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FORGOTTEN CHILDREN:  
THE EDUCATIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS OF AN AUSTRIAN DIOCESE  
1848-1852

A Thesis Presented

by

M.R. BOYESON

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies,  
University of Massachusetts Boston,  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS

August 2012

Department of History

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FORGOTTEN CHILDREN: THE EDUCATIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS OF AN  
AUSTRIAN DIOCESE 1848-1852

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## ABSTRACT

### FORGOTTEN CHILDREN: THE EDUCATIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS OF AN AUSTRIAN DIOCESE 1848-1852

August 2012

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Educational demographics of an Austrian diocese in Styria were examined between the years of 1848 and 1852, to show both the importance of the data and the possibility for further research. The data was examined in conjunction with the imperial education law that directed the Austrian educational system in the nineteenth century. Both the micro and macro elements of the paper were influenced by the strong Austrian Catholic tradition and were integrated heavily into the paper to help put the data in perspective. The limited amount of research on the topic restricted specific conclusions for the research, however there are some general conclusions that the paper made. The presented data was shown to be influential in its own right through its listing of secular school attendance, Sunday school attendance, and teacher's salaries. It also was influential as an introduction into further research in microeconomics, culture, and notions of identity.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The love and support from Jason, whose emotional support was necessary during this endeavor. I would also like to thank my grandparents, Dick and Flo, who gave me an appreciation for history at an early age. And my parents, Barb and Mike who always let me dabble to discover my true passion.

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## INTRODUCTION

*Da Seine Kaiserliche, Königliche Apostolische Majestät den Volkesunterricht für eines der unentbehrlichsten Bedürfnisse des Staates und die zweckmäßigste Besorgung desselben für eine Ihrer heiligsten Pflichten halten; so haben Allerhöchst dieselben seit dem Antritte Ihrer Regierung aus landesväterlicher Sorgfalt Ihr vorzügliches Augenmerk darauf gerichtet, daß dieser Unterricht auf die den Verhältnissen der Zeit und der Natur der Sache angemessenste Art ertheilte werde.*

*In dieser Absicht habe Seine Majestät die von Ihren Vorfahren höchstseligen Angedenkens festgesetzten Schulverordnungen allergnädigst zu bestätigen, jedoch nach den Bedürfnissen der Zeit und Umstände, welche in jeder menschlichen Einrichtung von Zeit zu Zeit einige Abänderungen nothwendig machen, für das Künftige eine abgeänderte Einrichtung anzuordnen geruhet.<sup>1</sup>*

This is the beginning of the *Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den kaiserlichen, königlichen, deutschen Erbstaaten* (The Political Constitution of the German Schools in the imperial, royal, German hereditary States). It was written in 1805 and remained in effect for the next sixty-five years with little change.<sup>2</sup> It helped further define the role of the state and church in education, including primary education, by structuring the educational system in an effort to make primary education indispensable.<sup>3</sup> The *Politische Verfassung* serves as a blueprint for the Austrian education system during the nineteenth century, and thus has great relevance for subsequent research on the topic.

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1 Austria, *Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den kaiserl. königl. deutschen Erbstaaten*, (Wien: Verlagsgewölbe der k.k. Schulbücher-Verschleiss-Administration, 1828.), Introduction.

2 Helmut Engelbrecht, *Erziehung Und Unterricht Im Bild: Zur Geschichte Der Österreichischen Bildungswesens*, (Vienna: Oe.B.V. Paedagogischer Verlag, 1995), 179.

3 This role was a continuation of earlier imperial policy. According to Robert Kann, "The Metternich system intended to establish the equilibrium between a positive conservative principle of perseverance and a negative destructive principle of excessive motion. Thus while it evaluated these principles rather differently, it nevertheless did not intend to eliminate the force of motion completely... In theory the concept of equilibrium recognizes the significance of slow evolutionary motion. This means moderate reform, without which equilibrium can never be reached, since otherwise a force of retrogression would throw it off balance. In practice, it is true, the Metternich system held that the equilibrium had been seriously disturbed by too great an influence of the principle of motion since the beginning of the revolutionary period- in fact, ever since the late Enlightenment.", Robert Kann, *A Study in Austrian Intellectual History*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1973), 268.

Using this document as a backdrop, we will examine the educational demographics of a diocese in Styria. The data in this study has never been looked at in detail, so it is vital to bring it to the attention of the scholarly community. This is an attempt at presenting new data, while comparing it to a contemporary document directly related to it. Throughout the study we will reference the *Politische Verfassung* as a basis from which we can interpret our data.

To begin our interpretation, let us return to the beginning paragraph of the *Politische Verfassung*. An interesting aspect of this introduction is how the imperial authority is defined by ecclesiastical adjectives. For example, the first sentence reads, “Since his imperial, royal, apostolic Majesty considers the teaching of his people one of the most indispensable needs of his state and the most suitable dealing of the same his most sacred duty.” The emperor, in addition to being imperial and royal is also apostolic and has a sacred duty to educate his people. The education of his people was very important, but so was maintaining a strong relationship with the Catholic faith, as it provided a “sound and stable political order”.<sup>4</sup> From the highest level, we can see how much the imperial government valued a strong education system, but without examining the data of the districts and parishes, we will have a difficult task of judging the effectiveness of the *Politische Verfassung*. By looking at the smaller units, i.e. parishes

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4 According to Ellen Lovell Evans, “The German-speaking population of the Austrian crown lands was overwhelmingly Catholic by birth, over 95%, and consequently did not attach any special significance to that fact, unlike Catholics in the rest of Germany who were conscious that after the breakup of the old Confederation in 1866 their numbers had fallen from half to a third of the total population. Since Austrian Catholics were neither self conscious nor defensive about their religious confession, they paid little attention in the 1850s when, in the aftermath of failed revolution, the church hierarchy and the government agreed to make significant changes in their relationship.” Ellen Lovell Evans, The Cross and the Ballot: Catholic Political Parties in Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands, 1785-1985, (Boston MA: Humanities Press, 1999), 123.

and dioceses, we can understand how the blueprint for imperial educational policy was organized in a more concrete way.

We will begin the study with a brief overview of the history of Austrian educational history. The paper will start with Maria Theresa, because of her successful policies that were aimed at modernizing the Austrian educational system. We will continue the overview until the revolutions of 1848, which is when our data begins in full. In addition to educational policy, we will be examining religious policies as well, because the church was heavily involved in education, both pedagogically and administratively. The brief overview will hopefully serve well in acquainting us with nuances of Austrian imperial policy. Because of the novelty of the sources, the paper will also need to acquaint the reader with literature available on the topic and the sources themselves. The absence of literature will allow us to see where this research can lead, and let us examine the data with a sense of possibility.

With this background we can begin to examine the set of data that are available. The data will have three main themes, housing, children, and teachers. The three themes will not be equally represented throughout the paper, however they are equally important. Housing is not as prominently featured for two reasons, the lack of data in the documents and the lack of scholarly research on the topic of nineteenth century Austrian housing. There is much more data available in the documents and in scholarly research on teachers and children, so these themes will have a larger share of the focus. Elements of the *Politische Verfassung* will be woven throughout the study to give the data depth. The purpose then, is to give the reader an appreciation for this new set of data and, hopefully, lead to a new interest in the history of Austrian primary education.

## PART I. OVERVIEW

### IMPERIAL POLICIES OF MARIA THERESA

To fully understand the relationship between government and primary education, we need to understand the evolution of the government's position on education. For our purposes, we will begin with Maria Theresa. The reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) was a formative period for Austria that began with the War of Austrian Succession, which arose from the dispute over Maria Theresa's claim to the throne. Austria lost the industrialized province of Silesia to Prussia, which cost Austria a significant amount of industrial and tax revenue.<sup>5</sup> To replace the loss in revenue, Maria Theresa sought to reform Austria and the remaining Crown-lands. Among the most important reforms were those to the tax system, serfdom and education.

The most significant piece of Maria Theresa's education reforms was the *Allgemeine Schulordnung* of 1774. The introduction of compulsory education between the sixth and twelfth year and the expansion of elementary schools in all towns with a parish church was an important prerequisite for the rapid growth of literacy in the less educated strata of Austrian society.<sup>6</sup> Towns, market towns, parishes and even remote churches were directed to form Trivial Schools, which focused on reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. County towns, monastery schools and the seat of the regional school board also set up normal schools for the education of teachers. The educational

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5 David F. Good, *The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750-1914*, (Berkeley California: University of California Press, 1984.), 28.

