meisten ‘höheren Töchter Schulen’ der neueren Zeit sind mehr oder minder getreue Copien des Instituts Fröhlich, dessen Organisationspläne selbst bei Begründung öffentlicher Anstalten wiederholt benutzt wurden.” Anon., “Schulzeitung. Mit dem beginnenden Schuljahre hat das Fröhlich’sche Lehr- und Erziehungsinstitut [...],” *Neue Freie Presse*, 17.10.1868, 10.

⁹⁵⁹ Waltraud Schütz, “The Fröhlich Institute, 1849-1889. Women as girls’ school owners in 19th century Vienna,” *ÖZG 2* (2017), 193-217, 208.

⁹⁶⁰ Renate Flich describes this cultivation of patriotic spirit also for the Institute Luithlen and the Mädchenlyzeum [girls’ secondary school] in Graz. Renate Flich, “‘Die Erziehung des Weibes muß eine andere werden’ (Louise Otto-Peters). Mädchenschulalltag im Rahmen bürgerlicher Bildungsansprüche,” in *Bürgerliche Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1995), 269-299, 290-298.

⁹⁶¹ Original: “[...]” doch das Eine möchten wir besonders hervorheben, daß der Jugend als erste und heiligste Pflicht die Liebe zum Monarchen und zum Vaterlande eingepägt wird [...]” Anon., “Wir berühren heute einen Gegenstand mit der Absicht, den verheiratheten k.k. Militärs nützlich zu werden,” *Oesterreichischer Soldatenfreund*, 11.03.1854, 150.

most outstanding public and private institutes in France and Southern Germany, namely in Munich, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Paris, etc.”⁹⁶²

Religious Indifference

“The girls should draw from the source of solid religious education, the only, never faltering support in the storms of life, from which religion should flow in its purest form, this is from the mouth of a priest, in its most noble sense of this word.”⁹⁶³

This quotation emphasises the centrality of religious education institutes; however, this centrality was not exclusive to the Catholic religion. Several sources suggest that the Fröhlich sisters practised an open-door approach towards the religious denomination of their pupils. The employment of a Jewish teacher for German language education, Abraham Brandeis, for example, was likely to be a signal towards liberal Jewish parents that the institute welcomed Jewish girls.⁹⁶⁴ Why Brandeis only taught for a year at the institute is unclear. The following example suggests a possible intervention by the school authorities. In 1856, one year after the Concordat⁹⁶⁵ was signed, an anonymous complaint was filed against the Fröhlich Institute and the institute owner Theresia Hermann for educating a great number of Greek Orthodox and several Jewish girls. This anonymous complaint prompted bishop Zenner to appeal to Vienna’s city government about the case following instruction of the Concordat.

“The whole education of the Catholic youth will be in all public as well as not public schools tailored to the teachings of the Catholic religion. The bishops will on the basis of their own pastorate lead the religious education of the youth in all public and non-private educational institutes and carefully monitor that no subject contains something that goes against Catholic belief and moral purity.”⁹⁶⁶

⁹⁶² Original: "Ueberzeugt, daß unermüdliches Vorwärtsschreiten auf der Bahn der wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnis mehr als je die Pflicht aller Vaterlandsfreunde ist, hat die Institutsvorsteherung im jüngst verflossenen Sommer eine abermalige, und zwar die vierte Instruktionsreise unternommen, hiebei die hervorragenden öffentlichen und Privatinststitute in Süddeutschland und Frankreich, namentlich in München, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Paris, etc. einer eingehenden Besichtigung unterzogen [...]." Anon., "Institut Fröhlich. Höhere Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt für Töchter," *Neues Fremden Blatt*, 02.10.1866, 16.

⁹⁶³ Original: "Eine gediegene religiöse Ausbildung, die einzige, nie wankende Stütze in den Stürmen des Lebens, sollen die Mädchen aus jener Quelle schöpfen, aus welcher die Religion selbst am reinsten fließen soll, das ist aus dem Munde eines Priesters, in der edelsten Bedeutung dieses Wortes."

⁹⁶⁴ Betty Fröhlich and Marie Fröhlich, "Die Lehr- u. Erziehungs-Anstalt für Töchter," *Wiener Zeitung*, 19.09.1850, 376.

⁹⁶⁵ The Concordat of 1855 was a contract between Emperor Francis Joseph I and the papacy which granted the Catholic Church numerous privileges in regard to marriage and education. For a detailed comparative analysis see Erika Weinzierl, *Die österreichischen Konkordate von 1855 und 1933* (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1960).

⁹⁶⁶ Original: "Der ganze Unterricht der katholischen Jugend wird in allen sowohl öffentlichen als nicht öffentlichen Schulen der Lehre der katholischen Religion angemessen sein; die Bischöfe aber werden kraft des ihnen eigenen Hirtenamtes die religiöse Erziehung der Jugend in allen öffentlichen und nicht öffentlichen Lehranstalten leiten

Bishop Zenner's appeal shows that this instruction was taken seriously. Theresia Hermann's institute located in the Kurrentgasse was attended by twenty-seven boarding pupils, of which ten were Greek Orthodox. Additionally, two Greek Orthodox and eight Jewish external pupils attended the girls' institute. Nine Greek Orthodox and two Jewish girls attended the Fröhlich Institute. Theresia Hermann and the Fröhlich sisters jointly arranged for a Greek Orthodox priest to provide religious education in both schools. Whether the Jewish girls attending the Fröhlich Institute received separate religious instruction was not specified. Legally it was permitted to accommodate non-Catholic pupils as long as separate religious instruction was provided. However, for the Archbishopal Consistory mixed school attendance was unacceptable.

"In the direction of a Catholic educational institute, religious education should be indisputably the predominant moment, but is obviously from the other denominations and particularly from the Jewish religion profoundly different and there is the danger, that during the mutual close contact of pupils with each other the exchange of ideas and principles abets the pre-existing very advanced religious and clerical indifferentism."⁹⁶⁷

Bishop Zenner voiced his concern that non-Catholic girls could mock Catholic pupils for their religious worship. Moreover, private institute owners possibly permitted other opinions than the Catholic belief in their institute and promoted religious indifference in their word and example. Zenner emphasised that such institutes should in fact not be called Catholic, but *Simultaneous Institutes*. Moreover, the bishop was concerned about the danger of mixed confessional teachers in educational institutes.⁹⁶⁸ Zenner argued that the permission for the opening of boys' and girls' educational institutes in the future should be tied to the confession of the institute owner. It is unclear how the Viennese city government dealt with this request because only bishop Zenner's appeal is documented. Several advertisements during the 1860

und sorgsam darüber wachen, daß bei keinem Lehrgegenstande etwas vorkomme, was dem katholischen Glauben und der sittlichen Reinheit zuwiderläuft." Article 5, Concordat of 1855. Importantly teachers of other confessions were no longer permitted to teach at Catholic schools.

⁹⁶⁷ Original: "Ist die Richtung eines katholischen Lehr- und Erziehungs-Institutes bei welchem die religiöse Erziehung unstreitig das vorwiegendste Moment bilden soll, offenbar eine von der bei den anderen Confessionen und insbesondere von der israelitischen Religion ganz verschiedenen und es steht zu befürchten, daß bei dem gegenseitigen engen Verkehr den Zöglingen mit einander und dem Austausch der Ideen und Grundsätze dem ohnehin soweit um sich greifenden religiös-kirchlichen Indifferentismus hindurch noch mehr Vorschub geleistet wird."

⁹⁶⁸ Whether Zenner knew about the employment of the Jewish teacher Brandeis in the first year of the Fröhlich institute is unclear.

illustrate that the Fröhlich sisters were open to cater for pupils of other denominations. The Fröhlich Institute explicitly granted “freedom of worship”.⁹⁶⁹

“Particularly for families of the Protestant confession serves the note that all pupils are given complete freedom of religious exercise and the most careful religious instruction.”⁹⁷⁰

Walks, Swimming and Calisthenics

A novel feature of girls’ institutes during the 1850s was the inclusion of physical exercise in the curriculum in the form of gymnastics and swimming.⁹⁷¹ Going for walks with governesses and teachers was an accepted form of exercise for girls already in earlier decades of the nineteenth century. The Fröhlich sisters included going for a walk at twelve lunchtime as daily exercise in their curriculum.⁹⁷² The newspaper *Die Presse* humorously described this practise of a group of pupils going for a walk with their teacher:

“In the late afternoon hours the Bastei substitutes the Prater, but the audience is different. [...] Sometimes a student or poet is walking lonesome, with a book in his hand and reads or dreams, and the young girls, who are walking modestly at the side of an elderly pedagogue cast a secret glance to the young man.”⁹⁷³

During the eighteenth century physical education already featured prominently in the curricula of private boy’s educational institutes, often advertised as military exercise. With the development of the German *Turnerbewegung* [exercise movement] male experts promoted gender-specific forms of physical exercise.⁹⁷⁴ In this respect the Fröhlich sister’s decision to

⁹⁶⁹ In 1861 the Protestant Patent had been issued which guaranteed Protestants freedom of worship. Friedrich Gottas, "Die Geschichte des Protestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, ed. Adam Wandruszka and Peter Urbanitsch (Wien: 1995), 489-595.

⁹⁷⁰ Original: "Den Familien protestantischer Confession diene insbesondere zur Notiz, daß allen Zöglingen vollkommen freie Religionsübung und der sorgfältigste Religionsunterricht gewährleistet wird." Anon., "Institut Fröhlich," *Nordböhmischer Gebirgsbote*, 16.05.1866, 156. It would be interesting to know how Marie Luithlen received the sisters’ advertisements directed to Protestant parents, who opened in 1861 an educational institute for Protestant girls in a close distance to the Fröhlich institute. See Flich, "Die Erziehung des Weibes muß eine andere werden" (Louise Otto-Peters). *Mädchenschulalltag im Rahmen bürgerlicher Bildungsansprüche*."

⁹⁷¹ Many details are still open for exploration in the field of physical exercise and leisure culture in nineteenth century Habsburg Empire. For an overview of nineteenth century swimming culture see: Sabine Fuchs, "Das Weib ist von Natur aus schwach...? Schwimmen als Bestandteil weiblicher Bewegungskultur im 19. Jahrhundert," *L'Homme* 5, no. 1 (1994), 78-93.

⁹⁷² Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 29.

⁹⁷³ Original: "In den späteren Nachmittagsstunden vertritt die Bastei die Stelle des Praters. [...] Zuweilen wandelt ein Student oder ein Dichter einsam, ein Buch in der Hand haltend und lesend oder träumend einher, und die jungen Mädchen, die an der Seite der ältlichen Pädagogin züchtig einherschreiten, werfen einen raschen Blick auf den jungen Mann." Anon., "Wiener Plaudereien," *Die Presse*, 04.04.1857, 1. This description is similar do a scene in Eduard von Bauernfeld's play "Großjährig", see chapter four.

⁹⁷⁴ During the 1860s Gregor Bartsch, Franz Chimani and Josef Eggerth opened schools for physical exercise [Turnschulen] in Vienna. DAW, Schulamtsakten 263/4/4.

dedicate a section of their educational programme to the “education of the body” was very timely⁹⁷⁵: “However, it is the duty of the educator to actively intervene for the conservation and strengthening of health at any time.”⁹⁷⁶

In their educational programme Betty and Marie voiced the danger of boyish exercise as was the case in French educational institutes which often had a separate exercise room with equipment.⁹⁷⁷

“Concerning the exercise of bodily strengths and the gaining of bodily skills we think we have to remark that for girls the aspiration cannot be to gain bodily strength, but to the even and beautiful development of the single parts of the body.”⁹⁷⁸

The sisters introduced a form of bodily exercise “which got to be known as Calisthenics in the modern day gymnastics, and which has to be supported by dancing and swimming lessons, choral exercises and the best possible freedom during the hours of recreation.”⁹⁷⁹ In 1829 the Swiss military captain Heinrich Clias popularised Calisthenics, also called *Anmutslehre* [teaching of grace], for girls and women.⁹⁸⁰ The Fröhlich sisters’ knowledge of this type of gymnastics can be situated in context of their admiration for Heinrich Pestalozzi who had integrated Clias’ gymnastics approach at his institute.⁹⁸¹ Physical education was broadly conceptualised and also included inurement and orderliness. Inurement was practised through a regular lifestyle and a strict sense of order: “[...] the love for orderliness, this blessed, maintained and multiplied flower of good education will unfold, and will become to the mother

⁹⁷⁵ However, the sisters did not go as far as to employ an extra gym teacher for their pupils. Caroline Szántó, who ran from the 1850s a Jewish girls' institute in Vienna employed a gym teacher. For more information see Chapter Five.

⁹⁷⁶ Original: "Dagegen ist es Pflicht der Erzieherin, zur Erhaltung und Kräftigung der Gesundheit zu jeder Zeit thätig einzugreifen." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 11.

⁹⁷⁷ French girls' institutes were described as having a sports hall for physical exercise. Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 53. For details on the travelling activities of Betty and Marie Fröhlich see: Schütz, "The Fröhlich Institute."

⁹⁷⁸ Original: "Nur rücksichtlich der Übung der körperlichen Kräfte und der Aneignung körperlicher Gewandtheit glauben wir bemerken zu müssen, daß bei Mädchen das Streben nicht auf Erlangung körperlicher Stärke, sondern auf die Entwicklung, die ebenmäßige und schöne Entfaltung der einzelnen Körperteile gerichtet sein kann." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 11.

⁹⁷⁹ Original: "[...] welche bei der Gymnastik der Jetztzeit unter dem Namen der Kallistenie bekannt geworden ist, und durch Tanz- und Schwimmunterricht, durch Chor-Gesang und möglichste Freiheit in den Erholungsstunden allseitig unterstützt werden muß." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 11.

⁹⁸⁰ P.H. Clias, *Kallisthenie oder Übung zur Schönheit und Kraft für Mädchen* (Bern, 1829).

⁹⁸¹ Clias was a contemporary of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and his pupil Ernst Eiselen who were propagators of modern gymnastics. Sabine Merta, *Wege und Irrwege zum modernen Schlankheitskult. Diätetik und Körperkultur als Suche nach neuen Lebensstilformen 1880-1930*, vol. 22, Studien zur Geschichte des Alltags (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 424-426.

of true female domesticity.”⁹⁸² This quotation illustrates that the Fröhlich sisters’ liberal spirit did not include female emancipatory goals. Similar to Antonie Wutka, Barbara Netuschil and other pedagogues of the time Betty and Marie warned against vanity and emphasised the importance of the soul’s inner beauty and moral dignity over physical beauty. A quotation from the educational programme illustrates the importance of female beauty: “The girl, however, whose body has been treated stepmotherly by nature, has to seek and to know, that external defects can be substituted and forgotten through enhanced inner wealth.”⁹⁸³ Efficient self-management and orderliness were inhibited and expressed by gender appropriate movement and expressions.

⁹⁸² Original: "[...] und die Ordnungsliebe, die segensbringende, erhaltende und mehrende Blüthe einer guten Erziehung wird sich entfalten, und wird reisen zur Mutter der echten weiblichen Häuslichkeit." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 12.

⁹⁸³ Original: "Das Mädchen aber, dessen Leib von der Natur stiefmütterlich bedacht worden ist, muß trachten und wissen, die äußeren Mängel durch gesteigerten inneren Reichthum zu ersetzen und vergessen zu machen." Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 13.

6.4. A School Boom and the Viennese Women's Employment Association

Educational opportunities for girls were also in the second half of the nineteenth century very limited. The Catholic clergy fearfully monitored the strict compliance of gendered norms as the case of Katharina Schabl illustrates.

"A pupil from the local school [in Gumpoldskirchen] of the second grade, Katharina Schabl, born on the 1st of May 1844 according to the Parish Register, legitimate daughter of Markus Schabl, Bürger at number 81 here – entered on the 1st of May 1849 the parish school and reached on the 1st of May 1856 her twelfth year of age, she has therefore visited the school throughout seven years very diligently and received on occasion of the school visitation held on the 21st of April the first premium amongst girls; she was on this occasion without request honoured by the teacher Franz Hofmeister as best mental calculator."⁹⁸⁴

The local parish priest and school supervisor Stehlik received a surprise special honour because of a female pupil for her skill in mental calculation, which was met with great hostility. The priest set an end to the education of the girl immediately. Since she had attended school throughout six years, he placed Katharina with effect of the 1st of May, her twelfth birthday, into Sunday school. He did not consult the teacher Franz Hofmeister about this decision. The teacher had intended to keep Katharina in class until November to fully exhaust the possible school attendance of the girl. However, Katharina diligently attended review class from the first Sunday of May. Franz Hofmeister rejected the girl repeatedly and sent her home with the request to re-enter primary school. The priest reciprocated this gesture by sending the girls' father with a complaint to the dean of Baden. The dean ordered the teacher to comply with the priest's Sunday school arrangement. He regarded the teacher's behaviour as "arbitrary, ridiculing each order and authority."⁹⁸⁵ Whether the teacher complied with the order in the end is not documented. The Concordat provided the clergy with renewed legitimacy in their role as moral guardians. However, conflicts between school teachers and local priests were not unusual. In small communities the priest represented considerable authority and numerous examples can be found in which teachers and priests clashed over details and sought the

⁹⁸⁴ Original: "Eine hiesige Schülerin der 2ten Klasse Katharina Schabl, laut pfarrl. Taufbuche geboren am 1. Mai 1844, eheliche Tochter des Markus Schabl, Bürgers sub Nr. 81 allhier – ist am 1. Mai 1849 in die hiesige Pfarrschule eingetreten und erreichte am 1. Mai 1856 das zwölfte Jahr, hat somit volle 7 Jahr die Schule sehr fleißig besucht und bei der heuer am 21. April abgehaltenen Schulvisitation das erste Prämium unter den Mädchen erhalten, wurde bei dieser Gelegenheit von ihrem Herrn Lehrer Franz Hofmeister ohne Aufforderung als die beste Kopfrechnerin nebenbei belobt." DAW, Schulamtsakten 1/9, Betreff Schülerin Katharina Schabl.