6 Engelbrecht, *Erziehung und Unterricht*, 179.

reforms also put the church's pre-existing education system under the control of the state.<sup>7</sup>

The state's increased oversight of the church was complicated by the role of the Jesuits, who were very active in Austria and administered nearly all of its education.<sup>8</sup> During Maria Theresa's reign, many Catholic countries began suppressing the order, because it was a large, powerful non-government entity, which could threaten the established secular power. Maria Theresa did not believe that the Jesuits posed an immediate problem to her government, and declined to outlaw the order. She stated repeatedly that she found the order useful, especially in the field of education. In 1769, the new pope, Clement XIV declared himself favorable to the idea of suppressing the Jesuits. Ever the loyal Catholic, the empress tepidly followed the pope's desire and made no effort to defend the Austrian Jesuits, who suffered persecution and expulsion as a result.<sup>9</sup> This policy largely remained in effect after her death, during the reign of her son Joseph II.

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7 Karl Amon and Maximilian Liebmann, *Kirchengeschichte der Steiermark*, (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1993), 204. The Provost of the Austrian educational system, Johann Ignaz Felbiger von Sagen, remarked, "No other country in the World can boast more care for its lowest schools than Austria." To help with the establishment of schools, the church reordered its boundaries. A parish church or chapel couldn't be more than one hour away. For a community of 700 people that had a mix-denominational congregation, one priest was needed. No priest should visit or concern himself with any other parish than his own. There was also to be as many churches, so that in each parish community, two places of worship could be found. Ibid., 224.

8 "Von höchster Bedeutung waren die Reformen im Schulwesen, das within eine Domäne der Jesuiten war und nun almählich zu einer staatlichen Einrichtung werden sollte. An den Schulen der Jesuiten waren Lehrestoff und Methode seit dem 16. Jahrhundert gleichgeblieben. Die "Ratio studiorum" von 1599 galt aber nun als rückständig, der Orden als aufklärungsfeindlich und intolerant, sein Unterricht als den Erfordernissen der Zeit nicht entsprechend." Ibid., 203.

9 Derek Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2005), 208.

## JOSEPHISM

Joseph II reigned over the Holy Roman Empire and Austria jointly with his mother, empress Maria Theresa from 1765 until her death in 1780, and as sole monarch until his death in 1790. Joseph II was a reformer and struggled during his co regency to maintain his mother's policies, complaining at one point, "None of my predecessors, my contemporaries, my colleagues as heir presumptive [*sic*] are employed, why must I be? Let her (Maria Theresa) leave me to my imperial business, my books and gentlemanly amusements."<sup>10</sup> Joseph II had a very clear vision of how he wanted to rule, but his mother's vision complicated his efforts. It wasn't until after her death that he was able to enact many of the reforms that were stifled by his mother. His brand of regency was termed "Josephism", and referred primarily, to the reform measures he pursued while emperor. He was an enthusiastic supporter of centralizing the imperial government (which he believed would help modernize the empire) and enacted laws regarding poverty relief, general hospitals, and *Taubstumm* relief, as well as laws that improved the situation of the peasantry and further reduced the effects of serfdom.<sup>11</sup> One of the major themes of his reign, however, was the state's relationship with religion, which were directly related to his education policies

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 184. According to Beales, "The disputes between mother and son took on a peculiar bitterness because of their unique official relationship. From 1740 to 1780 Maria Theresa ruled in her own right, under a wide variety of titles, the vast agglomeration of territories that constituted the Austrian Monarchy. But she made first her husband, Francis Stephen, and then after his death in 1765 her son, Joseph II, her co-regent. It is sometimes stated, for example In the old Cambridge Modern History, that she and her husband, and then she and her son, were co-regents together. This is quite wrong. Maria Theresa was never herself co-regent. She remained the absolute sovereign. To complicate matters further, Francis Stephen was from 1745, and Joseph II from 1765, Holy Roman Emperor. In other words, they were sovereigns-though by no means absolute-over a huge Empire which included roughly a third of the monarchy but was governed on a totally different basis by a separate, rival bureaucracy. These arrangements inevitably produced tensions, which when Joseph was involved became explosive." 281.

<sup>11</sup> Karl Vocelka, *Geschichte Österreichs: Kultur, Gesellschaft, Politik*, (München: Wilhem Heyne Verlag, 2000), 162.

Once Joseph II became sole ruler in 1780, he initiated a variety of laws that expanded state control over the church. He held a life-long distrust of monastic orders and during his reign, made Austria an increasingly inhospitable place for many religious orders, including the Jesuits. He expanded his mother's policies and dissolved any monastery that did not provide a social function, such as healthcare or education (and usually sold the lands at a profit for the state).<sup>12</sup> He gave himself final authority over nearly every matter of church policy within his domain. He also removed many of the censorship laws and allowed for toleration of Greek Orthodox Christians, Jews, and some types of Protestantism.<sup>13</sup> Although he took direct control over the church, he believed that, "Parish priests were...central not only to strictly religious activity, as the Council of Trent had laid down, but also to the life of society as a whole and to the state. Religious teaching, whether in church or in school, was...a first essential of education, and was expected to inculcate obedience and service to the state."<sup>14</sup> He believed that separating the religious aspect of schooling would have a negative effect on society and reverse his policies aimed at modernizing the empire.

Joseph's ideas on education were largely a continuation of those of his mother.<sup>15</sup> The ambiguity towards the Jesuits was most pronounced in their services as educators:

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12 Barbara Jelavich, *Modern Austria: Empire & Republic 1815-1986*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 24.

13 Beales, *Enlightenment and Reform*, 98. However, as a caveat, Protestant churches, were, nonetheless, forbidden to erect towers, or to have bells, or entrances on the street;

14 Ibid., 232.

15 According to Gary Cohen, "In the late eighteenth century the government modernized somewhat the curricula for academic secondary and higher-education, making them more rational and practical and reducing control by the Catholic clergy. The reforming absolutist state made no effort, however, to expand the network of *Gymnasien* and universities or to increase significantly the portion of the population that enrolled. Indeed, the government radically reduced the numbers of *Gymnasien* and Latin schools in the 1770s when it closed many small schools of low quality and banned the Jesuit order, which previously had controlled many of the *Gymnasien* and most of the philosophical and theological faculties in the universities. In Bohemia, the number of *Gymnasien* shrank

The education of youth, at least of the most important part of it, in religion as well as in other subjects, has been until now almost entirely entrusted in these lands to the Fathers of the Society. Neither among the secular clergy nor in the other regular Orders will it be possible to find immediately, especially in the bigger towns, a sufficient number of qualified persons to fill the places of the Jesuits, with comparable success, in *Gymnasien*, academies and Universities, and to occupy the many endowed teaching posts.

So it must be considered what provision should be made in education...and whether it would not be desirable-indeed, for the good of religion and the state, necessary-that even after the suppression of the Society the teachers of this order should remain in their existing posts, and on what basis one could keep them on at least until [other] able persons can be trained to fill the teaching posts in future and match the existing provision.

It will take long application and preparation to educate teachers for this [sort of] instruction, to which the whole institution of the Society was especially devoted.<sup>16</sup>

He was aware that the process of completely dissolving the state's ties with the church would be painful and complicated, if not entirely impossible. The Jesuits already had a well-established network of schools and universities (as mentioned above) as well as the manpower to keep the Empire's education system stable. But to leave the education system entirely alone would have hurt his goal of "reshaping the church away from its tradition emphasis on monasticism towards a more numerous, better educated, secular clergy."<sup>17</sup>

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fro 44 in 1773 to 13 in 1777, and in Moravia from 15 to 8. Even in these two provinces, with their relatively prosperous agriculture and nascent industrialization, the number of secondary schools increased only modestly between the ear of Maria Theresa and the 1840s: in 1847 Bohemia had 21 *Gymnasien* and Moravia still only 8." Gary B Cohen, Education and Middle Class Society in Imperial Austria 1848-1918, (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1996), 15.

16 Ibid., 221-222.

17 Ibid., 228.

## LEAD UP TO THE VORMÄRZ AND 1848

In 1790, Joseph II died from poor health. His brother, Leopold (1747-1792), who until that point had been living in Florence as the Grand Duke of Tuscany, became emperor. He shared his brother's reformist spirit, but because of threatening political circumstances, he had to compromise his goals of reform.<sup>18</sup> Leopold II died after reigning only two years. His son, Francis II (1768-1835) succeeded him and began the delicate rebalance of power between church and state, which had been altered most drastically during Joseph II's reign.

Despite the heavily secular policies of Joseph II and Napoleon's invasion in 1805, Austria reverted to a unique brand of conservatism under Francis II.<sup>19</sup> Alone of all the German states, Austria had not altered its institutions in response to the French occupation, except to suppress or retard the reforms of the pre-revolutionary era.<sup>20</sup> Francis II, who reigned from 1792 to 1835, compared to that of his predecessors (Joseph II in particular), was a less enthusiastic reformer. He preferred a very gradual introduction to any reform, which was an appealing preference for those who lived

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18 According to Jelavich, "At the end of his (Joseph II) reign, his Belgian lands were in revolt, Hungary was on the edge of rebellion, and there was widespread dissatisfaction with his rule." Jelavich, *Modern Austria*, 27.

19 Prince Klemens Wenzel von Metternich (1773-1859) was the powerful foreign minister of the Austrian Empire from 1809 until 1848 (when the revolutions forced him from office). He initiated the Restoration Order after Napoleon's defeat in 1815, and tried to enact as many restoration policies as the Emperor Francis would consent to. With respects to the Catholic Church, Metternich felt there were three major aspects, which supported his agenda. The first was that the Papacy represented a defense of the Restoration Order against liberal-nationalist movements, and material force alone would not suffice to eliminate those sentiments. Secondly, the pope was the temporal ruler of the Papal States, and Metternich desired to keep Italy within the Austrian sphere of influence. Lastly, Metternich needed to control the man elected to the papacy, to insure that man was not overly hostile towards the lingering Josephinist state-church policies that remained; Alan J. Reinerman, "Austria and the Papal Election of 1823". *Central European History*. 3, no. 03, 230-231.

20 Ibid.

through the disruption and humiliation of the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>21</sup> His reign could be characterized as a constant struggle to maintain a balance between suppressing liberal ideas, which led to revolution, and enforcing conservative measures which could fuel wide spread public discontent. Francis's philosophy on government implied that public opinion on governmental affairs determined all social change.<sup>22</sup> The domestic course of Austrian history during this period was adverse to any radical change a full reversal of the reformism of Maria Theresa and Joseph II.<sup>23</sup> Despite the relative peace that Austria experienced during Francis' reign, his reluctance towards reform created many problems, notably with state finances and the ability to modernize.<sup>24</sup>

One of the areas that Francis was interested in restoring to its pre-Theresian status was the church. The aspect of the relationship that the government did not want to give up, however, was its supreme control over the church. As a compromise (and a way to save money after the expensive wars with Napoleon), the imperial government left primary school largely within the influence of the church as a way to educate children on secular and religious morals. The *Politische Verfassung* aimed at reforming the schools,

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21 Jeleovich, *Modern Austria*, 31; Francis was fond of walking through the public gardens unescorted and gave audience more than his foreign secretary Metternich thought appropriate-see Karl A. Roeder, "The Habsburg Foreign Ministry and Political Reform, 1801–1805". *Central European History*. 1989, 22, no. 02.

22 Kann, *Intellectual Study*, 260.

23 Ibid., 267.

24 Francis II's brother, Archduke Charles wrote a scathing critique of the Austrian system in 1802, "The French Revolution, the archduke began, was a result of an utter failure of government occurring in an atmosphere full of sophistries about the rights of man and the participation of the common people in political affairs... The system of justice was so varied from place to place that talk of constitutions had arisen as a way to reform it. Although Roman law was supposed to serve as the legal foundation throughout the Monarchy, local customs and procedures had interfered to such a degree that law had become a morass of vague and inconsistent procedures and decisions... In essence, the government was failing to provide the services that every government must: police and fire protection, services for widows and orphans, advice on advancing agriculture and forestry, and improvements in credit and transportation to assist commerce and manufacturing. The primary reason for these failings and most of the others was the "ignorance, venality, and laziness" of the bureaucrats themselves. Ibid., 162.

and modernizing the Austrian education system, but keeping the church involved. The state did reserve the right of direction and purpose of educational measures. In the schools the working classes should be shaped to be "sincerely good, docile and enterprising people". This allowed the church wide purview to select teachers and modify lessons. The idea was that with a strong upbringing of Catholic teachings, the children would retain a robust moral compass when they became older and entered institutions which championed freer thinking, however those who actually progressed far enough into the universities were relatively few in number.<sup>25</sup> Catholic priests, who continued to teach primary school until after 1918, reinforced veneration of tradition as well as serving a necessary state function (which included being a good, docile and enterprising person).<sup>26</sup>

Francis died in 1835, and his son, Ferdinand, whose contemporaries considered completely unfit to rule, ascended the throne. Instructions, given by Francis at the time of his death, indicated that Francis's brother, Ludwig and his foreign minister Metternich, were to rule *de facto*.<sup>27</sup> Metternich's policy of balance between liberal suppression and conservatism frustrated the attempts from those who sought true reform in the empire. By the middle of the nineteenth century, these problems became increasingly difficult to ignore, as the voices for liberalization became louder. By 1848, the voices became actions, which resulted in open revolts in Vienna. The revolts began to multiply around

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<sup>25</sup> At the primary level, the school began training the children to understand the importance of religion as gateway for elevation in society by requiring them to demonstrate sufficient religious understanding as well as complete catechism before moving through the grade levels. Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 29 §66.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> According to Barbara Jelavich, he was, "Epileptic and retarded...(and his) inability to fulfill the obligations of his office was damaging to Austrian imperial interests; the absolute monarchy was now without a functioning monarch." Jelavich, *Modern Austria*, 36.

the empire and soon the Austrian government was facing a revolution, something Metternich greatly feared. The increased public pressure caused Metternich to flee to England and the emperor Ferdinand to abdicate in favor of his young nephew, Franz Joseph I (1830-1916). A change in leadership helped to quell the revolution, but it did not stop at a new king. The demands were not unknown to the government, but were such that they could threaten the sanctity of the empire, and the House of Habsburg itself. Helmut Pogge von Strandmann explains the five goals that the revolution demanded:

One can discern five themes which underlay the revolution, but which varied in strength and intensity from country to country and region to region. There was first of all the widespread opposition to the *anciens régimes*; secondly, the bid for greater political participation and reforms. Thirdly the social question had become much more urgent than ever before. Fourthly, the assertion of national self-determination and the attempt to set up independent nation states played a vital role in central, eastern, and southern Europe. Finally, the slowly growing success of the counter-revolution was to affect all revolutionaries across the four countries regardless of whether they were moderate liberals, democratic radicals, or even socialists.<sup>28</sup>

The Austrian Empire was an amalgamation of nationalities and languages. The revolutions of 1848 forced the government to consider the claims of some of the nationalities it administered.<sup>29</sup> The imperial government believed that Catholicism was an essential binding that held the fractured empire together. However, the revolutions of 1848 demonstrated that a major portion of the citizenry honored neither the church nor

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28 Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann, "1848-1849: A European Revolution?", in *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction* eds. H. Pogge von Strandmann and Robert John Weston Evans. (Oxford: New York, 2000), 4.

29 According to R.J.W. Evans, "The monarchy quickly appeared fractured like a broken jigsaw. The year 1848 in the Habsburg dominions presents far the most complex of contemporary revolutionary scenarios, both in its intricate domestic canvas and in its interaction with all the unrest beyond Austria's borders, from France to the Balkan lands, from Italy to the confines of Poland." Evans, R.J.W, "1848-1849 in the Habsburg Monarchy", in *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction* eds. H. Pogge von Strandmann and Robert John Weston Evans. Oxford: New York, 2000.

the state.<sup>30</sup> Joseph II's policies towards the church were one of the major causalities of the reforms, which followed the reconsolidation of imperial power after 1848.<sup>31</sup> Several religious groups emerged during this time period, which sought to reconcile modern religious values with a more moderate form of constitutional government. Among the strongest desires of the revolutionaries was to enact a constitution, which would limit the authority of the emperor. The young Franz Joseph, who reigned from 1848 until his death in 1916, rejected the call for a constitution, which would have forced him to reconsider the calls for nationalism among his Balkan lands. He shelved the constitution, but as a good Catholic he was inclined to listen to his former tutor Joseph Ottmar von Rauscher (Archbishop of Vienna in 1853 and Cardinal in 1855) who urged him to accept the principle of autonomy, at any rate, for the Catholic Church.<sup>32</sup> The 1848 revolution

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30 Thomas W. Simmons Jr., "Vienna's First Catholic Political Movement: The Güntherians, 1848-1857," *Catholic Historical Review* 55, no. 2 (July 1969): 173.