⁹⁸⁵ DAW 1/9.

attention of allies for their causes against the other. In light of such disputes the development of secularised schooling during the following two decades was welcomed by many members of the teaching profession.

Private Schools *en masse*

The slow secularisation of the school system during the 1860s did not have a major impact on female secondary and higher education or possibilities for professionalization. On the contrary, legislators yet again neglected these concerns and left them as in previous decades to private efforts. During the years of economic crisis in the 1860s the limited professional possibilities of middle-class women became a broadly discussed topic under the umbrella term the women's question [*Frauenfrage*].⁹⁸⁶ At the same time a dazzling amount of private schools were established during the 1850s and 1860s. One reason for this post-revolutionary school boom was clearly Vienna's strong influx of population. To run an educational institute or a day school was a possibility to gain a foothold in the imperial city.⁹⁸⁷ Another reason was the increasing professionalization of the teaching profession. Since the 1840s the Ursuline convent offered a two-year teacher training course for girls and women from the middle class.⁹⁸⁸ Female Jewish teachers received training at the private educational institute of Caroline Szántó since 1859.⁹⁸⁹ Additionally, future institute owners and teachers applied for permission to take the teacher exam without formal training. An example of this practise is Julie Edlen von Muth who in 1853 successfully petitioned for permission to bypass the teacher exam without formally attending the teacher training course.⁹⁹⁰ Julie's father had sent her to "the private girls' institute of Demoiselle De Glimes in Antwerp, where she has acquainted herself with educational method and practise with praised success."⁹⁹¹ The increasing number of teaching personnel led to the

⁹⁸⁶ Roman Sandgruber, *Ökonomie und Politik. Österreichische Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Herwig Wolfram, Österreichische Geschichte (Wien: Ueberreuter, 1995), 243-245.

⁹⁸⁷ In 1857 Vienna counted 676,434 inhabitants, by 1880 the population had grown to 1,162,591. Andreas Weigl, "Die Wiener Bevölkerung in den letzten Jahrhunderten," *Statistische Mitteilungen der Stadt Wien*, no. 4 (2000), 6-34.

⁹⁸⁸ Gunda Barth-Scalmani emphasises that female teacher training since the 1840s in fact substituted missing possibilities for higher education and was strongly frequented. Gunda Barth-Scalmani, "Geschlecht: weiblich, Stand: ledig, Beruf: Lehrerin. Grundzüge der Professionalisierung des weiblichen Lehrberufs im Primarschulbereich in Österreich bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg," in *Bürgerliche Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig (Wien/Köln/Weimar: 1995), 343-402.

⁹⁸⁹ See Chapter Five.

⁹⁹⁰ Julie von Muth was the daughter of the former Police Court Chancellor of Vienna, Peter von Muth, who had been forced to resign in the course of the revolutionary events of March 1848.

⁹⁹¹ Original: "[...] an der weiblichen Erziehungsanstalt der Demoiselle De Glimes in Antwerpen mit dem Erziehungswesen mit belobten Erfolge vertraut gemacht hat." DAW, Schulamtsakten 162/3/5a, Betreff Privatprüfung der Julie Edlen von Muth.

establishment of private placement institutes, like the “Universal Placement Institute” of Emily Reisner. Emily established her institute in 1860 and offered vocational placement for more than fifty years.⁹⁹² An interesting detail about female teachers is that from 1842 onwards women were theoretically permitted to teach not only needlework or languages but all subjects in girls’ schools. This legislation was met with hostility, as illustrated by a public girls’ school in Prague. Joseph Kaiser, the editor of the weekly journal *Pädagogisches Wochenblatt*, remarked biting on the subject of a search to replace a deceased male teacher with a female colleague in 1848:

“One or the other knowledgeable will be able to prove themselves with certificates, but the errors of judgement in the education of humankind will be multiplied with every appointed female teacher. The woman, even if she will be able to promote girls’ education in the home through her being and activity; she will not succeed to provide scientific education.”⁹⁹³

However, the Primary School Law of 1869 changed the situation completely and was a step towards further professionalization of female teachers. An example of the possibility to employ female teachers for other subjects than languages and needlework was the educational institute of Magdalena Kotschy. Magdalena took over the successful educational institute of Theresia Hermann in 1862 and started to solely employ female teachers in her girls’ school.⁹⁹⁴ The number of private schools for boys increased as well during the 1860s.⁹⁹⁵

⁹⁹² Emily Reisner predominantly advertised in the *Neue Freie Presse* but numerous other classifieds can be found in other newspapers as well, for example: *Gouvernanten, Hofmeister, Gesellschafterinnen, Lehrer, Lehrerinnen und Bonnen, sowie alle für das Lehr- und Erziehungsfach geeignete Persönlichkeiten empfiehlt das von der hohen k.k. Statthalterei concessionierte Universal-Emplacements-Institut der Mrs. Emily Reisner in Wien, Die Presse, 25.01.1863, 8.* During the 1860s similar institutes were established by Mathilde de Merecey, Emilie Guisolan, Charlotte Ebell, Rosine Felley, which was taken over by Louise Jagatsich in 1867, Julie Beck, Anna Hoynigg and Karoline Stein.

⁹⁹³ Original: "Ausweisen, mit Zeugnissen, werden sich allerdings so manche Kompetentinnen, aber dessenungeachtet wird die Zahl der Mißgriffe in der Menschenbildung durch jede neu ernannte Lehrerin nur sicher vermehrt. Das Weib, möge es einmal wieder dahin gelangen, daß es durch sein Sein und Wirken die häusliche Mädchen-Erziehung zu fördern im Stande sei; wissenschaftlichen Unterricht zu erteilen wird ihr nie gelingen!" Joseph Kaiser, "Mittheilungen für Mädchenlehrerinnen," *Österreichisches Pädagogisches Wochenblatt*, 15.11.1848, 774-775.

⁹⁹⁴ The staff list included Amalie Schöppl, Johanna Lichtenwallner, Marie Kraft, Marie Krauß and Therese Bertagnoli. Three of the teachers had studied for the teaching exam privately, two had attended the teacher training course. Huber, *Lehrer-Schema oder übersichtliche Zusammenstellung der in der Wiener Erzdiözese befindlichen öffentlichen und Privat-Lehranstalten* 11.

⁹⁹⁵ Jewish teachers who sought to establish Jewish boys’ schools were the principal applicants. This practise is an indicator of the importance of teaching as a profession for Jewish men who had otherwise limited possibilities in Vienna.

Limited Options

For middle-class women teaching offered an accepted form of gainful employment. As numerous examples in this thesis have shown school projects had a greater likelihood for support if the applicant detailed precarious life circumstances. A private correspondence between Marie Saphir and an unknown recipient from 1867 illustrates the stifled situation of middle-class women at the time. Marie was the daughter of the famous satirical writer Moritz Gottlieb Saphir (1795-1858) and asked her father's friend for financial assistance.

"If you – when you look at the signature – will remember me? If you still have in your memory the country outings and theatre evenings in Graz? I do not know. But I do hope, yes I expect, that you kept my dear father M.G. Saphir, your friend for many years, a bit in your memory. For him, I hope to find some attention from you, yes, even more: your help. It would take far too much paper to tell you my biography of the last nine years since my father is gone. Six or seven years it worked out [...] as a teacher, educator – writer [...] But in the last years misfortune is following me in numerous ways – and now I see myself in the greatest distress, yes, deepest hardship."⁹⁹⁶

Married middle-class women, especially those with children, were in a similar precarious situation if their husbands did not provide (enough) for the family or they became widowed. There were few legal options, two of them to work as a seamstress doing piecework at home or to open a girls' school. The case of Katharina Gabriel, who received permission to open an educational institute in 1860, offers an instructive example. Katharina Gabriel, then thirty-two, explained in her petition that she did not attend the teacher training course offered by the Ursuline convent because of her motherly duties towards her four children. Instead she offered board and lodging to a candidate who undertook the two-year course and studied with her for the final teacher exam. Katharina passed with distinction. The school district supervisor Zenner was not persuaded that a new institute in the first Viennese district was a good idea "as already eight Catholic and one Protestant institute meet the demand."⁹⁹⁷ Katharina Gabriel nevertheless received permission to open an institute for boarding pupils and advertised her business in the *Wiener Zeitung* in February 1861.⁹⁹⁸ A year later the Archiepiscopal Consistory reported: "Up

⁹⁹⁶ Original: "Ob Sie - nach der Unterschrift blickend - meiner sich noch erinnern? Ob [Sie] noch ein wenig Gedächtnis haben für die Landparthie und Theaterabende in Graz? Ich weiß es nicht. Doch hoffe ich - ja erwa[r]te ich daß Sie meinem sel. Vater M. G. Saphir, Ihrem langjährigen Freunde, ein wenig Erinnerung gewiß bewahrten. Ihm zu Liebe hoffe ich ein bischen Theilnahme bei Ihnen zu finden, ja noch mehr: etwas Hilfe. Es würde hier zu viel - Papier in Anspruch nehmen Ihnen die 9 Jahre eine Biografie zu geben, seit Vater fort. Sechs - sieben Jahre ging es [...] als Lehrerin, Erzieherin - Schriftstellerin [...] ganz gut. In den letzten Jahren aber verfolgte mich Unglück mannigfachster Art - und jetzt endlich sehe ich mich in höchster Bedrängnis, ja tiefster Noth." WB, Sign. H.I.N.-225734 Sammlung: Handschriften, Saphir Maria an Unbekannt 6. September 1867.

⁹⁹⁷ DAW, Schulamtsakten 233/2/1a-j, Privat Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalt der Katharina Gabriel.

⁹⁹⁸ Katharina Gabriel, "Lehr und Erziehungs-Anstalt für Töchter," *Fremden-Blatt*, 15.02.1861, 10.

until this hour she did not manage to win even one girl for education and therefore the institute is in fact not open or existent.”⁹⁹⁹ Katharina subsequently received permission to take on external pupils as well because she had no other means for gainful employment.

“By the way this woman is very poor, her husband has stopped the payments at the beginning of the month and the saddest outcome is to fear; she has invested prematurely in school premises and made debts. And with her high number of small children she is nearly on the verge of poverty, therefore she is very pitiable.”

The report did not specify what the situation was between Katharina and her husband Theodor, a company manager [*Handlungsgesellschafter*]. The argument of the necessity to supply for the family can be found in many applications throughout the century. The case of Katharina has another layer which this chapter touched on already. She eventually attracted pupils to her institute. In 1863 the institute situated in the Rotenturmstraße was attended by thirty-seven pupils.¹⁰⁰⁰ An interesting detail is that several Jewish girls attended the institute, which prompted the Jewish institute owner Regina Sofer to file a complaint against Katharina Gabriel in 1864. As a consequence of several complaints made about the education of Jewish girls in Catholic private schools, the practise was forbidden in 1858. The further destiny of Katharina Gabriel’s institute is only documented in newspaper advertisements of the *Fremden-Blatt* until 1867.¹⁰⁰¹

During the 1860s attempts to widen the professional possibilities of women were made. A number of institutes targeting middle-class girls and women provided training in a special task over the course of several months. Examples for such establishments were the so-called First Approved Theatre School of Emilie Door¹⁰⁰² for boys and girls, the Hairdresser School of Elise Artbauer¹⁰⁰³, and the Opera School of Katharina Plaschesky-Bauer for women and men.¹⁰⁰⁴ In

⁹⁹⁹ DAW 233/2/1a-j.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Huber, *Lehrer-Schema oder übersichtliche Zusammenstellung der in der Wiener Erzdiözese befindlichen öffentlichen und Privat-Lehranstalten*

¹⁰⁰¹ Regina Sofer soon had greater competition from Jewish teachers who opened girls’ schools. In the 1860s Friedericke Kann, Karoline Schönfeld, Rosa Gottlob, Marie Frankau, Marie Goldberger, Karoline Steiner and Elise Simonson opened schools which were mainly located in the first district and Leopoldstadt. DAW, Schulamtsakten 233/2, Mädchen- Lehr- und Erziehungsanstalten. Salomon Glötzl, Siegfried Kann, Hermann Stein and Heinrich Redlich also established new institutes for Jewish boys. DAW, Schulamtsakten 263/4, Wiener Privatschulen.

¹⁰⁰² Anon., "Theater Nachrichten - Fräulein Emilie Door," *Neue Freie Presse*, 01.11.1865, [5]; Anon., "Theaterschule des Frl. Emilie Door," *Der Zwischen-Akt*, 24.10.1865, 4.

¹⁰⁰³ Elise Artbauer's school was shortlived because she died in 1862. DAW, Schulamtsakten 250/2/3, Friseurschule.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Anon., "In der von der h.k.k.n.ö. Statthalterei konzessionierten Operschule [...]," *Der Zwischen-Akt*, 01.12.1862, 3.

the field of needlework a range of different schools were established since the 1840s. During the 1860s numerous courses offered instruction on how to measure, cut and produce women's clothing. This development was connected to the implementation of free access to trades and crafts [*Gewerbefreiheit*] in 1859. The free access laws permitted women to open workshops for the production of women's clothes and employ apprentices.¹⁰⁰⁵ The claim of expertise in this field is illustrated by this advertisement.

"Invitation for ladies. For the training in measuring, cutting and the production of ladies' clothes in the shortest time with a self-developed, easy to learn method with the centimetre. [...] Cuts for all kinds of ladies'- and children's clothes are always taken from the newest journals, as well as the textbook for measuring, pattern cutting and clothes making authored by myself is sold."¹⁰⁰⁶

Remarkably these schools were advertised as educational institutes, and not industrial schools, since an entirely different target group was addressed. The speed with which schools were opened and closed is illustrated by the following examples.¹⁰⁰⁷ Emilie Angeli had received permission to open an Educational Institute for Girls in Clothes Making, Drawing of Cuts and Measuring but terminated her business licence in 1863.¹⁰⁰⁸ Other institute owners were more successful such as Ernestine Zecha. Zecha had opened her school in 1856 as an industrial school and also offered classes in French conversation. However, she expanded her business during the 1860s and renamed herself Mad. Ernestine and her school "First Viennese cuts-drawing and tailoring school".

¹⁰⁰⁵ For more information on the access of women to trade and business in Austria see Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann, "Finanz- und Wirtschaftsautonomie österreichischer Frauen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," in *Frauen außer Konkurrenz?*, ed. Gabriele Michalitsch and Erna Nairz-Wirth (Frankfurt am Main/Wien: Peter Lang, 2002), 13-54; Helene Herda, "Der Zugang von Frauen zum Gewerbe. Eine Analyse der rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen von 1859 bis heute," in *Unternehmerinnen. Geschichte und Gegenwart selbständiger Erwerbstätigkeit*, ed. Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann and Regine Bendl (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 135-159.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Original: "Zur Erlernung des Maßnehmens, Schnittzeichnens und der Verfertigung von Damenkleidern, in der kürzesten Zeit nach einer von mir verfaßten, leicht zu erlernenden Methode mit dem Centimeter. [...] Schnitte für alle Arten Damen- und Kinderkleidern werden immer nach den neuesten Journalen, sowie das von mir verfaßte Lehrbuch für Maßnehmen, Schnittzeichnen und Kleidermachen verkauft." Katharina Benda, "Einladung für Damen," *Fremden-Blatt*, 25.08.1863, 17.

¹⁰⁰⁷ A comprehensive overview on the amount of school foundations is a project for the future. For the purpose of this chapter I gathered a number of examples without particular selection criteria other than the school type. DAW, Schulamtsakten 272, weibliche Arbeitsschulen.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Similar examples are Franziska Armig, who held her licence from 1866 to 1868, Agnes Bosch who only used her licence for a couple of months in 1862 or Marie Hurtel who held her licence from 1859 to 1865. After separating from her husband Laura Dinstl was in grave need for an income to provide for herself and her children; however, she only used her school licence from August 1864 to September 1865. Therese Mezza von Almetz opened in 1857 her institute but had to close in 1865. Karoline Bartsch opened in 1859 an "Educational institute for women in clothes making and plain sewing" but closed in 1862. Anna Hudelist received in 1862 permission to educate "ladies" in the production of women's hats, bonnets and coiffures and the measuring of women's clothes but gave her licence back in 1865 with no further specified reason.

“Tailoring and cuts-drawing are today essential subjects [...] even more so, as this art bears for each lady, wealthy or not unpredictable advantages in the prevailing changes in luxury and style, in the latter case [for not wealthy ladies] it secures a decent income.”¹⁰⁰⁹

The Founding of the Viennese Women’s Employment Association

The limited employment opportunities for women, particularly women from a middle-class background, became the basis for civil society action during the economic crisis in the 1860s. The first Women’s Employment Association on Habsburg territory was founded in Vienna in 1866, followed by Budapest in 1867, Prague in 1869 and Brünn/Brno in 1873.¹⁰¹⁰ The founding of the association was initiated by two lectures held by Johann Ferdinand Schrank (usually shortened as Dr. Schrank) in the Viennese Commercial Academy in April 1866. The first lecture tackled the question of how to increase employment opportunities for women. The second lecture was dedicated to establishing a women’s association for this cause.¹⁰¹¹ In his lectures Schrank made special reference to England and the United States as a role model for Austria. In France, Belgium, and the Netherlands similar associations had been established during the 1860s. A further example for Vienna was the formation of the all-male *Lette Association* in Berlin in 1865.¹⁰¹² Approximately one hundred women attended Schrank’s second lecture. Seventy attendees signed an agreement to join the new *Volkswirtschaftlicher Frauenverein* [Economic Women’s Association].¹⁰¹³ The note that several “prominent women” had already expressed their support before the second lecture suggests that Johann Ferdinand

¹⁰⁰⁹ Mad. Ernestine, "Kleidermachen und Schnittzeichnen," *Fremden-Blatt*, 07.10.1868, 8.