31 An anti-Josephine religious revival took place in the Vienna circle of Clemens Maria Hofbauer (1751-1820) and his Redemptorist order. The Redemptorist order, much like the Jesuits were frowned upon under Josephinist policies, but were later allowed to flourish with the blessing of the emperor Francis. According to Ellen Lovell Evans, "The Hofbauer circle's journal *The Olive Branch*, issued from 1819 to 1823, was the first to translate Lamennais' writings into German, and the movement certainly signified a revitalization of the faith, but the Hofbauer circle in no way resembled the ultramontanes of the Rhineland in their resistance to government...Some years later, in the 1840s and 1850s a religious movement of a different sort was active in Vienna under the leadership of Anton Günther. Güntherianism has recently been described as "liberal Catholicism" and even "Vienna's first Catholic political movement" and has been compared to a modernization movement intended to attract the educated elite of Vienna and to reconcile that element to the new capitalist industrial society. The Güntherians opposed both the mystical-romantic elements of the Redemptorists of the Hofbauer and the Josephine state-supremacy doctrines of the court and bureaucracy. For a short while, Güntherianism had a large following, including a number of converts from Judaism. One of the latter was the celebrated preacher Johann Emanuel Veith, who came to the Güntherians after his original conversion by the Hofbauer circle. Some Güntherians made cautious statements favoring constitutional monarchy and condemning absolutism, but their reformist intentions were largely concerned with internal church organization. Apparently they were accused of being political liberals solely because Veith and a few others remained in Vienna during the revolutionary months of 1848 rather than fleeing the city as Archbishop Vincenz Eduard von Milde had urged, but their pronouncements and activities in that year were entirely counter-revolutionary in nature. Whatever potential existed here for a liberal Catholic political movement can never be ascertained, since the reaction of the 1850s swept the Güntherians away." Evans, *Cross and the Ballot*, 62.

32 Ibid., 123. According to Alan Reinerman, "Joseph Othmar von Rauscher, born in Vienna in 1797 into a family with a long tradition of civil service, had decided, against the wish of his Josephist father and under the influence of (Clemens Maria) Hofbauer,

created very favorable conditions for the Austrian Catholic church to win more autonomy and freedom for itself and to break with the Josephist policies of the past that subjected virtually every church activity to state controls.<sup>33</sup>

The redefinition of the state's relationship with the church forced the question of education into the debate. Most of the focus on education was aimed at secondary and post secondary levels. The imperial government sought to remove some of the church influence to allow greater intellectual independence within academia, especially at the university level, which meant infringing on the traditional role of the Jesuits, who held the majority of teaching posts in the empire. By 1850 the Empire had built a formidable network of schools and universities. *Volksschulen* (which included *Trivialschulen*) prepared Christian and Jew alike to enter either *Gymnasium* or *Oberrealschule*. *Gymnasien* led, in turn, to the examination known as the *Matura*, which entitled its recipient to enter any university in Germany or Austria-Hungary.<sup>34</sup> The state was cognizant, however, that trying to remove the church from all levels of education would complicate their efforts at improving relations. Therefore, the state left the *Poltsche Verfassung* largely in effect, which gave the church authority over primary education.

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the leader in the revival of Austrian religious life, to enter the priesthood instead of the civil service. Throughout his life he sought to reconcile the two forces that had shaped his thinking, loyalty to the Emperor and devotion to Catholicism, and to make the Union of Throne and Altar a reality-an aim which, along with his ability, won him the esteem of Metternich, who frequently had recourse to his advice and support in religious affairs." Alan J. Reinerman, *Austria and the Papacy in the Age of Metternich: Revolution and Reaction, 1830-1838*, (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1989), 399.

33 Evans, *Cross and the Ballot*, 123.

34 During the 1850s the educational system was overhauled by the Bohemian-born Count Leo Thun (1811-1888), an exponent of Bohemian Catholicism who commissioned two Herbartians, Franz Exner and Hermann Bonitz, to draft a reform based on German and French models. Stress fell no longer on religion or obedience to the state, but on training students to engage in research at the university. In 1850 *Gymnasium* was lengthened from six to eight years, and instead of teaching all subjects, instructors now presented their specialty. Natural science was introduced, and the younger, livelier teachers taught the upper grades, where according to Josef Breuer, "criticism and contradiction were encouraged rather than suppressed."; Johnson, *Austrian Mind*, 66.

This structure is what we will concern ourselves with in this study, despite the limited scholarship available.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

As a gateway to secondary and post secondary education, primary schools have received little attention in the scholarly communities in both America and Europe. The handful of Austrian academics who have covered the topic, such as Wolfgang Brezinka and Helmut Engelbrecht, have structured their studies as all-encompassing guides to the evolution of Austrian education, and tend to focus on the secondary and post secondary levels. The *Politische Verfassung* states that all the levels of the education system should work together to produce students who can enhance the prestige of the empire. We can think about this like a pyramid, in which the elementary level is the base and university education, the pinnacle. Without a strong enough base, the pinnacle will prove ineffective. If we transplant this model onto the body scholarship in Austrian education, we will find an inverse pyramid, with most of the research concentrated on the post-secondary and secondary levels and the minority of research on the primary levels. If we can begin to broaden the base of research on the primary levels, we will begin to understand the Austrian education system better, as well as ideas about morals, citizenship, and identity, just to name a few.

The effort to distribute the research on Austrian education to match its true structure is compounded by the scarcity of material, which can be detrimental to the efforts to correct this. There is very little information about the schools that can warrant decent study. As opposed to the higher levels of education, especially universities, there is little written about daily lesson plans at individual schools. We know from overarching laws, like the *Politische Verfassung*, what teachers were expected to teach, but there is little evidence if this occurred. We also don't have the plethora of accounts from

students found in letters home about their experience. Because the children did not need to write letters home, there is limited evidence of their personal experiences. What we do have, however, are numbers. We have a great deal of data regarding the schools and children. This data can serve as a framework for more in-depth studies. The numbers presented in this study, however, are a first attempt at gaining insight into what the information available can tell us. The scholarly concentration on secondary and post secondary education is valuable to be sure, but it is a disservice to leave the primary schools out of the discussion. To begin a discussion on the importance of the primary level of Austrian education, we need to also understand the documents that are the core of this research.

## SOURCE DISCUSSION

The sources that comprise the backbone of this study come from the Diözesanarchiv in Graz, Austria.<sup>35</sup> The archive is the repository for the standard church records on births, deaths, and marriages, but it also contains the records for church administered schools. These records consist primarily of *Schulvisitations Protokolle*. Usually, a three or four page report and a very large table documented each visitation. The report typically sums up the contents of the table, which contains a plethora of raw data.

For this study, the tables will be of much more significance than the reports. The tables contain a wide variety of data, which, as this study will show, can form a very interesting picture of a diocese. The information in the tables has the number of children deemed eligible for school, the number of children who attended school, the number of children deemed eligible for Sunday school, the number of children who attended Sunday school, the names of the parish priest, catechist, teacher, teacher's assistant, and superintendent, and the pay and performance of each. On the other side of the table are the names of the parishes within the diocese, and each parish may contain multiple villages. Within our particular diocese, there are seven parishes, and some 15 villages.