¹⁰¹⁰ For detailed information on the first years of the Viennese Women's Employment Association see Margret Friedrich, "Versorgungsfall Frau? Der Wiener Frauen-Erwerb-Verein - Gründungszeit und erste Jahre des Aufbaus," *Studien zur Wiener Geschichte* 47/48 (1991/1992), 263-308. It is important to note that the 1860s discourse on female employment largely addressed the middle classes and solely focussed on women in exceptional circumstances. To publicly discuss the issue and existence of female labour was presented as something radically new. However, Caroline Pichler for example had already in 1810 voiced the idea to open employment opportunities, such as tailoring, cobbling or the assist in the family’s trade businesses to middle class women. Pichler, "Bildung," see also chapter 5.1. Working class women were omitted from the discourse, although the rate of female employment was with thirty to forty percent in the European context comparably high in nineteenth century Habsburg Empire. See Susan Zimmermann, "Frauenarbeit, soziale Politiken und die Umgestaltung von Geschlechterverhältnissen im Wien der Habsburgermonarchie," in *Die Frauen der Wiener Moderne*, ed. Lisa Fischer and Emil Brix (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 1997), 34-52.

¹⁰¹¹ Schrank was a driving force of the fraction Äußerste Linke [Far Left] in the Vienna city council. Already in 1863 the far left demanded an election reform in order to grant the suffrage for voters with a minimum of five gulden direct tax payments. Anon., "Volkswirtschaftlicher Frauenverein," (*Linzer*) *Tages-Post*, 02.05.1866, 2. Maren Seliger and Karl Ucakar, *Wien. Politische Geschichte 1740-1895* (Wien: Jugend & Volk, 1985).

¹⁰¹² In the same year the General Union of German Women [Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein] in Leipzig was founded. In this context Louise Otto Peters had penned a fervent appeal for the “Women’s Right to Work.” For further details see Friedrich, "Versorgungsfall," 271-272. For more information on the Woman Question and associational work during this period see Karen Offen, *European feminisms, 1700-1950. A political history* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 108-143.

¹⁰¹³ This association was supported by the male liberal democratic Verein für volkswirtschaftlichen Fortschritt [Association for Economic Development] founded in 1865.

Schrank and other members of the Association for Economic Development directly approached potential supporters for their cause. A key feature of the formation of the Viennese Women's Employment Association was the claim of novelty in every aspect. However, it was not the first association promoting female employment and education. The Society of Aristocratic Women (Ladies from 1842), founded in 1811, was in the first years of its existence particularly dedicated to the issue of female employment.¹⁰¹⁴ Another context for the associational commitment to female employment opportunities in the 1860s were the associations for industrial schools founded after the revolutions of 1848/49. It is no surprise that several of the founding members of the Viennese Women's Employment Association had been since over a decade involved in the supervision of and fundraising for industrial schools of the Women's Association for Working Schools in Vienna, already discussed in Chapter Four. Their engagement in providing needlework education and moral guidance for children from a poor background had certainly equipped the first three presidents of the Women's Employment Association, Iduna Laube, Helene von Hornbostel and Gabriele von Neuwall, with the necessary organisational skills and knowledge for fundraising and publicity.¹⁰¹⁵ Although the associational set-up in 1866 was initiated by a male association, the women later involved claimed the idea for a separate independent associational structure. The previous expertise of members helps explain the speed with which the Women's Employment Association proceeded. For Iduna Laube, who served on the board committee during the first year, and as president of the association during the second year, things were not done quickly enough. She reported to her friend, the writer Betty Paoli¹⁰¹⁶ in December 1866:

"In our association there is still a lot of shouting and very slow progress in the real developments. Today we found the office, the place at the Kärtnering No. 6 nearly ready and we also made the last dispositions to open the sewing shop and the associational office on the 2nd of January. God may give his blessing, well, first and foremost the public's favour."¹⁰¹⁷

¹⁰¹⁴ In 1866 the Society of Aristocratic Ladies was mainly dedicated to charitable poor relief. However, examples of cooperation between the associations can be found. In a joint effort with the Women's Employment Association the Society created the opportunity to attend the training course for telegraphy for those female criminal offenders located at the prison in Neudorf, who were deemed "besserungsfähig" [able to better themselves]. Asyl für büßende Magdalenen, Morgen-Post, 01.06.1869, 3. See also Chapter Two.

¹⁰¹⁵ For more information see chapter 5.2.

¹⁰¹⁶ For more information on Betty Paoli and her correspondance see Rosa Zechner, "'In unwandelbarer Zuneigung ergeben.'" Betty Paoli (1814-1894) und ihr Freundinnenkreis," *L'Homme Z. F. G.* 4, no. 1 (1993), 18-39.

¹⁰¹⁷ Original: "In unserem Verein gibt es immer noch viel Geschrei u. ein sehr zähes Fortschreiten in der realen Entwicklung. Heute haben wir die Bureaucommission, das Lokal am Kärtnering No 6 fast ganz hergerichtet gefunden u. wir haben auch die letzten Anordnungen getroffen, um es am 2.ten Jänner mit der Nähstube u. dem

In the first year of the association, it opened a sewing shop which served as a sales point¹⁰¹⁸, girls and women received placements in the National Printing Office [*Staatsdruckerei*] to fabricate envelopes, and the association funded a trade course for girls. Interestingly this course was held in the private Trade Educational Institute of Marie Kühnel. The cooperation between the association and Kühnel illustrates how well-established the Viennese private school sector was at the time. Marie Kühnel opened her institute for girls and women from Vienna and the provinces in the autumn of 1866. She offered a five-month training course in commercial business. This training included profit and loss accounting, cataloguing, knowledge of currency exchange. In January 1867 the Women's Employment Association advertised their cooperation with Marie Kühnel in the *Fremden-Blatt*.

"Recently the association has occupied itself with the debate in which ways care should be taken for the education of women in trade. The association saw in this Trade Educational Institute the purpose realised which it has to set for itself. The association decided therefore to promote commercial education of girls by enabling them the entry to this institute."¹⁰¹⁹

In 1867 and 1868 the employment association not only funded and subsidised the attendance of girls in the trade course but also offered free evening lectures in the institute of Marie Kühnel.¹⁰²⁰ With the knowledge gained, the association opened its own Trade Educational Institute in September 1868. The admission tickets were handwritten and required the name and residency of the participant, to which department and how long the pupil signed up for the course and when the school fee was paid. The school was located in the first Viennese district at the Maximilianstraße (today's Mahlerstraße) in walking distance of the office of the association at Kärntnerring.

Vereinsbüro zu eröffnen. Gott gebe seinen Segen dazu, das heißt vor Allem die Gunst des Publikums." WB, Sign. H.I.N.-49056 Sammlung: Handschriften, Iduna Laube an Betty Paoli, 28.12.1866.

¹⁰¹⁸ A similar distribution system had been used by the Society of Aristocratic Ladies during the first years after its founding in 1811, see Chapter Two.

¹⁰¹⁹ Original: "Der Verein hat sich jüngst mit der Erörterung der Frage beschäftigt, in welcher Weise für die Bildung der handelsbeflissenen Frauenwelt Sorge getragen werden soll. Durch die Handelslehranstalt für Mädchen, welche Frau Kühnel jetzt eröffnet, erkannte der Verein diejenigen Zwecke verfolgt, die er selbst sich zu setzen hat. Der Verein beschloß daher, die kommerzielle Bildung der Mädchen dadurch zu fördern, daß er ihnen den Eintritt in dieses Institut ermöglicht und erleichtert." Anon., "Der Frauen-Erwerbsverein entwickelt eine rege, vielseitige Thätigkeit," *Fremden-Blatt*, 03.01.1867, 3.

¹⁰²⁰ By the time it had become popular to offer evening lectures in private educational institutes, examples are the lectures in the institutes of Antonie Machold, Maria Hanausek or Regina Sofer during the 1860s.

Aufnahms-Schein

für Teil:

Wohnung

in der

Handels- und Gewerbe-Schule

Frauen-Erwerb-Vereins

Abteilung:

Lehrzeit:



Schulgeld unterzeichnet mit:

Die Bescheinigung wollen sie mit diesem
Bescheinigung am Donnerstag 1. Oktober l. J.
im Bescheinigung, Maximilian Hofstra 3 zur Bescheinigung
Eröffnung vorfinden.

19 Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Sammlung: Handschriften, Sign. ZPH 896, Teilnachlass Aglaia von Enderes, 1.1.2.2. Aglaia Enderes, a journalist and the long-time secretary of the association, used the back of the admission ticket for a draft text.

The school and course attendances of girls were not free of charge; only in case of urgent need was a subsidy granted. The strength of the Women's Employment Association during its first years was to offer various educational opportunities and job placements. However, the association shared these tasks with numerous private placement institutes, courses and schools for girls and women at the time. The associational set-up allowed job placement on a large scale and soon this possibility attracted the attention of businesses. In 1867, for example, the

Austrian National Printing Office took on thirty-one girls for envelope-making. These young women produced 80,000 to 90,000 envelopes per day for the meagre weekly salary of five to six gulden. Margret Friedrich rightly questioned the conditions for this and other employment opportunities provided by the association which in many cases exploited girls and women for cheap and effective labour.¹⁰²¹ For women from a lower-class background the Women's Employment Association offered a glove making workshop from 1867 to 1869. Viennese manufacturers provided the material for piece-work; however, the very low-paid task did not attract a constant flow of workers. The association had difficulties meeting the demands. In the annual report of 1868 the line between diligent and non-diligent workers was drawn in respect to the educational background.

"In the manifold contacts the commission made with girls of all social classes through the glove sewing workshop, we also observed that such girls who had previously worked in a working school show diligence and calmness, because they were guided to keep order and value the concept of time and labour which is no longer alien to them. The primary school had not yet attained this success, so it can be concluded that on the one hand our primary schools still need improvement, but also that theoretical instruction in reading, writing and calculating do not teach the youth work itself and namely to earn an income through work. A remark which is not only true for the female gender."¹⁰²²

The declared aim of the association was to provide contemporary gender conforming practical skills for girls and women in need. Marianne Hainisch famously appealed to the committee members of the Women's Employment Association to support her idea of establishing secondary education for girls in 1870. Initially she received applause.¹⁰²³ Her lecture even prompted the association's assembly to elect her as an honourable committee member in 1870 and she also served as a committee member in the following years.¹⁰²⁴ The committee members, however, did not agree on how to proceed. The information of a subsequent meeting

¹⁰²¹ Friedrich, "Versorgungsfall," 284.

¹⁰²² Original: "Bei dem vielfältigen Verkehr, in welchen die Commission durch die Handschuhnähstube mit Mädchen der verschiedenen Bevölkerungsklassen Wiens getreten ist, machten wir ferner die Wahrnehmung, daß solche Mädchen, welche vorher in der Arbeitsschule gearbeitet hatten, sich durch Fleiß und Ruhe auszeichneten, weil sie dort zur Ordnung angehalten werden und ihnen der Begriff des Werthes der Zeit und der Arbeit nicht mehr fremd ist. Die Volksschule allein hatte diesen Erfolg noch nicht durchweg erzielt, woraus man schließen kann, daß einerseits unsere Volksschulen noch manche Verbesserung zulassen, daß aber auch andererseits mit theoretischem Unterricht im Lesen, Schreiben, Rechnen die eigentliche Arbeit und namentlich der Erwerb durch Arbeit noch nicht der Jugend gelehrt ist. Eine Bemerkung, die übrigens nicht allein für das weibliche Geschlecht gilt." Anon., *Wiener Frauen-Erwerb-Verein. Rechenschaftsbericht für das Jahr 1868* (Wien: Selbstverlag, 1869), 9.

¹⁰²³ Anon., "In der dritten General-Versammlung des Wiener Frauen-Erwerbvereins," *Neue Freie Presse*, 23.03.1870, 8. In 1870

¹⁰²⁴ Marianne Hainisch, *Zur Frage des Frauen-Unterrichtes. Vortrag gehalten bei der dritten General-Versammlung des Wiener Frauen-Erwerb-Vereines* (Wien: Erste Wiener Vereins-Buchdruckerei, 1870).

with officials of the Ministry of Education on the subject matter was withheld from Marianne Hainisch. The outcome of this meeting was to withhold offering secondary level education with a content similar to boys' secondary education, which was in line with the Primary School Law of 1869.¹⁰²⁵

Auguste von Littrow's Balancing Act

Marianne Hainisch was not the only member of the Viennese Women's Employment Association who was confronted with the persistence of traditional patterns. Also Auguste von Littrow, a founding member of the association was in the late 1860s not disinclined to create equal opportunities. It is crucial to understand the importance of adhering to respectable social limits for women involved in the early stages of the movement in Vienna, which is illustrated by Iduna Laube and her praying for the public's favour on the occasion of the founding of the Women's Employment Association: "God may give his blessing, well, first and foremost the public's favour."¹⁰²⁶

Auguste von Littrow maintained a salon in the building of the Austrian Academy of Science where she, her husband the astronomer Carl von Littrow and their children lived. The death of their son Otto in 1864 can be seen as a moment that legitimised Auguste's more public engagement. The salons of Littrow and her friend Iduna Laube played a pivotal role as a gathering and discussion place in the founding process of the Women's Employment Association. In the first year of the association Auguste served as a committee member. In the following two years she was not part of the committee and even resigned as a member of the association in 1868/1869 due to internal conflict. She re-joined in summer 1869.¹⁰²⁷ For the purpose of this chapter I will show how Auguste von Littrow intended to establish herself as an expert in the field of female employment and education. However, such claim of expertise bore a great deal of ambivalence and difficulties.¹⁰²⁸ During the second half of the 1860s

¹⁰²⁵ Flich, *Wider die Natur der Frau? Entstehungsgeschichte der höheren Mädchenschulen in Österreich*, 69.

¹⁰²⁶ Original: "Gott gebe seinen Segen dazu, das heißt vor Allem die Gunst des Publikums." WB, Sign. H.I.N.-49056 Sammlung: Handschriften, Iduna Laube an Betty Paoli, 28.12.1866.

¹⁰²⁷ In a letter in summer 1869 Iduna Laube expressed her delight to this decision. WB, Sign. H.I.N.-155733 Sammlung: Handschriften, Iduna Laube an Auguste von Littrow Bischoff, 24.07.1869.

¹⁰²⁸ The difficulties and efforts of bourgeois women to reconcile their activities with ideal gender roles at the time are discussed from many perspectives. For example in Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, ed. *Bürgerliche Frauenkultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2, *L'Homme Schriften* (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1995); Ruth-Ellen Boetcher Joeres, *Respectability and Deviance: Nineteenth-Century German Women Writers and the Ambiguity of Representation* (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998); Juliane Jacobi, ed. *Frauen zwischen Familie und Schule. Professionalisierungsstrategien bürgerlicher Frauen im internationalen Vergleich*, vol. 55, *Studien und Dokumentationen zur vergleichenden Bildungsforschung* (Köln/Wien: Böhlau, 1994); Ute Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte zwischen bürgerlicher Verbesserung und neuer Weiblichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1997).

numerous articles and pamphlets on female employment and education were published. In 1868 Auguste von Littrow contributed to this discourse with the pamphlet “The Social Movement on the Subject of Women” [*Die sociale Bewegung auf dem Gebiete der Frauen*] under the penname Otto August. A few months prior to this publication Aglaja von Enderes, the secretary of the Women’s Employment Association, had published an article titled “Women’s Employment” in the liberal newspaper *Neue Freie Presse*. In this article Enderes argued that certain occupations performed by men, like accountant and shopkeeper’s apprentice, were in fact better suited to women.¹⁰²⁹ Aglaja emphasised the transformation in the women’s dressmaking business, which had been previously occupied by men but since the implementation of new trade laws in 1859 it was now officially open to women. The article prompted numerous reactions to the editorial of the *Neue Freie Presse*. As a follow-up to the article the newspaper published a short note two weeks later. A male reader had expressed his wish that “pure femininity” should be preserved by not confronting women with the competitive struggle of public life.

“We surely have nothing against the worshiping of the eternal-pure-femininity, given that it is also applicable to the practise; but the question remains how much will be left or can unfold of this eternal-pure-femininity with a daily income of forty, fifty or sixty kreuzer as girls and women have here.”¹⁰³⁰

Soon after this exchange on female employment in the *Neue Freie Presse* Auguste von Littrow published her first pamphlet. She attempted to reconcile the discrepancy between ideal femininity and femininity in practise by claiming that the opening of new occupations was unrelated to French “*Frauenemancipationsgelüste*” [yearning for women’s emancipation]. On the contrary, natural features of femininity were ideally channelled into appropriate occupations. In her 1865 publication on female employment Louise Otto-Peters wittingly remarked on the desire of female activists to distinguish themselves from the French activists, particularly George Sand’s emancipatory claims.

¹⁰²⁹ Aglaja von Enderes, “Frauenerwerb,” *Neue Freie Presse*, 14.01.1868, 16.

¹⁰³⁰ Original: “Wir haben sicherlich nichts gegen die Verehrung des Ewig-Rein-Weiblichen, vorausgesetzt, daß sie sich auch in der Praxis bewährt; nur bleibt dabei die Frage unbeantwortet, wie viel oder wie wenig bei einem Tagesverdienste von 40, 60 oder 60 Kreuzern, wie ihn factisch gar viele Frauen und Mädchen bei uns haben, von dem “Ewig-Rein-Weiblichen” übrig bleiben oder zur Entfaltung kommen kann?” Anon., “Frauenerwerb,” *Neue Freie Presse*, 28.01.1868, 20.

"[...] with these expressions the whole question of women's emancipation was discredited and every woman who wanted to strive beyond the small boundaries of family life had no other option than to declare first of all that she was not one of those emancipated."¹⁰³¹

Although Auguste von Littrow declared her aversion of French ideas of emancipation in the introduction, she later expressed admiration for George Sand and Rosa Bonheur in a footnote in the pamphlet. She even presented these two women as shining examples of women who had received male education and quoted authors of the Enlightenment, like Mary Wollstonecraft or Theodor Hippel.¹⁰³² Moreover, Auguste envisioned a future of free trade which would totally overcome the dominant position of the nation, class [Stand] or gender and allow everybody to perform any occupation.¹⁰³³ However, that was in the unforeseeable future. For the moment, the author suggested a three-step programme conforming to gender norms.

"First of all, women should try to regain the occupations and fields of employment given to them by the nature of things. Secondly, she should gain the necessary qualifications through better education. Thirdly newly pursued ways of employment should be initiated."¹⁰³⁴

In her discussion on female employment opportunities Auguste von Littrow adhered to the expectations of natural gender roles while she simultaneously envisioned a variety of occupations. An argumentative strategy of Auguste von Littrow was to use the argument of nature to discredit men who worked with female clothing and accessories. Masculinity, according to Auguste, could not be reconciled with the tasks young men performed in shops for ribbons, feather accessories, trimmings, clothes and whites. Everything concerning accessories, style and clothes *for* women should be performed *by* women, a vision in line with the ideology of separate gender spheres. Expertise in a task was for Auguste not a matter of nature but a matter of education. She argued that the current problem of employment was in reality a lack of ability. At the same time Auguste did not fail to emphasise the importance of marriage and motherhood.¹⁰³⁵ Auguste von Littrow introduced Florence Nightingale's activism

¹⁰³¹ Original: "[...] da kam mit der Redensart auch die ganze Frage von der Emancipation des Weibes in Mißkredit und jeder über die engezogenen Grenzen des Familienlebens hinausstrebende Frau blieb beinahe nichts übrig, als sich zuerst feierlich zu verwahren zu jenen Emancipirten zu gehören." Louise Otto-Peters, *Das Recht der Frauen auf Erwerb. Blicke auf das Frauenleben der Gegenwart*.

¹⁰³² Otto August, *Die sociale Bewegung auf dem Gebiete der Frauen* (Hamburg: Hoffman und Campe, 1868), 34.

¹⁰³³ August, *Die sociale Bewegung*, 14.

¹⁰³⁴ Original: "Erstens, den Frauen die ihnen durch die Natur der Dinge zukommenden Arbeiten und Erwerbsthätigkeiten, welche sie im Laufe der Zeiten verloren, wieder zu gewinnen. Zweitens, ihnen durch den besseren Unterricht die dazu nöthigen Mittel an die Hand zu geben. Drittens, neue bisher noch nicht betretene Berufswege für sie anzubahnen." August, *Die sociale Bewegung*, 15.

¹⁰³⁵ In "The Propaganda of Education" published in 1871, Auguste von Littrow argued that women had an immanent biological teaching drive [*Lehrtrieb*] due to their role as mothers; the arguments in this second

as a shining example and strongly argued for female nurses.¹⁰³⁶ In 1868 she contacted Florence and sent a copy of her publication on female employment requesting Nightingale's feedback. The English social reformer replied with a letter¹⁰³⁷ and two of her own publications and John Stuart Mill's "The Subjection of Women."¹⁰³⁸ Interestingly Auguste found not only nursing but also the medical profession in general to be appropriate and in line with women's nature. She quoted at length the examples of Elisabeth Garrett and Ellen Colborne who had graduated as medical doctors in England, as well as the founding of a women's hospital by Elisabeth and Emily Blackwell in New York. Further examples of female practitioners quoted by Auguste were Maria Zakrzewska, who ran a new clinical programme at the Female Medical College in Boston, and Mary Walker, who recently held a lecture at a congress in Manchester about her involvement in the Civil War. Another caring profession that was "naturally" suited to women was teaching. Here also the American example led the way. Auguste promoted female teachers on all educational levels and argued that new technological inventions had the potential to expand female abilities in the future.

"But where exactly the borders of female abilities lie and which subjects and areas of occupation should and can be entrusted to women is difficult to determine, since their dispositions cannot be presented as natural-historic defined area and because women on the one hand achieved the non-expectable in the persistence of risks as travellers, air travellers, trick riders [*Kunstreiterinnen*] and because on the other hand new inventions are made daily which direct work to women for which even today still a man's arm is needed."¹⁰³⁹

This quotation bears great ambivalence. On the one hand, Auguste von Littrow portrayed female emancipation as an evil. On the other hand, the writer clearly expressed admiration for influential authors who stood for equal opportunities. In her piece on women's employment

publication were based on biological and racist concepts popular at the time. Otto August, *Die Propaganda des Unterrichtes* (Jena: Fr. Frommann, 1871).

¹⁰³⁶ In the following years Auguste von Littrow put great effort into creating opportunities for women in the field of nursing, but was met with hostility by male medical professionals.

¹⁰³⁷ WB, Sign. H.I.N.-155796 Sammlung: Handschriften, Florence Nightingale, Brief an Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff, 26.06.1869. Auguste von Littrow's correspondance deserves a separate article in the future as it requires contextualisation as a source. For the purpose of this chapter her letters are used to emphasise the viewpoint of the letter writer.

¹⁰³⁸ John Stuart Mill's essay comprises of ideas he developed jointly with his wife Harriet Taylor Mill. John Stuart Mill, *The Subjection of Women* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1869.)

¹⁰³⁹ Original: "Wo aber überhaupt die Grenzlinie der weiblichen Fähigkeit liege und welche Gegenstände und Tätigkeitsgebiete den Frauen überwiesen werden sollen und können, ist schon deßhalb schwer zu bestimmen, weil sich einerseits deren Anlagen nicht als ein naturhistorisch abgegrenztes Gebiet hinstellen lassen und weil Weiber gerade in Richtungen, in welchen man ihnen am wenigsten Leistungen zumuthen würde, als Reisende, Luftfahrerinnen, Kunststreiterinnen im Bestehen von Gefahren das Unerwartetste geleistet haben und weil andererseits die täglich neu auftauchenden Erfindungen manche Arbeit der Frau zuweisen, welche heute noch des männlichen Armes bedarf." August, *Die sociale Bewegung*, 31.

Auguste solved the problem by projecting her idea about equality into the future. The possibility of profound social changes in the status of women lay in the technological advancement of a later period, remarkably out of reach of her own activism. She located the problem of female advancement in a lack of educational and networking opportunities. While educated men usually drew on extensive networks, women constantly had to fight isolation.¹⁰⁴⁰

Auguste sent her pamphlet to John Stuart Mill in the hope that he would acknowledge her work. On the 23rd of August 1869 she received a reply in English. Mill called the pamphlet a “valuable contribution” and acknowledged that the content of Littrow’s text was not per se an appeal for political emancipation as she herself had confided to him in her letter.

“The essay bears internal evidence of having been written, as you say it was, before the movement for the political emancipation of women had seriously commenced; but it gave sufficient indication on which side you would be found at when that movement did commence.”¹⁰⁴¹

The full rights of citizenship, so Mill argued, would ensure “more solid intellectual instruction which you justly claim for them [women], [...]”¹⁰⁴² Remarkably, in the same summer of 1869 Auguste von Littrow published an article in the liberal newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* titled “J. Stuart Mill’s newest Piece. Bespoken by a Woman”. She undersigned this review not with her male penname but with her own initials A. v. L.¹⁰⁴³ From today’s perspective the review, which was printed in the feuilleton section on the first three pages of the newspaper and authored by a well-known female proponent of the Viennese *Bildungsbürgertum*, had the potential to spark a discussion about women’s equality and the place of women in society. However, critically, there was not a single printed reaction to the piece.¹⁰⁴⁴

“Each idea, which starts its way in the world went through several phases; the first phase is usually that in its first appearance as a wish for change it is but understood as heretical,

¹⁰⁴⁰ It is likely that Auguste von Littrow was familiar with Minna Pinoff’s publication on female education who emphasised the importance of female association in a similar, more detailed, way. Minna Pinoff, *Reform der weiblichen Erziehung als Grundbedingung zur Lösung der sozialen Frage der Frauen* (Breslau: Maruschke & Berendt 1867), 118-125.

¹⁰⁴¹ Original in English. WB, Sign. H.I.N.-159074 Sammlung: Handschriften, John Stuart Mill an Auguste von Littrow Bischoff, 23.08.1869.

¹⁰⁴² WB, Sign. H.I.N.-159074.

¹⁰⁴³ A. v. L., “J. Stuart Mill’s neuestes Werk. Besprochen von einer Frau,” *Neue Freie Presse*, 23.07.1869, 1-3. At the beginning of July 1869 Auguste von Littrow had received the pamphlet from Florence Nightingale.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Aglaja von Enderes’ article on women’s employment mentioned earlier in this chapter sparked numerous reactions to the editors of the *Neue Freie Presse* and shows, that this cannot be explained with a lack of readership to the topic.

brutally oppressed or forgotten, until at a later point in time the necessity is recognised and the development is initiated."¹⁰⁴⁵

Auguste von Littrow's compared Mill's arguments for women's equality with Theodor Gottfried Hippel's late eighteenth century call for improving the status of women. John Stuart Mill went even further and called for female suffrage in his "The Subjection of Women".

"The logical sharpness, the brilliant presentation, the fire of individual conviction together with arguments taken from historical, cultural, psychological and judicial background give this book, besides the importance of the question, a general significance."¹⁰⁴⁶

The issue of the precarious situation of widows and single women dominated the discourse on female employment in the German-speaking world. Auguste argued that this was just part of Mill's larger "realisation, that the woman is by nature an equal being [...]."

"A great part of the male world will claim that women n a t u r a l l y [sic] lack the urge for independence and many women will share this opinion, whereas a great part will stand for the opposite view and emphasise it through their way of feeling and thinking. Does the seeming lack of the urge for freedom in women really lie in an i n n a t e [sic] feeling of submission to men or is it not rather a result of the subjection during the same duration as the existence of mankind; in the first case everything that is pursued for the emancipation of women will be pointless as every other revolt against a natural law. Neither it will in the second case be possible to stop the natural development as it is unfolding now."¹⁰⁴⁷

Auguste commended John Stuart Mill's portrayal of strong female characters in history, including Queen Elizabeth, the biblical judge Deborah and Joanne d'Arc, for the purpose of emphasising the need for equality. She discussed in detail John Stuart Mill's claim that women were entitled to equal education like their husbands in order for the married couple to strive

¹⁰⁴⁵ Original: "Jede neue Idee, welche den Rundgang durch die Welt antritt, hat mehrere Phasen durchzumachen; die erste besteht gewöhnlich darin, daß sie bei ihrem ersten Auftreten als Sehnsucht nach einem veränderten Zustande verketzert, gewaltsam unterdrückt oder vergessen wird, bis eine spätere Zeit sie als Nothwendigkeit erkennt und ihrer Entwicklung entgegenführt." A. v. L., "J. Stuart Mill," *Neue Freie Presse*, 23.07.1869, 1-3.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Original: "ie logische Schärfe, die glänzende Darstellungsweise, das Feuer individueller Ueberzeugung im Vereine mit den aus historischem, culturgeschichtlichen, psychologischen und rechtlichem Boden geschöpften Argumenten geben diesem Buche, auch abgesehen von der Wichtigkeit der Frage, eine allgemeine Bedeutung." A. v. L., "J. Stuart Mill," *Neue Freie Presse*, 23.07.1869, 1-3.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Original: "Ein großer Theil der Männerwelt wird behaupten, daß das Bedürfnis nach Selbstständigkeit n a t u r g e m ä ß [hervorgehoben im Original] dem Weibe fehle, und viele Frauen werdendiese Ansicht ebenso sicher beistimmen, als ein schwerwiegender Theil die entgegengesetzte Meinung vertreten und durch die eigene Empfindungs- und Denkweise bekräftigen wird. Liegt der scheinbare Mangel des Bedürfnisses nach Freiheit bei dem Weibe wirklich in dem a n g e b o r n e n [hervorgehoben im Original] Gefühle seiner Unterordnung unter den Mann und ist er nicht vielmehr das Resultat einer Unterdrückung von gleicher Dauer wie das Dasein der Menschheit, so wird im ersten Falle Alles, was zu Gunsten der Emancipation des Weibes geschieht, ebenso unnütz sein, wie jede andere Auflehnung gegen irgend ein Naturgesetz. Ebensowenig aber wird im zweiten Falle die naturgemäße Entwicklung, wie sie sich jetzt zu entfalten scheint, zurückgehalten werden können." A. v. L., "J. Stuart Mill," *Neue Freie Presse*, 23.07.1869, 1-3.

together. She concluded her review with a number of quotations by Mill on marriage. The review left no doubt that Auguste von Littrow was excited about the ideas of the British philosopher and possibly found herself in his lines, an educated woman engaged in public matters through charity.

“This performance of charity, however, is for him [Mill] an office, a business, which is best entrusted to the hand of thinking women, and he also finds them able to administer other offices and businesses and vindicates their public right to vote.”¹⁰⁴⁸

Iduna Laube reacted to Auguste von Littrow’s article immediately. The day after the publication she wrote a passionate letter to her friend. Iduna’s criticism was first and foremost directed at Mill, not Auguste, for he failed to acknowledge the naturally divided spheres between women and men as well as their different duties in society.

“Is not in every direction in nature and in society the separation of labour according to the abilities the highest demand? Is really the outward loud politics more important for mankind than the control in the house and the wise care in kindergarten, where the next generation is growing?”¹⁰⁴⁹

She invited Auguste to leave governing to men and emphasised the importance for women to stay within their sphere of activity. Iduna Laube regretted not being able to have a conversation in person about the issue with her friend.

“You [sic] are alone guilty of this long-legged analysis of my opinion of the political women’s emancipation. If we could sit next to each other on the couch and exchange our ideas in statement and objection as we did in the past, then the dispute would be natural, instead it is theoretically forced apart with the pencil.”¹⁰⁵⁰

The letter concluded in an amicable tone with Iduna Laube reporting about her latest encounters with friends and with the hope that Auguste would visit her in Leipzig if she planned to attend

¹⁰⁴⁸ L., "J. Stuart Mill," *Neue Freie Presse*, 23.07.1869, 1-3.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Original: "Ist nicht nach aller Richtung, in der Natur u. in der Gesellschaft, die Theilung der Arbeit gemäß den Kräften die höchste Forderung? Ist wirklich die nach außen lärmende Politik wichtiger für die Menschheit, als die Herrschaft im Hause u. die weise Pflege der Kindergärten, wo die nachkommende Gesellschaft heranwächst?" Wienbibliothek, Sign. H.I.N.-155733.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Original: "Sie ganz allein sind schuld an dieser hochbeiniger Auseinandersetzung meiner Ansicht über die politische Frauenemanipation. Könnten wir auf dem Sopha [sic] nebeneinander sitzen u. in Rede u. Gegenrede unsere Ideen austauschen, wie früher, da wäre die Auseinandersetzung so natürlich, statt, daß sie mit dem Bleistift theoretisch gespreizt wird." Wienbibliothek, Sign. H.I.N.-155733.

the Women's Day in Berlin at the end of the year: "That would be a great rejoice in the arbour! God's command! Say hello to your beloved ones from your loyal Iduna."¹⁰⁵¹

Besides Iduna Laube's personal letter to Auguste von Littrow, and possibly other personal correspondence, no other reaction to the review article is preserved. It is crucial to acknowledge this blanket silence. However, Auguste von Littrow was not alone in her admiration for John Stuart Mill. Jenny Hirsch, the secretary of the Lette Association in Berlin translated Mill's text into German in 1869 and Fanny Lewald published a series of letters addressed to Mill between 1868 and 1869 with the title "For and Against Women" [*Für und wider die Frauen*]. Auguste von Littrow was in correspondence with both women and possibly met them in Berlin when she as the only Austrian delegate attended the Women's Day in 1869. A letter written during this conference attendance deserves special attention as it reveals Auguste von Littrow's ambivalent position as a private and public persona.¹⁰⁵² Moreover this piece of correspondence from Auguste to her husband Carl helps to grasp the activists' balancing act by claiming expertise while adhering to gendered norms. She assured her husband that she had not served as a speaker at the conference

"because I did not ask for your permission in advance and only yesterday I spoke a couple of words to make my attendance public as I noticed how important it was that a lady from Vienna was present and how silly our association had behaved, who did not reply to the polite invitation with even one line although I repeated the request only three weeks ago. [...] Don't think that this women's day is very female. You know how little I like conferences and you understand the tone that prevails here immediately when I tell you that Virchow, Schulze-Delitzsch, Lazarus, etc. are the mainstays."¹⁰⁵³

Auguste expressed the feelings the conference attendance sparked: "I should not say anything, because the self-assurance which is not my strong side is excited here in a way that far exceeds everything what I can or am allowed to say, more of this verbally."¹⁰⁵⁴ In the light of such

¹⁰⁵¹ Original: "Das gäbe großen Jubel in der Gartenlaube! Gott befohlen! Grüßen Sie die Ihrigen von Ihrer treuen Iduna." Wienbibliothek, Sign. H.I.N.-155733.

¹⁰⁵² Iduna Laube encouraged her friend to attend the conference. Auguste finally went on her own accord, the committee of the Viennese Women's Association had not even officially replied to the invitation from Berlin.