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<sup>35</sup> The city of Graz was commonly the home to a lower branch of the Habsburg family, usually a child of the emperor far removed from the line of succession. It has a rich history of education, stemming from the founding of the Karl Franzens Universität in 1585. As one of the largest cities in the Austrian empire it is also home to the Diocese of Graz-Seckau, which for almost six hundred years was under the supervision of the Prince Arch-Bishops of Salzburg.

| Benennung<br>der<br>Kurozie       | Ort<br>der<br>Schule            | Gattung der Schulen                           |                               |                |                |                |   |         | Unterricht wird erteilt<br>in Ansehung |             |                       |                |                | In Verbindung<br>stehende Schulen |                                       |                                      |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---|---------|--|-------------|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|                                   |                                 | Hauptschulen                                  |                               |                | Trivialschulen |                |   |         | Zusammen                               | der Sprache |                       |                | der Zeit       |                                   | Industrial-<br>schulen für<br>Mädchen | Gewerbs-<br>schulen für<br>Lehrlinge | Gewöhnliche Wiederholungs-<br>schulen an Sonntagen |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|                                   |                                 | für<br>Knaben<br>mit<br>Unterreal-<br>schulen | ohne<br>Knaben und<br>Mädchen | für<br>Mädchen | für<br>Knaben  | für<br>Mädchen | für<br>beide Geschlechter<br>nicht directmäßig be-<br>gründete u. Hochschulen | deutsch |  | slowenisch  | slowenisch u. deutsch | ganz-<br>tägig | halb-<br>tägig |                                   |                                       |                                      |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|                                   |                                 |   |                               |                |                |                |   |         |  |             |                       |                |                |                                   |                                       |                                      |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Unterrichtsbezirk<br>von Birkfeld | Murau<br>Birkfeld               | -   | -                             | -              | -              | -              | 1   | 1       | 1                                      | -           | -                     | 1              | -              | -                                 | -                                     | -                                    | 1  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|                                   | Sonntagschulen                  |   |                               |                |                |                |   |         |  |             |                       |                |                |                                   |                                       |                                      | -  | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |   |
|                                   | Gemeinschaftsschule<br>Grosbarn | -   | -                             | -              | -              | -              | -   | 1       | 1                                      | 1           | -                     | -              | 1              | -                                 | -                                     | -                                    | -  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|                                   | Gemeinschaftsschule<br>Kranitz  | -   | -                             | -              | -              | -              | -   | 1       | 1                                      | 1           | -                     | -              | 1              | -                                 | -                                     | -                                    | -  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|                                   | Gemeinschaftsschule<br>Gefers   | -   | -                             | -              | -              | -              | -   | 1       | 1                                      | 1           | -                     | -              | 1              | -                                 | -                                     | -                                    | -  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Murau-Kloster                     | Kloster                         | -   | -                             | -              | -              | -              | 1   | 1       | 1                                      | -           | -                     | 1              | -              | -                                 | -                                     | -                                    | 1  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Sonntagschulen                    |                                 |   |                               |                |                |                |   |         |  |             |                       |                |                |                                   |                                       |                                      |  | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Lokal-Unterricht<br>Kranitz       | Kranitz                         | -   | -                             | -              | -              | -              | 1   | 1       | 1                                      | -           | -                     | 1              | -              | -                                 | -                                     | -                                    | 1  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|                                   | Sonntagschulen                  |   |                               |                |                |                |   |         |  |             |                       |                |                |                                   |                                       |                                      | -  | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |   |
|                                   | Gemeinschaftsschule<br>Grosbarn | -   | -                             | -              | -              | -              | 1   | 1       | 1                                      | -           | -                     | 1              | -              | -                                 | -                                     | -                                    | -  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Lokal-Unterricht<br>Grosbarn      | Grosbarn                        | -   | -                             | -              | -              | -              | 1   | 1       | 1                                      | -           | -                     | 1              | -              | -                                 | -                                     | -                                    | 1  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|                                   | Sonntagschulen                  |   |                               |                |                |                |   |         |  |             |                       |                |                |                                   |                                       |                                      | -  | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |   |

Fig. 1 Sample Table

36

In the above table, we see the rows organized by the parish on the far left, occasionally subdivided by the towns found within each parish. The columns are far more complex; indicating the set up of each school, whether it had boys, girls, or both. The table

indicates what language was spoken in class, and whether it was half day or full day instruction.

The information in this study will paint a demographic picture of a diocese. We will look at the number of children who were deemed eligible for school compared to those who went to school, as well as those eligible for Sunday school, the number of houses within the diocese and the teacher pay associated with each parish. The combination of these particular sets of data will help us understand the importance of each parish within the diocese and how communities contribute to a perceived greater good, especially when considering data such as how many children attended school and teacher salaries. These data sets, while limited, can point us in the direction of what the community values. If there is a low attendance rate and low teacher pay, we may assume the community did not value education for its children. From this point it will be up to future scholars to determine the reasons why.

Before we can begin to consider questions of cultural relevance, we must understand the education system that will define our questions. We can begin our discussion by looking at how the imperial administration organized the schools. The *Politische Verfassung* spelled out, in detail, how the school system was to be organized, and subsequently how each level of education would function. It is important to remember that a main point of the *Politische Verfassung* was to modernize and strengthen the Austrian education system, and so it was written in the *Politische Verfassung*, “*Um den Zweck der deutschen Lehrenanstalten ganz zu erreichen, müssen dieselben sowohl unter sich, als auch mit den höhern lehranstalten in Verbindung*

*gebracht werden.*”<sup>37</sup> In short, every level of the system must coordinate with the others, to form a cohesive system. If children weren’t prepared in the *Trivialschulen* for the *Gymnasium*, then the teachers in the *Gymnasium* had to make up for that, and prepare the students for the universities. Because of our interest in the first level of the system, we need to understand how that level operated.

The type of school that we are dealing with, the *Trivialschulen*, dealt with basic instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. It was also imperative that the schools teach religion, “*Den Religionsunterricht ertheilt sowohl in allen Trivialschulen...der Ortsseelsorger oder dessen Cooperator.*”<sup>38</sup> The religious instruction was coordinated with the diocese and priest, to ensure the students were receiving the appropriate lessons.<sup>39</sup> The school year varied most between the city and the country. The *Politische Verfassung* was very lenient in the wording when dictating school hours. In the country, the beginning of the school was after the autumn festival, which could vary among communities.<sup>40</sup> It was also allowed that certain rural communities could limit their daily instruction time to five hours, because it was difficult for the students to get to and from school (less if the superintendent decided the students had accomplished more than was expected).<sup>41</sup>

The following diagram shows the structure of the Austrian education/religious system:

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<sup>37</sup> Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 28 §64.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 24 §52.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 24 §55. In cases when the students couldn’t get their religious instruction, a priest was to wander around the diocese with a wagon, as a sort of mobile religions course.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 34 §79.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 35 §81.

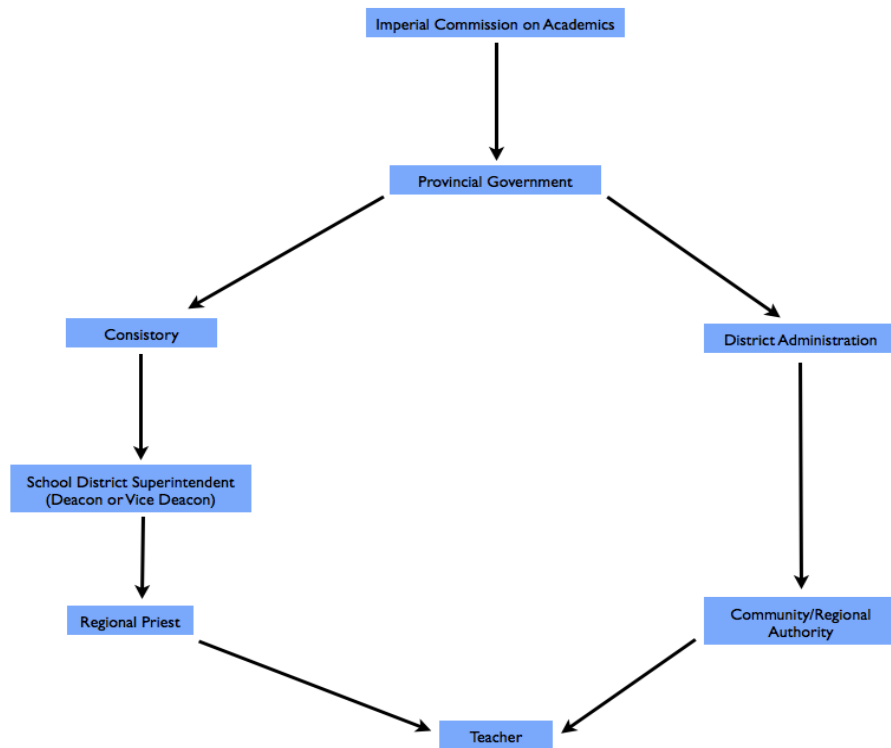


Fig. 2 Hierarchy Flow Chart

42

According to the *Politische Verfassung*, “The district administration and consistory are on the same level of leadership of the school system: The consistory in relation to religion and school lessons and of the continuation of the children’s piety and devotion, without which no religious instruction can be effective. Then in regards to the morality of the teachers (since the regional authority is obligated to control the morality of the priest, rather than the consistory deacon); The district administration in regards to the schools and the teachers, and the condition of the school building.”<sup>43</sup> There is an

42 Eva Maria Schloffer, “Die Entwicklung des Pflichtschulwesens im Kreisdekanat Weiz bis zum Reichsvolksschulgesetz-mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Pfarre Weizberg” (Diplomarbeit zur Erlangung des Magistergrades an der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1991), 18.