¹⁰⁵³ Original: "weil ich keine Erlaubnis von Dir dazu eingeholt hatte und bloß gestern ein paar Worte sprach um mein Dasein nolarisch zu machen da ich bemerkte welcher Werth darauf gelegt wurde, daß eine Dame aus Wien gegenwärtig sei und wie albern sich unser Verein benommen, der ungeachtetet meiner erst vor drei Wochen wiederholten Bitte die höfliche Einladung nicht mit Einer Zeile erwidert hat. [...] Du mußt dir diesen Frauentag übrigens nicht allzu weiblich denken. Du weißt wie wenig ich die Klausur liebe - und verstehst gleich aus welchem Ton es geht wenn ich dir sage dass Virchow, Schulze-Delitzsch, Lazarus, etc. die Hauptstützen sind." WStLA, Nachlässe und private Sammlungen. Sign. 3.5.91, Nachlass Littrow-Bischoff, Schachtel 2, Auguste von Littrow an Karl von Littrow, 07.11.1869.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Original: "Ich darf gar Nichts sagen denn das Selbstgefühl das nicht meine starke Seite ist wird hier in einer Art erregt die weit über Alles geht was ich ansprechen kann und darf, davon auch mündlich." WStLA, Nachlass Littrow Bischoff, Sign. 3.5.91, Auguste von Littrow an Karl von Littrow, 07.11.1869.

expressions the publication of the review is even more remarkable. However, in the following years Auguste von Littrow no longer attached herself to the radical ideas of women's emancipation but increasingly formed her arguments on the basis of biological determinism which were *en vogue* at the time.¹⁰⁵⁵ Auguste retreated to other new ideas based on scientific research rather than political philosophy, which were more accepted in her social circles. This retreat can be partially interpreted as a reaction to the complete lack of public response to her efforts to introduce John Stuart Mill's thought to a larger, liberal-minded, Viennese audience.¹⁰⁵⁶

6.5. Summary

During the nineteenth century education became an important sector of employment that offered geographical and social mobility. Specifically, for women and men from lower or middle-class backgrounds the teaching profession became a respectable source of gainful employment. Lists of teachers working in the Archdiocese of Vienna from the 1840s show that a great number of teachers from Bohemia moved to Vienna and other schools in Lower Austria in search of positions. Slowly but steadily the teaching profession became more valorised, teacher training was expanded, and wages increased, even if they stayed, in comparison to other professions, relatively low. On a symbolic level a degree of professionalization can be witnessed in the form of the publication of textbooks and special teacher's journals. During the second half of the nineteenth century newly-founded associations focused on education and employment served as spaces where teachers might reaffirm their commitment and exchange experiences. The formation of associations constituted a significant social development during the nineteenth century and emerged in parallel to the expansion of other civil spaces like salons, newspapers and cafés. This form of civic engagement, however, was strictly monitored to ensure its adherence to bourgeois gender roles. In particular these ideals constrained and conditioned the agency of women from the middle classes who had actual opportunities of being heard. Voicing opinions and ideas in public was not deemed appropriate for women and even less for teachers who were entrusted with instilling the gendered ideals of the *Bürgertum* into the girls. These gendered ideals changed over time and in the late 1700s and early 1800s became more rigid as the *salonnière* Caroline Pichler noted with regard to the increased

¹⁰⁵⁵ Auguste von Littrow's call for opening primary school teaching solely to women is a striking example for this development in her opinion. August, *Die Propaganda des Unterrichtes*.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ignoring ideas that had the potential to disturb the current situation was not exclusive to this situation as the example of Charlotte Löw in the previous chapter has shown.

restrictions on appropriate reading material for girls.¹⁰⁵⁷ Both the aims of the Viennese Women's Employment Association and the activities of Auguste von Littrow have shown that gendered norms remained decisive factors throughout the nineteenth century and have to be assessed in their complex manifestations.

¹⁰⁵⁷ See chapter 5.1.

Conclusion

Eighteenth century educational reforms sought to systematically implement uniform processes of teaching and learning, and to establish a basic standard of knowledge across the Habsburg Empire. The pedagogical approach was for pupils to memorise and reproduce, a process similar to the practise of praying. The implementation of schooling policy can be understood as a labour of persuasion; parents were ordered to send their daughters and sons away from home to school every day in order to learn, instead of contributing to the family economy. To persuade parents of the importance of schooling, priests in local communities served as allies to the government, since they usually exercised considerable authority and influence. Seen in this light the School Administration Act of 1805/06, which entrusted school monitoring to the Catholic clergy, was not only a way of saving money by outsourcing responsibilities, but also a strategic way to ensure that schooling was taken seriously within a community. The practical application of such considerations varied of course, depending on the commitment of clergymen on the local level. The same was true for school teachers who slowly became a new authority in society, even though their position was for a long time a precarious one and only slowly improved during the second half of the nineteenth century. Schools fulfilled a central function in instilling gender differences and other social distinctions, although those responsible for transmitting this knowledge themselves often did not fulfil the ideal norm. In each case the relationship between gendered ideals and daily life practises has to be evaluated.

Central to this thesis was the emergence of a new actor in the eighteenth century, the educational entrepreneur. Entrepreneurs are not only found in the industrial context. Readers of this thesis have encountered entrepreneurs in the educational field where they served as operators of private schools. Against general assumptions about nineteenth century society I have shown that individuals who organised and operated businesses were not exclusively male but were often female.¹⁰⁵⁸ While private individuals petitioned for permission to open schools as businesses, owners of businesses such as factories or workshops were forced to open schools for their child labourers. These simultaneous insights into living, learning and working

¹⁰⁵⁸ While acknowledging the constraints for women to participate in large-scale business ventures to which women usually only had access through relations to a male business-owner, it is important to investigate niches of female entrepreneurship; examples in this thesis are a point of departure to reinterpret the role of women, particularly during the first half of the nineteenth century. Pioneering in this regards is the work of Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann, see for example Bandhauer-Schöffmann, "Finanz- und Wirtschaftsautonomie österreichischer Frauen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert."; Bandhauer-Schöffmann, "Businesswomen in Austria."; Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann, "Widows and Daughters: Austrian Business Women and Their Status in Family Firms in the 19th and 20th Centuries," in *International Economic History Congress* (Helsinki 20.-25.05.2006).

environments help us explore, understand and explain the origins of ideas that permeated nineteenth century education. Even though this thesis has mainly focused on aspects of female gendered ideals, the demands on men to demonstrate a normative masculine behaviour were no less high, as illustrated by the requirement for an ideal school teacher. Throughout the nineteenth century physical strength and exercise became increasingly important as part of boys' education, since the male body was to be prepared to operate in the military context.¹⁰⁵⁹ Another aspect of education was the hygiene measures that the state imposed as a prerequisite for school attendance. In particular, strict regimes of cleanliness and order were exercised in private schools. Private schools, which usually functioned as boarding schools, exercised both control over the cleanliness and how their pupils spent their time.

Two elements of social discourse repeatedly surface when we examine particular cases: social anxieties and the question of social precarity. Their extremely limited possibilities for gainful employment meant that women often faced a precarious position, and the authorities who decided these questions were fully aware of the constraints posed by social status and gender. At the same time these constraints were created and maintained by these very same authorities. A language of progress and modernisation frequently used to describe the development of educational policies and structures obscures the complex and often arbitrary processes that shaped schooling throughout the nineteenth century. Historical accounts on education often focussed on the public-school system not giving credit to the strong entanglement of the public and the private in the educational sector. In this light this thesis offers a new interpretation of the politics of schooling and sheds light on educational entrepreneurs throughout the nineteenth century.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The private school owner Johann Hermann expressedly voiced in favour for physical education in view of future military demands. Johann Hermann, "Das Turnen in seiner Wichtigkeit für die körperliche und geistige Ausbildung der Jugend und als Vorbereitung für den Wehrdienst," in *Achter Jahresbericht der öffentlichen Knaben-Hauptschule es k.k. Schulrathes Hermann [...] für das Schuljahr 1866-1867* (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1867), 17-41.

Epilogue

During the nineteenth century, ideas about the purpose of education shifted away from the all-dominating concerns regarding the morality of the pupil towards a more balanced approach recognising and promoting a child's capabilities, although this development depended largely on the specific local situation of a school. While the Concordat of 1855 had drawn renewed attention to the importance of moral purity in the wake of the revolutions of 1848-49, the developments of the 1860s have shown that the prospect of salvation was no longer a sufficient goal of education. Discussions of social questions permeated public debate, especially in the 1840s, but until the emergence of the socialist movement, they were of marginal concern to politicians. Certain aspects of social discourse, however, were used by liberals to push a specific agenda as the reform of the educational system illustrates. The instigation for a radical reform of primary schooling was Austria's military defeat by Prussia in 1866 and the subsequent Austro-Hungarian compromise in 1867. Tellingly, an anecdote circulated in several newspapers in November 1866 about a holiday trip of a gardener who discussed the Austrian defeat at Königgrätz with some fellow holidaying farmers: "Everything was carefully considered until finally one of the vacationers, with the approval of his comrades in arms, ended the speculation with an observation about the Prussian soldiers: 'Yes, they all can read and write.'"¹⁰⁶⁰ To a certain extent public opinion attributed Austria's defeat by Prussia to the literacy of the Prussian soldiers, who were distinguished from an allegedly uneducated Austrian army. This opinion had its origins in a military survey conducted in 1865 which attributed a poor literacy rate of thirty-one percent to the population of the Habsburg monarchy. Significantly this number was contrasted with the examples of literacy in Prussia at ninety-six percent and in Bavaria at eighty-six percent. Helmut Engelbrecht has noted that the numbers did not reflect the actual literacy rates in the Habsburg Empire at the time, which in fact varied greatly from province to province. Nonetheless, these statistics helped to advocate a series of reforms which followed in quick succession.¹⁰⁶¹ The constitutional laws of December 1867, a consequence of a German-Liberal majority in parliament, famously proclaimed in Article 17 Paragraph 1: "Science and its teachings are free." This programmatic paragraph articulated the determination of liberal politicians to offer a "liberal, scientific, progressive, and anticlerical

¹⁰⁶⁰ Original: "Alles wurde genau erwogen, bis endlich einer der Urlauber, unter der Zustimmung seiner Waffengefährten, der Betrachtung mit dem Ausspruch über die preußischen Soldaten ein Ziel setzte: 'Ja, die können alle lesen und schreiben.'" Anon., "Kleine Chronik," *Neue Freie Presse*, 12.11.1866, 7.

¹⁰⁶¹ Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 112.

critique of traditional society”¹⁰⁶² and to redefine middle-class identity through political and educational institutions. With the School-Church-Act [*Schule-Kirche-Gesetz*] in 1868 the clergy lost its monitoring function and its stake in the coordination of educational affairs: “The ultimate management and supervision of the whole educational system is a matter concerning the state and will be executed by the lawfully appointed bodies.”¹⁰⁶³

The approval of the liberal Primary School Law in May 1869 restructured the educational system dramatically by increasing the number of public schools and transforming them into secular state-funded institutions. Moreover, teacher training was reformed, the years of school attendance was extended from six to eight years and the maximum number of pupils per class was reduced to eighty. After the constitution of 1867 declared full equality of language and its use in the Crown Lands, the Primary School Law also accommodated this constitutional guarantee.¹⁰⁶⁴ The range of subjects was also extended from religious education, language and arithmetic to include “natural history, geography and history with special attention on the fatherland and its constitution, writing, geometrical morphology, singing and physical education. Girls also had to be instructed in needlework and home economics.”¹⁰⁶⁵ A new type of school form, established parallel to the expansion of primary schools was the *Bürgerschule*. A *Bürgerschule* could be set up as a school with eight classes or as a middle school with three classes that followed five years of primary school attendance. This school model was intended to prepare boys for commercial or craft-related career paths.

Physical Education as a Subject

The example of physical education as a school subject shows the perseverance of gender-specific preconceptions and moral ideals in the educational curriculum of the liberal age. Physical education was a compulsory subject in both, primary schools and *Bürgerschulen*. It was not solely directed at boys, even though secondary literature on the subject of the Primary

¹⁰⁶² Pieter M. Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries. Liberal politics, social experience, and national identity in the Austrian Empire, 1848-1914*, Social history, popular culture, and politics in Germany (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 143.

¹⁰⁶³ Original: "Die oberste Leitung und Aufsicht über das gesamte Unterrichts- und Erziehungswesen steht dem Staate zu und wird durch die hiezu gesetzlich berufenen Organe ausgeübt."

¹⁰⁶⁴ See Hannelore Burger, *Sprachenrecht und Sprachgerechtigkeit im österreichischen Unterrichtswesen 1867-1918*, Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie 26 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995).

¹⁰⁶⁵ Original: "Religion, Sprache, Rechnen, das Wissenswerthesete aus der Naturkunde, Erdkunde und Geschichte mit besonderer Rücksichtnahme auf das Vaterland und dessen Verfassung, Schreiben, Geometrische Formenlehre, Gesang, Leibesübungen. Für Mädchen sind auch noch in weiblichen Handarbeiten und in der Haushaltungskunde zu unterweisen." Gesetz vom 14. Mai 1869, durch welches die Grundsätze des Unterrichtswesens bezüglich der Volksschulen festgestellt werden [*Reichsvolksschulgesetz, RVG*], 1869.

School Law occasionally suggests otherwise.¹⁰⁶⁶ In private girls' educational institutes it had been common since the early 1850s to offer some kind of physical exercise, often in conjunction with local gymnastics clubs. This development and the topic of whether girls should be permitted to exercise was already debated before the passage of the Primary School Law, as demonstrated by the private educational institute of the sisters Fanny and Leopoldine Petritsch in Klagenfurt in Carinthia.¹⁰⁶⁷ A pupil of the institute had died and local newspapers had connected her death directly to the physical exercises the pupils of the Petritsch institute had done at the gymnastics club. The head of the gymnastics club subsequently published a clarification on the matter: "This simple fact [the attendance of physical exercise lessons] was enough for the enemies of exercise to conclude that the girl died as a consequence of an injury she suffered from gymnastics."¹⁰⁶⁸

The implementation of compulsory exercise with the Primary School Law in the same year sparked great objection, particularly in Catholic circles which an article in the *Wiener Kirchenzeitung* [Viennese Church Newspaper] illustrates: "Why the unnecessary costs for the municipality which has to pay besides of the old and frail school master also a gym teacher? And is it really proven that the noble exercise always strengthens and enhances the health?"¹⁰⁶⁹

The anonymous author pointed to the health risks for pupils and underlined the moral dangers of physical education. The following quotation shows that the anti-masturbation campaigns of the late eighteenth century still echoed in the late 1860s: "Yes, it is alleged that physical exercises were even the cause for immoral degenerations."¹⁰⁷⁰ As a consequence of manifold concerns about physical education the Ministry of Education specified the purpose of the subject in 1870:

¹⁰⁶⁶ This assumption can be explained as a mix-up with similar reform laws in Baden, Bavaria and Prussia, where physical exercise was only implemented for boys. The biggest difference to legislation in these states was that only in Austria schools became secular institutions. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 114.

¹⁰⁶⁷ The Petritsch institute moved in 1872/1873 to Vienna and counted eighty-three pupils in 1874. Fanny and Leopoldine offered a kindergarten and eight classes. Fanny Petritsch published several pedagogical writings and a historical account on Mozart's childhood. *Klagenfurter Zeitung*, 13.06.1874, 905.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Original: "Diese einfache Thatsache war den Feinden des Turnens genügend, um daraus zu folgern, jenes Mädchen sei in Folge einer Verletzung gestorben, welche sie beim Turnen erlitten habe." J. v. Hibler, "Zur Aufklärung!", *Klagenfurter Zeitung*, 23.01.1869, 118.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Anon., "Das neue Schulgesetz und seine Zukunft (III.)," *Wiener Kirchenzeitung für Glauben, Wissen, Freiheit und Gesetz*, 03.07.1869, 2-4.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Original: "Ja es wird behauptet, daß Turner-Uebungen selbst Veranlassung zu unsittlichen Ausartungen geworden sind." Anon., "Schulgesetz," *Wiener Kirchenzeitung für Glauben, Wissen, Freiheit und Gesetz*, 03.07.1869, 2-4.

“The physical exercises have to begin with the purpose to further the development of the youth in strength, agility and security, orderliness, courage and self-confidence, and to preserve the vigour of the body and mind. They consist of orderly and free exercises, gymnastic plays, and, insofar as gymnastics equipment is available, in the higher classes also in equipment gymnastics. The physical exercises are different for boys and girls according to considerations related to the difference of their gender.”¹⁰⁷¹

Boys’ exercise was to strengthen the body while exercise for girls was to shape their figure and control their movements. Concerns voiced about physical education contrasted with articles that enthusiastically commended physical exercise. In 1871 the *Neues Fremden-Blatt* reported that parents and children had welcomed the plan to implement girls’ physical exercises: “In the *Bürgerschule* of the third district 90 female pupils already practise gymnastics and in October of this year physical exercise for girls will be implemented in the municipal sports hall following the request of parents.”¹⁰⁷²

Disputes about the topic did not vanish. Eventually they resulted in the abolition of physical education for girls in 1883, followed an amendment to the Primary School Law passed by a parliament with an anti-liberal majority. Physical education for boys was increasingly connected to military exercise. This development can be seen in continuity from the late eighteenth century and the following decades when military exercise frequently featured as a subject on the curricula of private educational institutes for boys.

Private Educational Institutes for Girls and Boys

“As far as private schools are concerned they are naturally retreating to the background with the establishment of the public-school system, as the gaps they fill are becoming constantly smaller.”¹⁰⁷³

¹⁰⁷¹ Original: "Die Leibesübungen haben zunächst die Aufgabe, die Entwicklung der Jugend zu Kraft, Gewandtheit und Sicherheit, Ordnungssinn, Muth und Selbstvertrauen zu fördern, und die Frische des Körpers und Geistes zu erhalten. Sie bestehen in Ordnungs- und Freiübungen, Turnspielen, und, insoferne Turngeräthe vorhanden sind, auf den oberen Stufen auch in Gerätheübungen. Die Leibesübungen sind für Knaben und Mädchen nach den durch die Verschiedenheit des Geschlechtes gegebenen Rücksichten zum Theile verschieden." Verordnung des Ministers für Cultus und Unterricht vom 20. August 1870 womit eine Schul- und Unterrichtsordnung für die allgemeine Volksschulen erlassen wird, St. Nr. 105 Reichsgesetzblatt XLII, 1870.

¹⁰⁷² Original: "In der Bürgerschule des dritten Bezirkes turnen bereits 90 Schülerinnen und wird im Oktober dieses Jahres in der städtischen Turnhalle im Bezirke Leopoldstadt das Mädchenturnen über vielfache Ansuchen von Eltern eingeführt." Anon., "Das Mädchenturnen," *Neues Fremden-Blatt*, 01.06.1871, 3.

¹⁰⁷³ Original: "Was die Privatschulen anbelangt, so treten dieselben naturgemäss mit der Ausbildung des öffentlichen Schulwesens immer mehr in den Hintergrund, indem die Lücken, welche sie allenfalls ausfüllen, stets seltener werden." Österreichische Statistik, "Die öffentlichen und Privat-Volksschulen in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern im Jahre 1884/85 nach den Jahreshauptberichten der Landesschulbehörden über den Zustand des Volksschulwesens," in *Österreichische Statistik, Band 16, Heft 2*, ed. K.K. Statistische Central-Commission (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1887), IX.

This comment echoed a typical optimism about the progress of the public-school system in a statistical survey for the years 1884/85. In contrast to this standpoint, a lively private school sector could still be found around 1900. In this section I will briefly discuss the further developments until the First World War. By limiting the subject of physical education to boys only, the school system showed the perseverance and perpetuation of gender specific norms, which widened gaps instead of eliminating them following the implementation of the Primary School Law in 1869. The adherence to these norms hindered and postponed the implementation of measures for equal educational opportunities even on the most basic level as the example of higher education for women demonstrates. In the 1870s Marianne Hainisch's famous call for girls' secondary education was met with the argument that schools should offer further education especially adapted to the female mind and not as preparation for higher education. In reality the curricula of this new school type for girls called "*Lyzeum*" [also *Lyceum*] did not differ significantly from the subjects already offered by private educational institutes at the time. For instance, in the girls' educational institute of Betty and Marie Fröhlich in Vienna's city centre the 1853 curriculum for the fourth and fifth class was dedicated to the post-primary level of schooling and included a significant number of subjects later offered in institutes for girls called "*Lyceen*", which spread from the early 1870s throughout the Habsburg Empire.

Curriculum 1853, Educational institute of Betty and Marie Fröhlich

First Class (1 year/2 terms). Weekly 18 hours in the morning.

Religion 2h	Reading 4h	Writing 2h	Arithmetic 2h	Natural History 2h	French language 6h
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Second Class (2 years/4 terms). Weekly 18 hours in the morning.

Religion 2h	Reading 2h	Writing 2h	Arithmetic 2h	German Grammar 1h	Spelling 2h	Natural History 2h	French Language 5h
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Third Class (3 years/6 terms). Weekly 18 hours in the morning.

Religion 2h	Reading 1h	Writing 3h	Arithmetic 2h	German Grammar 2h	Spelling 2h	Geography 1h	Natural History 1h	French Language 3h
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Fourth Class (2 years/4 terms). Weekly 19h in the morning and 5h in the afternoon.

Religion 2h	Writing 2h	Arithmetic 2h	German Grammar and Style 2h	Recitation, Poetry and Literature 4h	Spelling 2h	History 2h	Geography 2h	Natural History 2h	French Language 4h
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Fifth Class (2 years/4 terms). Weekly 19h in the morning and 7h in the afternoon.

Religion 2h	Writing 2h	Arithmetic 2h	German Grammar and Style 2h	Recitation, Poetry and Literature 4h	Spelling 1h	Psychology 1h	Physics 1h	History 3h	Geography 3h	Natural History 2h	French Language 3h
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20 Curriculum created on the basis of Fröhlich, *Erziehungsanstalt*, 32-39.

The curriculum of the institute was further extended when, after the implementation of the Primary School Law, eight separate classes were offered. Further training courses offered by private institutes and run by individuals, Catholic orders or associations presented girls with other limited options to extend their knowledge after primary school. In 1871 the Viennese Women's Employment Association opened a "Higher Educational Institute" [*Höhere Bildungsschule*] for girls, first designed as a four-year education course from the age of fourteen. Then in 1879, the course extended to six years and in 1889, the institute was renamed "Lyzeum."¹⁰⁷⁴ The first course offered two hours of German grammar and language style, one hour of geography and history (alternating each term), three hours of arithmetic, two hours physics and chemistry, one hour of economics [*Volkswirtschaftslehre*] and one hour of calligraphy. Latin was omitted from the curriculum as neither suitable nor necessary for girls because they still had no access to universities. English and French classes were offered as separate courses by the association. From 1877, the institute offered a programme of six years,

¹⁰⁷⁴ For detailed information see Heidemaria Liebhart, "Das Mädchen-Lyzeum am Wiener Frauen-Erwerb-Verein" (Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien, 1995).

adding drawing and natural history to the curriculum and extending the number of teaching hours. Girls could already enter the course at the age of ten.¹⁰⁷⁵ In 1873 a *Lyzeum* opened in Graz with six classes, which was oriented towards German girls' educational institutes.¹⁰⁷⁶ Since the curriculum for this new school type was not standardised a broad variety of subject combinations can be found, as Amalie Thilo's example shows. In 1877 Amalie Thilo opened a "Ladies' Lyzeum" in Vienna, after she had run a private Lyzeum in Breslau since 1871.¹⁰⁷⁷

"Miss Amalie Thilo, who previously opened and led a Ladies' Lyzeum in Breslau, has now founded one in Vienna. It was opened on the 20th of February and offers the following subjects: art history, Dr. Gurlitt. The history and the kind of music with practise on the piano forte, Dr. Binder; hygienics, elementary education for maintaining health, sanitary counsellor Dr. Moritz Gaußer; the care for eyes, Dr. Ritter v. Reuß; Physics and Chemistry, Mining Counsellor Curter v. Breinstein. Pedagogy: Amalie Thilo"¹⁰⁷⁸

Arithmetic was surprisingly absent from Amalie Thilo's Lyzeum curriculum. The subject "care for eyes" seems strange at first but it might be connected to the activity of sewing which often caused eye damage. Over the years her institutes were successful and Amalie managed to further establish herself as an educational expert with publications and numerous lectures on pedagogy.¹⁰⁷⁹ These examples of associations or private individuals, who opened schools of the "Lyzeum" type to complement secondary education for boys, once again show the diversity of schools and educational content during the nineteenth century even after the liberal school reform had attempted to standardise education. Since the state had reduced its involvement in girls' post-primary education to a monitoring function, subjects like "care for eyes" were as valid as arithmetic, particularly if parents were willing to pay for them. The separate establishment of girls' secondary schools led to heated debates from the 1880s onwards, when different groups pushed for greater gender equality in several areas of life, even though this activism often revolved around the middle class.¹⁰⁸⁰ In Vienna the Association for the Higher

¹⁰⁷⁵ Liebhart, "Mädchen-Lyceum," 52.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Flich, *Wider die Natur der Frau? Entstehungsgeschichte der höheren Mädchenschulen in Österreich*, 65-68.

¹⁰⁷⁷ James C. Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women. Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Original: "Frl. Amalie Thilo, welche bereits früher in Breslau ein Damen-Lyceum errichtete und leitete, hat jetzt auch eines in Wien errichtet. Dasselbe ward am 20. Februar d. J. eröffnet und behandelt folgende Gegenstände: Kunstgeschichte, Dr. Gurlitt. Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Musik mit Demonstrationen auf dem Piano Forte, Dr. Binder; Gesundheitslehre, elementare Bindungen zur Erhaltung der Gesundheit, Sanitätsrath Dr. Moritz Gaußer; die Pflege der Augen, Dr. Ritter v. Reuß; Physik und Chemie, Bergrath Curter v. Breinstein. Erziehungslehre: Amalie Thilo." *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Lehrerinnen*, 20.05.1877.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Sophie Pataky, *Lexikon deutscher Frauen der Feder. M-Z* (Berlin: Carl Pataky, 1898), 617.

¹⁰⁸⁰ James Albisetti analysed and described in detail debates on the matter in James C. Albisetti, "Could Separate Be Equal? Helene Lange and Women's Education in Imperial Germany," *History of Education Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1982), 301-317.

Education of Women founded by Marie Bosshardt van Demerghele¹⁰⁸¹, Marie Schwarz and Editha von Mautner Markhof, opened a girls' Gymnasium in 1892, after the Minerva Association had successfully established a similar institution in Prague in 1890.¹⁰⁸² Significantly the director of this Gymnasium was a man, Emanuel Hannak, and not a woman, a consequence of the Primary School Law which had made obsolete Emperor Francis' order to entrust only women with girls' schools.¹⁰⁸³ This Gymnasium taught the same subjects as in boys' Gymnasien. The pupils had to take the Matura as externalists at the boys' academic Gymnasium. Yet despite their success with the Matura women only gained access to university slowly. In 1897 female students were permitted to enrol in the philosophy faculty of the University of Vienna. The statistical survey for the years 1904/1905 showed three Gymnasien for girls with public access [*Öffentlichkeitsrecht*], in Vienna, Prague and Lviv.¹⁰⁸⁴ In 1911 the efforts of private school owner Eugenie Schwarzwald led to the opening of private girls' Gymnasium in Vienna's first district after running a girls' Lyzeum since 1901. Schwarzwald's Gymnasium was the first school where girls were permitted to take the Matura exam.¹⁰⁸⁵

The integration of educational opportunities for girls in the existing system and the transformation of the system as a whole after the enactment of the Primary School Law took time. New niches developed not only concerning girls' but also boys' education. An illustration of these developments is the increase in private Catholic schools during the second half of the nineteenth century. A statistical survey for the year 1904/1905 counts ten private Catholic schools and fourteen private institutes for boys in Lower Austria.

¹⁰⁸¹ Marie Demerghele's mother ran a successful private educational institute for girls during the 1850s and 1860s and had died early, her daughter continued her legacy of providing girls' education and pushed for the opening of higher education for women. For more information see Schütz, "The Fröhlich Institute."

¹⁰⁸² Friedrich, *Mädchenerziehung*, 150-151.

¹⁰⁸³ Already in 1867, two years before the implementation of the law, Franz Schubert petitioned successfully for permission to open a girls' educational institute. In the decision text the order of 1819 was regarded as no longer timely. DAW, Schulamtsakten 233/2/5a.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Previously these institutes were subsummed under the umbrella term "educational institutes" with other schools. In 1904/1905 a total of 144 pupils entered the three Gymnasien. K.K. Statistische Central-Commission, ed. *Österreichische Statistik 1904/1905*, vol. 79 (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1908), IX-X.

¹⁰⁸⁵ On the remarkable life of Eugenie Schwarzwald see Deborah Holmes, *Langeweile ist Gift. Das Leben der Eugenie Schwarzwald* (St. Pölten/Salzburg/Wien: Residenz Verlag, 2012).

Place	Type of institute	Teachers	Pupils
Secular institutes			
Vienna	k.k. Theresianische Akademie	\ / 79	58
	Vorbereitungskurs		370
	Gymnasium		57
	Juristische Studien		
	1 st District, Institute Bauer Adolf	15	19
	2 nd District, Institute Urbach Julius	3	11
	2 nd District, Institute Nassau Benjamin	3	18
	4 th District, Institute Koeck Karl [not active]		
	9 th District, Institute Adler Josef (Matura Preparation Institute)	8	46
	15 th District, Institute Speneder Artur		24
	18 th District, --- Boarding School of the private teacher training institute of the Catholic School Association		129
Baden	Educational institute Winkler Adolf	4	17
Horn	Municipal Gymnasialkonvikt	5	57
St. Pölten	School of the Teacher's Savings- and Credit Consortium [Lehrer Spar- und Vorschußkonsortium]	7	57
Wr. Neustadt	Institute Petschar Alois, previously "Leopoldinum"	3	10
	Institute Miloradowitsch	3	29
	Institute Otto Juli	4	42
Under clerical leadership			
Vienna	8 th District, Convict of the Piarist Order	11	31
	8 th District, Pompilius-Home for pious workers of the holy Josef Calasantius	2	53
	15 th District, Boarding School of the Schulbrüder	15	230
	18 th District, Boarding School Marienbrüder [Brothers of Mary]	12	33
Heiligenkreuz	Theological educational institute	6	10
Kalksburg	Educational Institute of the Society of Jesus	15	339
Melk	Gymnasialkonvikt of the Benedictines	7	140
Seitenstetten	Gymnasialkonvikt of the Benedictines	8	102
Strebersdorf	Boarding School of the private teacher training seminary by the Schulbrüder	13	160
	Institute "St. Josef"	13	211

21 K.K. Statistische Central-Commission, *Österreichische Statistik*. Vol. 79. Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1908, 280-282.

Private boys' educational institutes were small in size. Precisely their small and closed environment might have been an incentive for parents to send their sons there, despite the Primary School Law which improved the numbers of pupils in public schools and decreased class size. If a pupil had learning or behavioural difficulties a private institute was also a possible solution to ensure some educational progress. An interesting development of the late nineteenth century is the opening of private military preparation schools for boys, especially in Vienna, where in 1904/1905 ten institutes educated a total of 512 pupils. The most successful of this type of school was run by Ferdinand Nowak with 180 pupils. From 1910 onwards, military shooting exercises were offered as an optional subject in the two upper classes of secondary schools; the tendency to use schooling as preparation for military action was expanded during the First World War. In the Catholic private school sector, which had

expanded after the implementation of the secular Primary School Law, several parallel developments could be witnessed. While the orders of the *Schulbrüder* and *Marienbrüder* established themselves successfully from the mid-nineteenth century onwards the Piarists and Jesuits had mixed success in maintaining or re-establishing their positions. The founding of the Catholic School Association [*Schulverein*] in 1886 sought to ensure the dissemination of Catholic values through the founding of private schools and was an attempt to unify the educational mission of the Catholic church. However, school associations were not only founded by the Catholic church but also increasingly by nationalist groups who sought to open schools in minority languages as an expression of their nationalist aspirations. Among the largest of such associations was the German School Association [*Deutscher Schulverein*] with the mandate to establish and protect German minority schools.¹⁰⁸⁶ The statistical survey shows that Lower Austria had a comparatively high number of private educational institutes, while in Upper Austria and Salzburg respectively only one private educational institute for boys was maintained. In Styria Franz Scholz ran a private Gymnasium. In Marburg (Maribor in today's Slovenia) a private association ran an institute, which was not further described in the statistical overview. Nineteen private boy's institutes existed in Galicia, many of which were so-called "Bursen", private boarding schools, run by societies and associations. With regard to private girls' education, Galicia boasted the greatest number of private institutes with eleven private Lyzeen and twenty-two other educational institutes; for example, the "Higher Educational Institute" of Theodosia Drewinska in Sanok had twelve teachers and forty-eight pupils. The school type Lyzeum persisted, and in 1904/1905 seven Lyzeen were registered in Lower Austria:

Place	Type of institute	Teachers	Pupils
Vienna	1 st District, Lyzeum Luithlen Martha	27	167
	5 th District, Lyzeum Liste Klothilde	15	54
	6 th District, Lyzeum Viennese Women's Employment Association	18	288
	8 th District, Lyzeum School Association for Civil Servants' Daughters	39	424
	19 th District, Lyzeum Kottage-Lyzeum (4 classes)	14	59
Baden	Lyzeum of the Society for Extended Women's Education and Women's occupation (Lechner Ludwig, 3 classes)	23	78
Mödling	Lyzeum Schuster Leopoldine	18	65

¹⁰⁸⁶ For information on the Schulverein and the opportunities for female activism see Pieter Judson, "Die Unpolitische Bürgerin Im Politisierenden Verein: Zu Einigen Paradoxa Des Bürgerlichen Weltbildes Im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Durch Arbeit, Besitz, Wissen und Gerechtigkeit. Bürgertum in der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. Ernst Bruckmüller, et al. (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1992), 337-345; Judson, *Exclusive Revolutionaries*, 207-240. Important to mention in this context is Heidrun Zettelbauer's analysis of German-national female activism, specifically chapters four, five and nine. Heidrun Zettelbauer, "Die Liebe sei Euer Heldentum". *Geschlecht und Nation in völkischen Vereinen der Habsburgermonarchie* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag, 2005).

In Linz a private Lyzeum counted 176 pupils and eighteen teachers. At an institute in Ort bei Gmunden fifteen teachers were responsible for forty pupils. In Salzburg, Graz, Klagenfurt, Trieste and Pola in Istria private Lyzeen were run by the municipality and classified as private. In Innsbruck the Ursuline nuns taught twenty-eight pupils. In Bohemia two private Lyzeen existed; in Prague the Association for the Maintenance and Promotion of the German Girls' Lyzeum financed an institute with thirty-four teachers for 329 pupils, and in Budweis the Lyzeum "Ludmila" was attended by 132 pupils. Similar numbers are calculated for Moravia where in Brno the municipality maintained one Lyzeum, and the "Vesna" association maintained another. In Mährisch-Ostrau a private Lyzeum existed. In Bukowina two such institutes existed in Czernowitz and Suczawa. These examples show that although the school type Lyzeum was unable to sufficiently supply the demand for education of girls who had few educational possibilities, it offered women more opportunities to engage in education. The following list of Lyzeen in Galicia assembled in the 1904/1905 survey shows the necessity to carry out further research on the role of private schools in this and other provinces.¹⁰⁸⁷

Place	Type of institute	Teachers	Pupils
Lviv	Lyzeum Dittner Fanny von	18	72
	Lyzeum Filippi Olga (5 classes)	4	39
	Gymnasiale girls' school Goldblatt-Kämmerling Josefine	20	120
	Lyzeum Niedzialkowska Viktorie (preparation classes, 6 classes)	15	133
	Girls' Gymnasium Strzalkowska Sophie (4 classes)	20	76
	Lyzeum Zagórska Marie	22	98
Kolomea	Lyzeum of the Ursuline nuns (4 classes)	18	65
Kraków	Private secondary school Cybulski Napoleon, Bujwid Odo and Trzaskowski Bronislaus, Ritter v.	30	221
	Lyzeum Kaplińska (4 classes)	27	78
Przemyśl	Lyzeum of the Ruthenian girls' institute (preparation course and two classes)	19	105
	Lyzeum Hild Marie (3 classes)	5	20
Tarnów	Lyzeum of the Ursuline nuns	12	48

23 K.K. Statistische Central-Commission, *Österreichische Statistik*. Vol. 79. Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1908.