43 Politische Verfassung, §8, 4.

interesting crossover in authority, where the secular authority has jurisdiction over the priest's morality, and the ecclesiastical power has jurisdiction over the teacher's morality. This is an excellent example of the interconnected relationship between state and church on the micro level. The teacher, at the very bottom of the chain was responsible to the state for certain matters and the church for others.



*Birkfeld um 1860, Aquarell von Peter Rosegger*

Fig. 3

44

## THE HISTORY AND COMPOSITION OF THE DIOCESE

The seat of the diocese of Birkfeld is in the Markt Birkfeld, a market town in northeastern Styria.

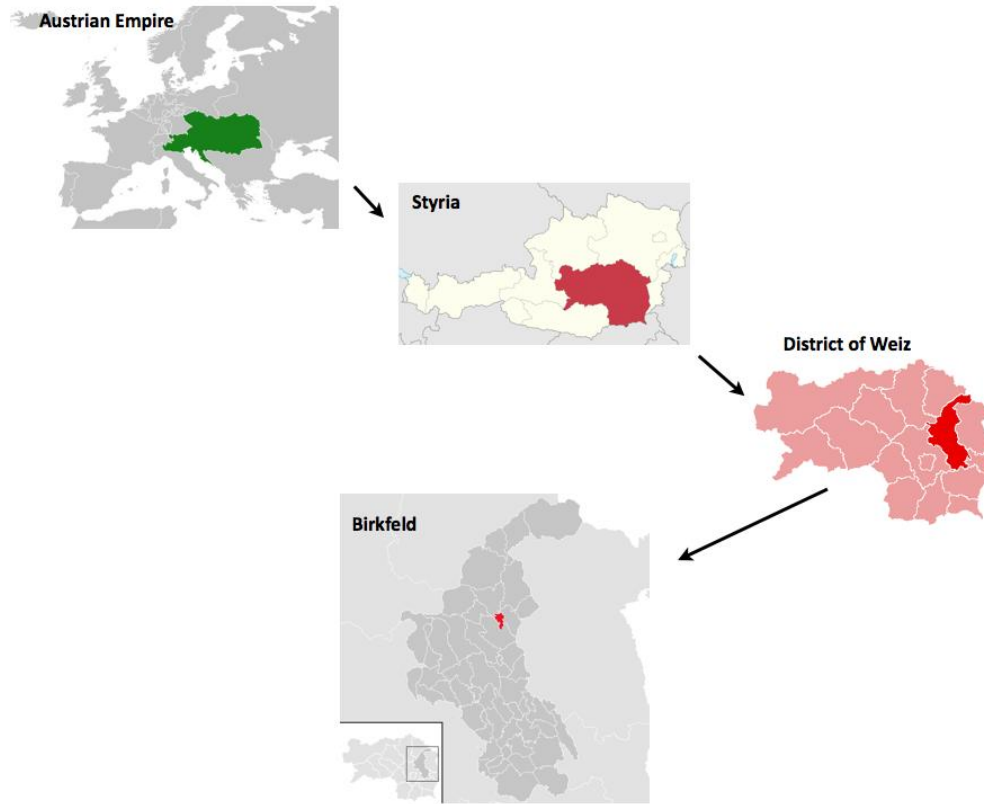


Fig. 4 Maps of the Austrian Empire, Styria and Diocese

45

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45 Map of Austrian Empire Courtesy of Lehnaru

[http://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:Austrian\\_Empire\\_2.png&filetimestamp=20120207073711](http://de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:Austrian_Empire_2.png&filetimestamp=20120207073711) Accessed 4-19-2012; Map of Styria courtesy of TUBS [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Steiermark\\_in\\_Austria.svg](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Steiermark_in_Austria.svg) accessed 4-19-2012; Map of Weiz Copyright (C) 2000,2001,2002 Free Software Foundation, Inc.

51 Franklin St, Fifth Floor, Boston, MA 02110-1301 USA; Map of Birkfeld courtesy of Joschi Täubler

[http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Birkfeld\\_im\\_Bezirk\\_WZ.png](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Birkfeld_im_Bezirk_WZ.png) accessed 4-19-2012

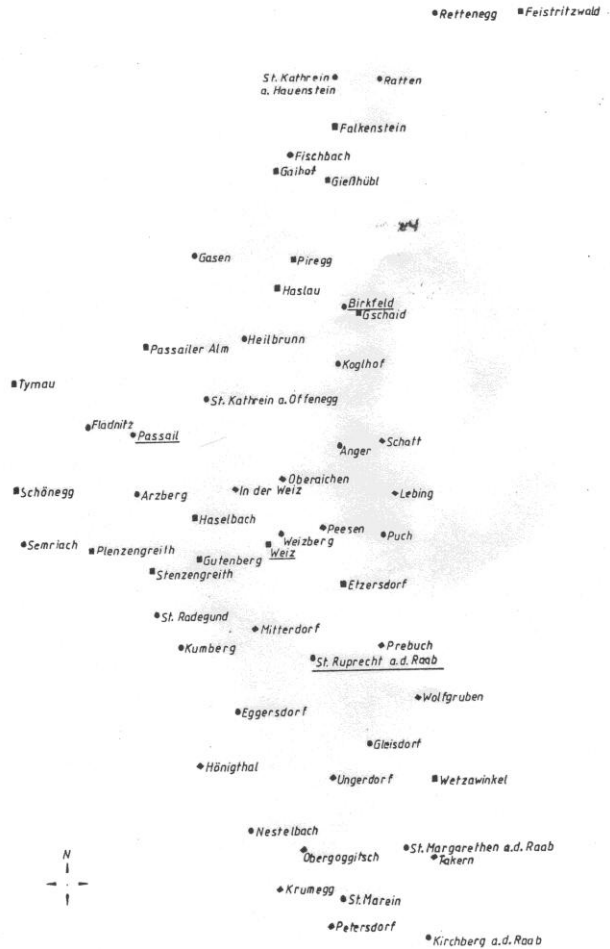


Fig. 5 Map of the Birkfeld diocese

46

The town was first mentioned in the twelfth century and received market privileges in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It developed into a toll way between the Styrian lowlands and the Mur Valley, which was the quickest route between Graz and Vienna, and also between Hungary and the Mur Valley.<sup>47</sup> By the eighteenth century it hosted weekly grain and livestock markets that secured it a position of some importance. When industrialization slowly started to incorporate itself into the Austrian economy, ironworks became a bigger

46 Schloffer, *Kreisdekant Weiz*, 39.

47 Gemeindeamt Birkfeld mit Unterstützung der Steiermärkischen Landesregierung, *700 Jahre Markt Birkfeld* (Graz, Österreich: Marktgemeinde Birkfeld, 1965), 18.

part of the trade through Birkfeld. By 1767 Styria was producing as much pig iron as England.<sup>48</sup> This improved the economies of the market towns in Styria and allowed for a growth in population. By the mid nineteenth century, Birkfeld was the largest (in population terms) of the seven parishes in the diocese. It encompassed four villages, Piregg, Waisenegg, Haslau and Gschaid, known as *Bauernviertel*. The other six parishes in the Diocese were Ratten, Rettenegg, Hauenstein (today known as Sankt Kathrein am Hauenstein), Fischbach, Gasen and Koglhof. The population of the diocese is one way to calculate size, but there are other measures, including housing, which can give us a different perspective on size and growth.