Not only Lyzeen but also several educational institutes provided education for girls on the primary school level as well as further training schools and a new school type, the so-called cooking schools [*Kochschulen*].¹⁰⁸⁸ The statistical survey counted thirty educational institutes in Lower Austria, twenty-six of which were located in Vienna. Some of these educational

¹⁰⁸⁷ Central-Commission, *Österreichische Statistik 1904/1905*.

¹⁰⁸⁸ The spreading of private cooking schools deserves attention in future research as the educational content could provide another angle on the question of national politics. In Bohemia for example a separate German and Bohemian cooking school was maintained. Central-Commission, *Österreichische Statistik 1904/1905*, 284.

institutes had opened as far back as the 1850s; one such example is the educational Institute of Karoline Szántó.¹⁰⁸⁹

For the 1.7 million inhabitants of Vienna at the time, the number of private boys' and girls' schools was comparatively low. In 1846 sixteen girls' educational institutes run by private individuals existed in Vienna and its suburbs (then 410.000 inhabitants) with the number of pupils ranging from seven to one hundred three, and seven institutes for boys. The most attended boys' institute was run by Johann Hermann's with forty pupils.¹⁰⁹⁰ The explanation for the relative decrease of girls' institutes run by private individuals around 1900 was the rapid expansion of private Catholic educational institutes for girls, which were established by orders like the *Dames du Sacre Coeur*, the Sisters of Charity or the Sisters of Notre Dame de Sion. These new Catholic-run institutes were in addition to those already run by the Ursuline nuns or the English Ladies.¹⁰⁹¹ Especially in the area of teacher training of female and male candidates the Catholic church successfully established a monopoly until Otto Glöckel's school reforms in the 1920s.

These numbers show that although the public school sector steadily expanded, a lively private school sector continued past the end of the First World War. However, many of these institutes closed during the war due to financial difficulties. After 1919 secondary girls' schools remained in private hands but some of them received state funding. To a certain extent boys' secondary schools were opened to girls in Vienna, a development that was reversed during the *Ständestaat* period in the 1930s. Significantly, after the Second World War women were concentrated in certain professions that had already been established as female professions during the nineteenth century. In 1970 68% of all female apprentices in Austria were trained as hairdressers, tailors for female clothes [*Damenscheiderinnen*] and retail saleswomen, while more than half of primary school teachers were female.¹⁰⁹² Concerning boys' education research is necessary to determine the role of private institutes for boys in comparison to public schools, which further decreased in number during and after the First World War.

¹⁰⁸⁹ The Szantó institute had considerably decreased in size to a total pupil number of twenty-four supervised by seven teachers. For detailed information on the institute see Chapter Five.

¹⁰⁹⁰ DAW, 171/5/2.

¹⁰⁹¹ Twenty-four girls' institutes run by Catholic orders existed alone in Lower Austria in 1904/1905. Central-Commission, *Österreichische Statistik 1904/1905*, 285.

¹⁰⁹² Marina Fischer-Kowalski and Peter Seidl, eds., *Von den Tugenden der Weiblichkeit* (Wien: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1986), 30-41.

Times are Changing? The Destiny of Industrial Education

The Primary School Law of 1869 implemented needlework as a compulsory subject for girls. This development, however, did not lead to a rapid decline of private needlework education in industrial schools, which individuals or associations had run since the early nineteenth century. The important child-minding function these schools fulfilled, in combination with the aim to instil industriousness and knowledge of needlework in girls, legitimised such schools. *Knabenhandarbeit* [boys' handicrafts] was not foreseen when the Primary School Law was implemented, although several politicians, such as Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg, actively promoted the subject as head and founder of the *Kunstgewerbeschule* [School of Arts and Crafts], a part of the Austrian Museum for Applied Art. In an article from 1881 he even referred to it as a measure against socialism.¹⁰⁹³ In 1882 an Association for Boys' Handicrafts was founded and offered teacher training in the subject of boys' handicrafts which could be taught as an optional subject from 1883.¹⁰⁹⁴

An anniversary publication for the sixty-year jubilee of the Charitable Women's Association in 1908 shows the trajectory of the charitable working schools, which the association had maintained since the mid-nineteenth century. In retrospect the anniversary publication depicted the implementation of the Imperial Primary School Law of 1869 as a turning point in the maintenance of their charitable working schools. In the following twenty years nine of the eleven working schools closed; by 1909 only one school in Neulerchenfeld that instructed fifty girls remained open. On the occasion of the twenty-five-year jubilee of the Emperor Francis Joseph's reign in 1873, a deputation of women from the Charitable Women's Association were invited to meet the emperor at the Hofburg, where Francis Joseph allegedly encouraged the women in their future undertaking: "The women of Vienna shall steadfastly endure in their Christian-humanitarian work."¹⁰⁹⁵ "Endure" is an interesting word choice since it gestures to the ruptured influence exercised by the Catholic church in matters of education and poor relief. For some people during this period even Christian humanitarian work was perceived as outdated, as illustrated by the example of the girls' industrial schools and the boys'

¹⁰⁹³ Eitelberger referred to similar discussions in Germany under the term *Handfertigkeitsunterricht* [skill's education]. Rudolf Eitelberger's wife Jeannette was vice-president of the Women's Employment Association for several years. Rudolf Eitelberger, *Zur Frage der Verbindung einer gewerblichen Arbeitsschule mit der Volksschule und der Fachschule* (Wien: k.k. Museum, 1878); Rudolf Eitelberger, "Die Arbeitsschule und die Volksschule," *Monatsschrift für Kunst und Gewerbe* XVI (1881), 267-269.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Boys' handicraft education was implemented as a compulsory subject only with the Law for Secondary Schools [*Mittelschulgesetz*] in 1927.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Original: "Die Frauen Wiens mögen in ihrem christlich-humanitären Wirken standhaft ausharren!" Umgebung, *Jubiläumsrückschau*, 28.

occupational institute in the Leopoldstadt district in Vienna. Both schools were initially located in the poor house in Leopoldstadt. Until 1855 the funding for the schools had been provided by donations to the Charitable Women's Association of Leopoldstadt. In 1855 the tradesman's widow Elisabeth Radislovitsch, nee Braun, died and donated her house to the maintenance of the girls' industrial schools and the boys' occupational institute.¹⁰⁹⁶ The profit from the property was to finance the wages of the teachers and other necessities; in 1860 an addition to the house enabled the relocation of both schools providing room for more pupils. Twenty years later the district committee [*Bezirksausschuss*] of Leopoldstadt discussed the establishment of the first kindergarten in the district. The committee planned to receive funding from the Radislovitsch-Braun Foundation for this project. According to the committee the current use of the funding for industrial schools was no longer considered appropriate to the needs of the time [*zeitgemäß*], and a kindergarten was deemed to be a better solution for childcare.¹⁰⁹⁷ Two years passed before a decision was made.

"As is well known the governor's office rejected the application of the Leopoldstadt district to use the Braun-Radislowitsch-Foundation, which was founded for a girls' working school and for a boys' occupational institute, for the establishment of a modern Kindergarten considered more appropriate to the needs of modern times."¹⁰⁹⁸

The district committee subsequently lodged an appeal to the Ministry of Culture and Education, which was denied again. There are no traces of the details of the case. The cornerstone ceremony for the first kindergarten in Leopoldstadt finally took place nearly a decade later, in May 1886.¹⁰⁹⁹ The working school funded by the Braun-Radislowitsch Foundation was continued and attended by fifty-eight pupils in the school year 1904/1905.¹¹⁰⁰

Not only the industrial schools funded by the previously mentioned foundations continued until the turn of the twentieth century, but also schools run by the Women's Association for Working Schools were long-lived. The following table compiled for the annual report on the occasion

¹⁰⁹⁶ Anon., "Die am 29. v. M. verstorbene Frau Elisabeth Radislowitsch hat nebst vielen frommen Legaten [...]," *Der Humorist*, 06.05.1855, 4.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Anon., "Kindergarten im Bezirke Leopoldstadt," *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, 06.08.1875, 2.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Original: "Bekanntlich hat die Statthalterei das Ansuchen des Bezirkes Leopoldstadt wegen Verwendung der Braun-Radislowitsch-Stiftung, die für eine weibliche Arbeitsschule und für eine Knaben-Beschäftigungsanstalt gegründet wurde, zur Errichtung eines den Bedürfnissen der Neuzeit mehr entsprechenden Kindergartens abgelehnt." Anon., "Kindergarten im Bezirke Leopoldstadt," *Morgen-Post*, 04.02.1877, 2.

¹⁰⁹⁹ The Jewish manufacturer of ignition devices Alfred Ritter von Pollak-Rudin had established a foundation, in addition to purchasing a property closeby the Augarten, for the kindergarten. In his speech he underlined that his undertaking was the fulfillment of a wish of his beloved wife Betty. The kindergarten was open for children of all denominations. Anon., "Ein neuer Kindergarten," *Die Presse*, 20.05.1886, 2.

¹¹⁰⁰ Central-Commission, *Österreichische Statistik 1904/1905*, 262.

of the 40th anniversary shows the number of pupils over forty years of the association's existence.

Year	Number of pupils	Fabricated workpieces	Money earned		Year	Number of pupils	Fabricated workpieces	Money earned	
			fl.	kr.				fl.	kr.
1851	960	9400	192	-	Carryover	37589	447158	71239	62
1852	1243	10159	783	9	1872	1851	23119	5490	77
1853	1628	11917	1137	16	1873	1671	21048	5434	95
1854	1690	14881	2067	55	1874	1504	16269	4440	20
1855	1715	17089	2068	52	1875	1533	15466	3541	96
1856	1740	20322	2282	51	1876	1486	17658	3752	70
1857	1727	16799	2138	43	1877	1516	15731	3233	33
1858	1707	19199	2444	14	1878	1475	16563	3638	46
1859	1673	19010	2733	56	1879	1502	14395	3365	73
1860	1684	20301	3359	17	1880	1486	14588	3579	13
1861	1810	27058	3821	84	1881	1468	14422	2926	88
1862	1826	24190	4236	90	1882	1392	13486	2944	56
1863	1935	25732	4315	5	1883	1345	13652	2788	97
1864	1993	26445	4721	39	1884	1349	12812	2732	71
1865	2010	26133	4565	23	1885	1208	12234	2481	27
1866	1987	25568	4193	42	1886	1180	11039	2413	7,5
1867	2073	27137	4694	63	1887	1199	11824	2500	98,5
1868	1983	26407	4949	65	1888	1264	12924	2544	9
1869	2084	26999	5450	99	1889	1262	11909	2910	59
1870	2037	26432	5459	70	1890	1286	12535	2789	72
1871	2084	25980	5684	69					
Carryover	37589	447158	71239	62	Sum	64566	728832	135109	70

3 *Der Frauenverein für Arbeitsschulen in Wien 1851-1891*. Wien: Verlag des Frauen-Vereines für Arbeits-Schulen, 27.

In 1890 the Women's Association for Working Schools continued to provide instructions for more than 1,200 pupils, while the Charitable Women's Association ran since the late 1860s only two schools with around 160 pupils in Margareten and Neulerchenfeld. During the following ten years the number of pupils decreased only slightly to 1,148 pupils as the 1901 annual report by the Women's Association for Working Schools shows.¹¹⁰¹ The reason for this different development can be explained by the way the Women's Association for Working Schools positioned its schools more explicitly as preparatory schools for future female servants. The association provided not only needlework education and knowledge in other tasks necessary for female servants, but also functioned as an employment agency. The Charitable Women's Association had outsourced these activities with the founding of a separate association called Marien Foundation as described in Chapter Four. In this context the social composition of the two associations played a significant role. As fewer middle-class families

¹¹⁰¹ Frauen-Verein für Arbeits-Schulen, *Der Frauen-Verein für Arbeitsschulen in Wien, 1851-1901* (Wien: Verlag des Frauen-Vereines für Arbeitsschulen, 1901).

were able to afford a servant the Women's Association for Working Schools, which counted more members of the nobility and prominent Viennese families, was in a far better position to find placements for girls and young women through its networks. The Charitable Women's Association continued its activities until the 1920s. The association's annual reports up until 1918 show that it concentrated on helping poor families financially, with natural produce and other goods such as clothes, as well as focusing on the continuation of one working school in Neulerchenfeld. However, traces of the Women's Association for Working Schools on the other hand already get lost in the early 1910s. The last available annual report dates is from 1911, stating that eight working schools were attended by 968 pupils. The annual report mentioned financial difficulties the association faced and considered the possible dissolution of its schools: "The circumstance that the expenses now already since a couple of years can only be met by using smaller and larger sums of the association's capital lead the directorate to seriously consider the dissolution of one or another school."¹¹⁰²

The association had in fact experienced difficulties since the 1870s. During the 1880s nuns from the female congregation of the *Barmherzige Schwestern* [Sisters of Charity] had assumed the role of teachers in order to balance the decrease in donations and the declining number of women who engaged in the activities of the association.¹¹⁰³ The involvement of female orders in needlework education increased significantly in the last three decades of the nineteenth century; for example, the orders of the Servants of the Holy Heart of Jesus [*Dienerinnen des hl. Herzen Jesu*], the Daughters of the Divine Love [*Töchter der göttlichen Liebe*] or the Franciscan mission established working schools.

The idea to wrest children from their immoral environment in order to put them into working schools may have become problematic among workers themselves and within the organised labour movement, although I found no evidence to support this position. On the other hand, charitable work in the Catholic Christian context remained purposeful; the possibilities to engage in charitable work or civic society action widened the scope of opportunities available to women. To what extent and how mechanisation influenced the further destiny of needlework education is also unclear. Already in the 1870s the Charitable Women's Association owned

¹¹⁰² Original: "Der Umstand, daß nunmehr schon seit einigen Jahren die Ausgaben nur durch Heranziehung größerer und kleinerer Beträge aus dem Vereinsvermögen bestritten werden konnten, läßt die Direktion ernstlich die Frage der Auflassung einer oder der anderen Schule in Erwägung ziehen." Frauen-Verein für Arbeits-Schulen, *Bericht über die Wirksamkeit des [...] Frauenvereines für Arbeitsschulen im Jahre 1910* (Wien: Verlag des Frauen-Vereines für Arbeitsschulen, 1911), 1.

¹¹⁰³ This development correlates with an explosion in other associational activities after the new right of assembly was passed in 1867.

three sewing machines which had been donated by the Minister of Commerce on the occasion of the association's participation in the Viennese World Exhibition of 1873.¹¹⁰⁴

The statistical survey of 1904/1905 shows a great number and variety of "schools for needlework and tailoring"¹¹⁰⁵ in the Habsburg Empire, counting 862 schools attended by 24,080 pupils and run by private individuals, associations or Catholic orders. Several hairdresser schools [*Friseurschule*] were subsumed under the same rubric as well as the numerous "Tailoring Institutes" [*Lehranstalten für Maßnehmen, Schnittzeichnen und Kleidermachen*].¹¹⁰⁶

An early wartime scene in a girls' school in 1914 describes how needlework was also deployed for patriotic purposes.¹¹⁰⁷

"[...] at the tables the 'voluntary' helpers were sitting, seventy to eighty, aged eight to twelve. Grey wool, nothing but grey wool; the needles moved fervently. [...] Our children will not forget these days [...]; because each charitable gift which they sent out to hostile life has nurtured the bond with the whole nation, and particularly taught girls that it is a pure and right women's task and women's way to help, to mitigate and – to hope for better times."¹¹⁰⁸

With the First World War the number of working schools decreased and after 1918 newspapers mentioned this school form as a place for needlework instruction only sporadically. The progressive education movement used the term *Arbeitsschule* [working school] to express the wish for a new school type which was to encourage the independent learning of subjects in a clear, life-like and playful way; in Austria Otto Glöckel was a fervent proponent of this idea

¹¹⁰⁴ Other girls' schools also were provided with sewing machines. Anon., "Frauen-Wohltätigkeits-Verein," *Neue Freie Presse*, 14.05.1874, 6.

¹¹⁰⁵ Original: "Schulen für weibliche Handarbeit und Schneiderei." Central-Commission, *Österreichische Statistik 1904/1905*, 262.

¹¹⁰⁶ For future research these lists could be taken as starting point to investigate the life of seamstresses who ran such schools.

¹¹⁰⁷ For more detailed information on these charitable gifts [Liebesgaben] see Chapter Six in Christa Hämmerle, *Heimat/Front. Geschlechtergeschichte/n des Ersten Weltkriegs in Österreich-Ungarn* (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2014). Thanks to Veronika Helfert for this reference.

¹¹⁰⁸ Original: "[...] an den Tischen saßen die 'freiwilligen' Hilfskräfte, siebzig bis achtzig, im Alter von acht bis zwölf Jahren. Graue Wolle, nichts als graue Wolle; eifrig bewegten sich die Nadeln. [...] Unsere Kinder werden die Tage [...] nicht vergessen; denn jede Liebesgabe, die sie hinaussandten ins feindliche Leben, hat ihre Zusammengehörigkeit mit dem ganzen Volke genährt, sie hat vor allem die Mädchen gelehrt, daß es echte und rechte Frauensache und Frauenart ist, zu helfen, zu mildern, und - auf bessere Zeiten zu hoffen." Marie Schwarz, "Kriegsbild aus der Mädchenschule 1914," in *Geschichte der Frauenbildung und Mädchenerziehung in Österreich. Ein Überblick*, ed. Ilse Brehmer and Gertrud Simon (Graz: Leykam, 1997), 201-203.

during the 1920s.¹¹⁰⁹ With the appropriation of the term working school its nineteenth century meaning of needlework instruction vanished over time.