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<sup>48</sup> The primary center for Styrian iron production, which accounted for 36% of all Austrian iron production was about 100 miles away from Birkfeld in the Ennstal Alps: David F. Good, The Economic Rise of the Habsburg Empire, 1750-1914, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 21.

## PART II. EXAMINATION OF THE DATA

### HOUSING

The number of houses within each parish offers an interesting gauge of the size of the parishes, considering the data we have available to us. Although there are some noticeable deficiencies with using the number of houses to estimate the size of the community,<sup>49</sup> the number of houses does reflect several changes that were made throughout the four-year period. In 1848, the number of houses in the diocese was 1,334. However, in 1849, the number jumped to 1,385. It is a very surprising leap, but we can safely assume that the 51 houses were not newly built. It is far more likely that the diocese adjusted its boundaries.<sup>50</sup> The apparent discrepancies seem to indicate that redistricting was common, because the borders of the secular government did not always align with the borders of the religious authorities.<sup>51</sup>

Moving from raw numbers to percentages, we can get a clearer picture of the sizes of each parish. As the largest parish, Birkfeld averaged 30 percent of all houses within the diocese between the years of 1848 and 1852. Fischbach averaged 21 percent,

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49 One problem is that the number of houses doesn't change dramatically compared to population. There are also no records of the types of housing available, whether they could accommodate multiple families or not. This study is not so much concerned with hard numbers on population, so much as it is concerned with the composition within the diocese and how each parish contributed to its demographic profile.

50 The Fischbach parish exhibits this sort of redistricting by the change in one village almost every year. In 1848 Fischbach was listed as containing the villages of Falkenstein, Geyhof, and Geissshübl. In 1849 Geissshübl was replaced with Breitegg, in 1850 Breitegg was replaced by Geissshübl, and in 1851 and 1852 Geissshübl was replaced with Unterdessau. If we examine this change based on the number of houses, it provides a fairly understandable logic. In 1848 Geissshübl was listed as having 27 houses. In 1849, Breitegg was listed as having 37 houses. The remaining three years, however defy this logic. In 1850, Geissshübl is again listed as a village within the parish of Fischbach, with a house count of 27. The years 1851 and 1852, unfortunately, do not list the individual house counts of the villages within the parish, so we are only left with the total number of houses within the parish. In 1851 the total number of houses is listed as 290, and in 1852 the number dips to 229. The difference in real numbers is confusing, but if we look at the Fischbach as a percentage of the total number of houses, we see that throughout the five-year period it has an average 21% share. It ranges from 22% in 1848 and 1849 to 20% in 1852, which says that as a part of the whole, it did not change considerably.

51 Schloffer, *Kreisdekant Weiz*, 26.

Gasen 14 percent, Koglhof 11 percent, Ratten ten percent, Rattenegg eight percent and Hauenstein six percent.

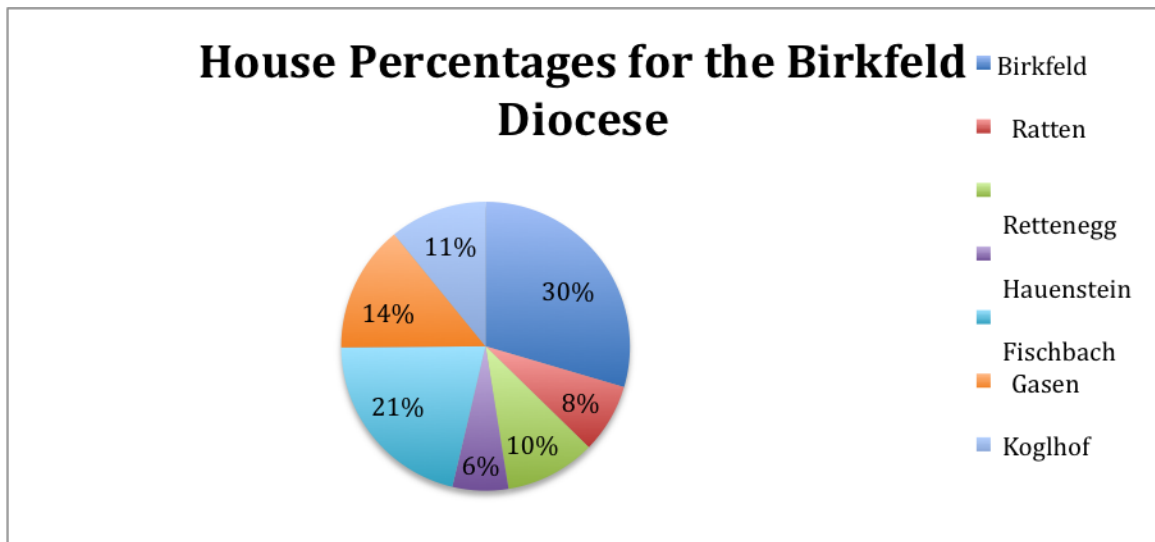


Fig. 6

52

If we examine the percentages year to year, we can see how redistricting shaped the diocese. In 1848 Birkfeld comprised 29 percent of the diocese. That number jumped to 31 percent in 1849, 1850, and 1851. In 1852, however, it dropped to 26 percent. We see similar trends with the other parishes, in which the percentage remained stagnant between 1849 and 1851, but changed considerably in 1852. The three biggest parishes, Birkfeld, Fischbach, and Gasen, which collectively comprised 67 percent of the houses in the diocese in 1851, shrunk by 8 percent in 1852. The four smallest parishes were affected by this adjustment, with Koglhof increasing 3 percent in 1852.<sup>53</sup>

What can we make from these changes? The most important aspect to keep in mind is the fluidity of boundaries. During the nineteenth century the Austrian imperial

<sup>52</sup> Diözesanarchiv Graz, Österreich; decantliche Schulvisitationen Birkfeld 1804-1897, XXVII b. 18

<sup>53</sup> The word benefit obviously implies some sort of good came of the change, but we cannot be sure that was the case. During this time period we can assume that those in the town's administration would have viewed an increase in boundaries as beneficial because it would improve tax revenues.

government and the church worked together to align their boundaries so that they corresponded.<sup>54</sup> It was difficult to administer a secular territory that was half in one archdiocese and half in another.<sup>55</sup> For one reason, different archbishops had different aims and goals, which may or may not have conflicted with secular aims and goals. Some of these changes then, could be ascribed to adjustments to help line up villages according to secular boundaries. The redistricting could also have been an attempt by some parish priests to gain more influence within the larger church hierarchy. By increasing the size of one parish over another, a priest could have had more authority with his superiors and a greater chance for elevation within the hierarchy. Whether the priest had a voice in the redistricting is unknown, but increasing the size of the parish would allow for greater prestige within the diocese. There is also a possibility that adding different towns to a parish would increase the parish priest's pay, depending on who lived in that community.<sup>56</sup> The community, and more importantly, those who lived in the

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>55</sup> The Diocese regulation was based on the rationale that the diocese borders were to be consistent as possible with the national borders. The consequence of the imperial design envisaged in March 1782, was that the one diocese in Styria, Seckau, would be split so there was only three dioceses. To make sure this plan succeeded, the restructuring was entrusted to the prince bishop of Gurk, Anton Graf von Auersperg. The result culminated in the imperial hand billet of 18 November 1783, which decreed a three-division and creation of three dioceses in the Duchy of Styria: Leoben, Seckau Lavant. Amon and Liebmann, *Kirchengeschichte*, 205

<sup>56</sup> According to William Bowman, "There were, therefore, many sources of parish incomes in nineteenth-century Austria. The complex system of financing priests and parishes made for great variations in parish incomes. Some priests were financially well-off, while others lived in poverty. In addition, the source of money supplied to priests often affected their self-perception and the performance of their ecclesiastical, administrative, and policing functions. A priest who received his income from the *Religionsfonds* (In the 1780s Joseph II had secularized numerous monasteries to create a religious fund from which the state paid the clerics of his newly-established parishes. Financing new parishes in this way was a logical corollary to the Josephinist preference for active as opposed to contemplative clerics) often signed his name "royal priest" (*landesfürstlicher Pfarrer*), indicating his awareness of and perhaps his loyalty to a royal patron. Depending on their views, royal priests could either resent or embrace the political roles the title brought with it. In either case, parishes under direct state patronage reinforced the popular perception of priests as public servants, as bureaucrats in black robes. On the other hand, priests who were primarily beholden to a single prominent patron had to negotiate with the patron on issues such as maintaining the parish church and residence and extending religious privileges to the patron." William D. Bowman, *Priest and Parish in Vienna, 1780-1880*, (Boston: Humanities Press, 1999), 140.

community, was the core unit which all of our data is based off. It is integral to this study that we understand the people who live in these communities, especially the children.