Stuck in a Loop – the Persistence of Child Labour

“The work hours were long (thirteen hours) and for women particularly exhausting as they had to contribute the time they lost to cooking in the morning time, in the evening; for them the work hours lasted up to eight o’clock in the evening. Also child labour was a bad situation, children from age eight were occupied with putting back the cotton spindles which had come off. For them a separate factory school was in place where a teacher from Schottwien and a catechist taught.”¹¹¹⁰

Michael Hainisch, the second President of the Republic of Austria in the 1920s and son of the women’s rights activist Marianne Hainisch, detailed in his memoirs the grievances of female and child labourers at his father Michael’s cotton mill estate in Aue at Schottwien, a small town in the South of the Industrial District in Lower Austria where he had grown up. The employment of children from the age of eight, although legally forbidden, was not an exception in the 1860s. In 1867 the Viennese Prelate Leopold Stöger, in his function as school supervisor of the Archiepiscopal Consistory, issued a forty-six-page report to the Viennese government detailing the condition of schooling in Vienna and Lower Austria in 1866. He dedicated five pages of this report to the education of children working in factories. According to Stöger, in both the Hainisch factory in Schottwien and the timber and metal-screw factory in Neunkirchen everything was orderly with regard to education. The teacher of the parish school was paid to instruct the factory children in a private factory school. According to the 1867 report, in Reindorf and Meidling, both suburbs of Vienna, 293 children were registered as workers who attended not a privately-established school but separate evening classes in the parish schools from Monday to Saturday between six and eight in the evening and a Sunday class from eight to ten in the morning.¹¹¹¹ During the 1850s the education of factory children in the suburbs of Reindorf, Meidling, Unter St. Veit and Ober St. Veit was a controversial issue between factory owners, school district supervisors and the Ministry of Education. In some cases education was

¹¹⁰⁹ Oskar Achs and Albert Krassnigg, eds., *Drillschule, Lernschule, Arbeitsschule. Otto Glöckel und die österreichische Schulreform in der Ersten Republik* (Wien: Jugend und Volk, 1974).

¹¹¹⁰ Original: "Die Arbeitszeit war sehr lang (13 Stunden) und für die Frauen besonders anstrengend, weil sie die Zeit, die sie am Vormittag durch das Kochen verloren, abends einbringen mußten; für sie währte die Arbeitszeit bis gegen acht Uhr. Auch die Kinderarbeit war ein arger Übelstand, waren die Kinder doch schon im Alter von acht Jahren mit dem Aufstecken der heruntergefallenen Baumwollspulen beschäftigt. Für sie bestand eine eigene Fabriksschule, an der ein Schottwiener Lehrer und der Katechet Unterricht erteilten." Michael Hainisch, *75 Jahre aus bewegter Zeit. Lebenserinnerungen eines österreichischen Staatsmannes*, ed. Friedrich Weissensteiner, vol. 64, *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs* (Wien/Graz: Böhlau, 1978), 58.

¹¹¹¹ DAW, Schulamtsakten 268/4/1, Bericht an Statthaltereit von Prälat Stöger.

arranged for school-aged children, in other cases it was not. In Reindorf, for example, an evening school was established for 328 children of the area; the pupils were divided into two classes to receive two hours of education every evening from Monday to Friday.¹¹¹²

The report by Leopold Stöger provides further information on the situation of children in factories in the 1860s. Many factories in the districts Wiener Neustadt, Baden and Pottenstein had stopped production due to the Cotton Crisis [*Baumwollkrise*] in the 1860s. During the North American Civil War the prices for cotton wool increased significantly which forced many factories to lower their production or to close completely. When the factory school teacher in Teesdorf died in 1865 the factory directory informed the deanery in Baden that no new teacher was to be employed for the moment. Instead a clerk working at the factory who was a tested teacher took over “due to the current circumstances all cotton mills have to stop their production and lay workers off, this fate could also happen in Teesdorf [...]”¹¹¹³

Not all factories were affected by the crisis. In the district Weigelsdorf, where two big cotton mills in Pottendorf and Ebenfurth were located, 325 school-aged children and 116 review class attendees were employed in twenty-one factories in 1866. With regard to the quality of education the prelate emphasised the same points already made in previous decades: the school attendance of children working in factories was not consistent and often not all children arrived at the same time. Seven, eight and nine-year-old children were regularly used for work and as soon as they sat down on the school benches, they fell asleep out of exhaustion. Stöger compared the situation in Lower Austria to Switzerland and pointed to the Swiss law which enacted an outright prohibition of child labour for school-aged children. Remarkably this kind of measure was also in place in the district of Wiener Neustadt in Lower Austria since the late 1830s.¹¹¹⁴

The Primary School Law of 1869 extended the years of compulsory education to eight years but did not end the institution of factory schools. Factory owners were yet again encouraged to

¹¹¹² DAW, Schulamtsakten 279/1/3a, Fabriksschulen Reindorf, Meidling und Ober St. Veit. Wien am 19. April 1858, der k.k. Statthalter Eminger. The factory owners Joseph Bohsi in Ober St. Veit and Johann Müller in Hacking refused to provide information on the around eighty school-aged children employed in their factories, and were repeatedly charged with fines. DAW, Schulamtsakten 279/1/3s, Löbliches k.k. Bezirksamt Hietzing, St. Veit am 18. Jänner 1858, Anton Angermayer. The dossier 279/1/3 contains several files of the correspondence between the authorities.

¹¹¹³ Original: "[...] aber unter den gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen als sämtliche Spinnereien zur Einstellung der Arbeit kommen, die Arbeiter entlassen werden und ein gleiches Schicksal auch Teesdorf treffen kann [...]." DAW, Schulamtsakten 1/8, Hochwürdiges Decanat Baden! Wien, 15. Jänner 1865, Gesellschaft zum Betriebe der k.k. priv. Teesdorfer Spinnfabrik.

¹¹¹⁴ DAW, 268/4/1.

establish private factory schools for their child labourers which forced factories either to stop employing under fourteen-year-old children, or to provide them with education. This aspect of the law shows how little liberal policy-makers were concerned with social issues but still focussed on the economic advantage of cheap child labour.

The law foresaw that at least twelve hours of school education per week should be provided to the young workers. The lessons had to take place between seven in the morning and six in the afternoon in order to end the practise of providing evening schools for the exhausted children.¹¹¹⁵ When the Catholic church lost its monitoring function over schools, to a certain extent children working in factories lost their only advocates. While ecclesial dignitaries never publicly denounced child labour or pointed out the manifold abuses, in previous decades and for different motivations the clergy had been the driving force behind monitoring children in factories. In some cases, the clergy had urged local governments to take measures.

Two surveys published by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in 1869 and 1870 provide some information on the employment and education of children in factories. An 1869 survey on facilities for workers reported that in many factories a school existed with a special factory school teacher and sometimes even a pastor for the workers. The survey also included information on factories where a female teacher provided instruction in needlework.¹¹¹⁶ According to the surveys numerous *Kinderbewahranstalten* [child-minding institutes] in Vienna and its suburbs took care of the worker's children in the urban areas. In the countryside child-care was occasionally provided by factory owners in the form of such child-minding institutes.¹¹¹⁷ This provision was understood as a charitable effort by factory owners who in their answers to the questionnaire emphasised their provision of education or child-care.

Another survey published in 1870 included information provided by cotton mill owners; ironically in the introduction to the survey it was recommended to regard the numbers with caution. Out of forty-four cotton mills in Lower Austria thirty-three had returned the questionnaire. In those thirty-three factories 3,000 male workers and 3,280 female workers were employed, in addition to 1150 children; 770 boys and 450 girls under the age of fourteen.

¹¹¹⁵ §9 and §60 of the liberal reform of elementary schools. Gesetz vom 14. Mai 1869, durch welches die Grundsätze des Unterrichtswesens bezüglich der Volksschulen festgestellt werden, Reichsgesetzblatt für das Kaiserthum Oesterreich, Wien 1869.

¹¹¹⁶ Niederösterreichische Handels- und Gewerbekammer, *Ergebnisse der Untersuchung über die in Fabriken und Gewerben Nieder-Oesterreichs bestehenden Einrichtungen zum Wohle der Arbeiter* (Wien: Selbstverlag der n.ö. Handels- und Gewerbekammer, 1869), 35.

¹¹¹⁷ Gewerbekammer, *Einrichtungen zum Wohle der Arbeiter*, 30-34.

“It is the rule that the children of factory workers also receive employment in the factory already during the time of mandatory school attendance for which they are released from work.”¹¹¹⁸

Factory schools were repeatedly framed as charitable institutions, which was in the spirit of the late eighteenth-century discourse on child labour. When the implementation of new trade regulations was discussed a few years later, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry presented factory schools not surprisingly as “great institutions”. Those privately-established factory schools were, according to the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, better equipped than ordinary parish schools. In these two-hour classes the children received an equal amount, if not more, instruction than their peers in public schools. Furthermore, a big advantage for children was that they did not need to endanger themselves travelling to and from school since the school was already on the factory grounds.¹¹¹⁹ Not only did the narrative of charitable intentions of factory owners remain persistent from the end of the eighteenth century but also the defence of industrial interests was replicated by stakeholders who would have otherwise pushed for stricter legislation with regard to child labour. The teacher Siegmund Kraus, who published an extensive volume on child labour in Austria in 1904, reported discussions around the upcoming new trade regulations at a teachers’ conference in 1882. All attendees of the conference agreed that a prohibition of child labour was necessary. Nevertheless the opinion was voiced that there should be concessions to take into account the interests of the textile industry. Without child labour the competitive position of the Austrian industry would be threatened.¹¹²⁰ The paediatrician Ludwig Wilhelm Mauthner had voiced the same argument in defence of child labour forty years earlier when he gently tried to push for less abusive treatment of children in factories. When in 1884 the House of Representatives discussed the issue, Gustav Pacher von Theinburg, born in 1839 as son of Ludwig Pacher¹¹²¹, emphatically opposed shortening work hours and the proposal to prohibit work before the age of fourteen. Shortening work hours would result in less income for the workers since they were paid per hour. Child labour – over the minimum age of twelve – was necessary for the industry as well as for the child’s parents.

¹¹¹⁸ Original: "Regel ist jedoch, dass die Kinder der in der Fabrik beschäftigten Arbeiter, sobald sie dazu befähigt sind, gleichfalls in der Fabrik Beschäftigung erhalten, und zwar schon während ihrer Schulpflichtigkeit, in welchem Falle sie für die Zeit des Schulbesuches aus der Arbeit entlassen werden." Anon., *Die Arbeits- und Lohnverhältnisse in den Fabriken und Gewerben Nieder-Österreichs. Erhoben und dargestellt von der, nied. Österr. Handels- und Gewerbekammer* (Wien: Leopold Sommer, 1870).

¹¹¹⁹ "Gutächliche Äußerungen über den Entwurf einer neuen Gewerbeordnung, 1879" quoted by Siegmund Kraus, who published an extensive survey on the condition of working children in 1904. Siegmund Kraus, *Kinderarbeit und gesetzlicher Kinderschutz in Österreich*, ed. Eugen von Philippovich Edmund Bernatzik, vol. 5/3, *Wiener Staatswissenschaftliche Studien* (Wien/Leipzig: Deuticke, 1904), 37.

¹¹²⁰ Kraus, *Kinderarbeit und gesetzlicher Kinderschutz in Österreich*, 46.

¹¹²¹ See Chapter Three of this thesis.

The speaker repeatedly criticised socialist ideas on the issue. However, conservatives had also voiced criticism of the treatment of workers in the previous two years. In the second part of his speech Pacher spent a considerable amount of time opposing a series of articles published in 1883 and 1884 on “The Material Situation of the Working Classes in Austria”, in which the Christian Social politician Karl von Vogelsang described in a survey-like style numerous aspects of the abusive working conditions in Austrian factories.¹¹²² To counter these arguments Gustav von Pacher started each sentence with “*Es ist unwahr, daß [...].*” [It is untrue that].¹¹²³ In the same year Pacher published his opinions “In Regard to the Reform of Factory Legislation in Austria” which took the form of a seventy-two-page pamphlet and formulated four points to be kept in mind when reforming the law: “The development of the children, physical, intellectual and moral; their adaption and training for the professional work; the feeding of the workers’ families and the needs of the industrial business.”¹¹²⁴

However, in 1883 the objections of Gustav von Pacher were ignored. The new industrial legislation of 1885 prohibited the employment of children under twelve in small businesses, and children under fourteen in factories. The working hours of twelve to fourteen-year-old labourers were limited to eight hours per day, while fourteen to sixteen-year-olds were allowed to work ten hours. This legislation marked the end of private factory schools.

Child labour continued to exist, however. Historian Renate Seebauer pointed out that factory work was partly replaced by home-based work, as reports by labour inspectors around 1900 have shown.¹¹²⁵ An occupation which was widespread was the winding of cotton thread. Siegmund Kraus, who referenced the reports by labour inspectors in his study from 1904, emphasised that of seventeen districts in the monarchy reports on winding children were provided.¹¹²⁶ Many tasks hindered children from regular school attendance and the problem was not solved with age limitations or hourly restrictions. In his account of the issue of child labour in the agricultural sector Kraus discusses the issue of school attendance repeatedly, as

¹¹²² Karl von Vogelsang and Ernst Schneider, “Die materielle Lage des Arbeiterstandes in Österreich,” *Österreichische Monatsschrift für christliche Social-Reform, Gesellschaftswissenschaft, volkswirtschaftliche und verwandte Fragen* (1884).

¹¹²³ Gustav Pacher, Stenographische Protokolle des Abgeordnetenhaus, IX. Session, 12848-12855.

¹¹²⁴ Original: “Die Entwicklung der Kinder, körperliche und geistige, wie sittliche; ihre Gewöhnung und Heranbildung zur Berufsarbeit; die Ernährung der Arbeiterfamilien und endlich die Bedürfnisse des großgewerblichen Betriebes.” Gustav Pacher, *Zur Reform der Fabriksgesetzgebung in Österreich* (Wien: Bergmann, 1884), 50.

¹¹²⁵ Seebauer, *Kinderarbeit*, 65.

¹¹²⁶ The following districts were reported: Gmünd, Waidhofen a. d. Thaya, St. Pölten in Lower Austria; Traun in Upper Austria; Hohenelbe, Rumburg, Neuhaus, Friedland, Tetschen, Teplitz in Bohemia; Littau, Hohenstadt, Mähr. Schönberg in Moravia; and Troppau, Wigstadt, Freiwaldau in Silesia. Kraus, *Kinderarbeit und gesetzlicher Kinderschutz in Österreich*, 105.

well as the use of children as servants: “For beet harvesting and hop picking whole hordes of children are recruited .”¹¹²⁷

For work in agriculture, school legislation had implemented exceptions since the time of the School Administration Act of 1805/1806. The conservative revision in 1883 of the liberal school reform of the 1860s contained the possibility to grant partial exemption from school attendance for rural children. The number of children working on farms was without doubt disproportionately higher than in factories throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Interestingly data was mainly collected about factory work. Two Child Welfare Conferences held in 1907 and 1913 discussed child labour extensively; one consistent trope in these discussions was the social disciplining function of labour. A 1908 "Enquiry into Child Labour in Austria"¹¹²⁸ reported on children in 3,502 schools and analysed the data on their contributions to the family income. The enquiry showed just how common child labour was from the age of five.¹¹²⁹ It took another ten years before the publication of the Child Labour Law in 1918 which prohibited the use of children, regardless if paid or unpaid, for any kind of work. While this legislation surely had a great impact, it did not put an end to child labour.

In the twentieth century the former existence of private schools discussed in this thesis was largely forgotten. Narratives of progress and a quest for emancipation in educational matters created a blind spot for the complexity of policy-making and diversity of educational practices during the nineteenth century, particularly prior to the Primary School Law of 1869. Many questions are still unresolved which will provide opportunities for further research.

¹¹²⁷ Kraus, *Kinderarbeit und gesetzlicher Kinderschutz in Österreich*, 184.

¹¹²⁸ Arbeitsstatistisches Amt Österreich, *Erhebung über die Kinderarbeit in Österreich im Jahre 1908* (Wien: Hölder, 1908).

¹¹²⁹ Historian Maria Papathanassiou provides in her published PhD on the basis of biographical records valuable insights into the memories of people who worked as children at the time. Maria Papathanassiou, *Zwischen Arbeit, Spiel und Schule die ökonomische Funktion der Kinder ärmerer Schichten in Österreich 1880-1939*, Sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien 24 (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte u. Politik, 1999).

Abbreviations

ABGB = Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch [General Civil Code]

ASchO = Allgemeine Schulordnung [General School Ordinance]

AVA = Allgemeines Verwaltungs Archiv [General Administration Archive]

DAW = Diözesan Archiv Wien [Diocesan Archive Vienna]

NKJV = New King James Version [Bible]

NÖLA = Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv [Regional Archive, Lower Austria]

ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [Austrian National Library]

ÖStA = Österreichisches Staatsarchiv [Austrian State Archive]

PSchV = Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den kaiserl. königl. deutschen Erbstaaten or Politische Schul Verfassung [School Administration Act]

RVG = Reichsvolksschulgesetz

StHK = Studien Hofkommission [Imperial Commission on Education]

WB = Wienbibliothek [Vienna Library]

WStLA = Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv [Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna]

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