## THE CHILDREN

*Es sollen alle Kinder, Mädchen und Knaben, bemittelte und arme, vom Antritte des 6ten bis zur Vollendung des 12ten Jahres in die Schule gehen. Über die Anzahl dieser Kinder soll bey jeder Pfarr- und Filial- oder Gemeinschaft eine genaue Beschreibung...geführt, und durch Vergleichung mit dem Taufbuche zur gänzlichen Richtigkeit gebracht werden.*<sup>57</sup>

This paragraph, perhaps one of the most significant in the entire *Politische Verfassung*, decrees that all children must attend school from their 6<sup>th</sup> to their 12<sup>th</sup> year, and that it is up to the schools to determine who is eligible with the help of church records. There are two interesting aspects to this quote. The first is that the law stipulates that children must go to school for a minimum amount of time. The government, in its attempt to modernize, needed the majority of its populace to be able to read and do basic math. These two skills would enable every citizen to engage in more successful trade and increase their own incomes, as well as that of the state. The second important aspect is that the law includes girls (*Mädchen*). The state was most likely cognizant that, although women would not be engaging in commerce directly, they would be managing households. Households were long considered the basic unit of the economy, and it was imperative that the woman running the household had the knowledge to manage it effectively.<sup>58</sup> These two aspects are important to keep in mind

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<sup>57</sup> Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 132 §301.

<sup>58</sup> According to the Keith Wightson, "The household of the sixteenth century-and for long afterwards-can be defined in the first instance as a unit of residence and of authority: a group of people living under the same roof and under the authority of the household head-usually, though not always, an adult male. In addition it was an institution 'geared for work': work directed towards the satisfaction of the household's needs as a unit not only of consumption and reproduction but also of production. This much most households had in common. Yet they could also vary enormously in terms of their size, their composition and their functional complexity." Keith Wightson, *Earthly Necessities*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 31.

when we examine the actual numbers of the Birkfeld diocese, because we can see what kind of demographics the government had to deal with when forming these policies.

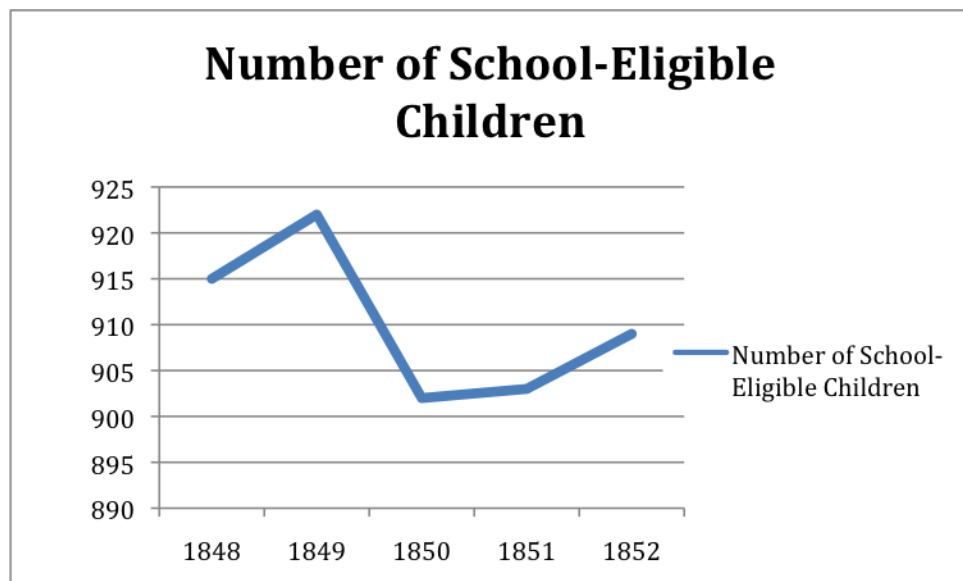


Fig. 7 Number of School Eligible Children

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Let us first examine the raw numbers to understand the trends.<sup>60</sup> In 1848, 915 children were deemed eligible for school in the entire diocese. In 1849 the number increased to 922, a 0.4 percent increase. The number falls in 1850 to 902, and stays relatively lower through 1852, with 903 children eligible for school in 1851 and 909 eligible in 1852. Birkfeld had the highest average percentage of children deemed eligible for school, at 28 percent. Interestingly enough, Fischbach did not have the second highest average at 16 percent. The parish of Ratten narrowly led Fischbach with an average of 17 percent. Koglhof had an average of twelve percent, Rettenegg eleven

59 Diözesanarchiv Graz, Österreich; decantliche Schulvisitationen Birkfeld 1804-1897, XXVII b. 18

60 The number of children was first divided into those from schooled localities and those from unschooled localities. This difference was most likely made to determine those who had access to a school in their village and those who did not. This data set slowly died out in the tables and was completely non-existent in the tables by 1852. A probable reason for this is that the differentiation wasn't productive, and the archdiocese only needed information on those deemed eligible for school and those who went to school, regardless of their village.

percent, Gasen nine percent, and Hauenstein had the smallest average percentage with five. The percentages of children show how the redistricting changed the smaller parishes in particular. In 1848 the children of Birkfeld comprised 27 percent of all children in the diocese. That number increased to 30 percent in 1849 and increased again in 1850 to 31 percent. In 1851 the number dropped to 27 percent, a change that benefitted the smallest parish of Hauenstein, but also Fischbach. Birkfeld's percentage dropped again in 1852 to 26 percent. Throughout the five-year period, Ratten maintained a 17 to 18 percent share of children.

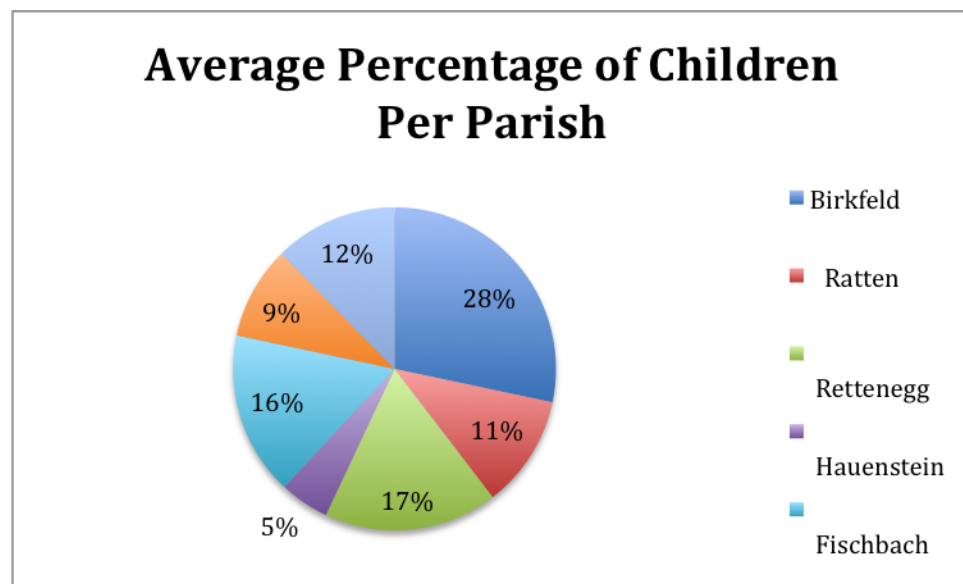


Fig. 8

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Along with Birkfeld, Fischbach experienced a great deal of volatility throughout the five-year period. The parish of Fischbach had a sixteen percent share of all children within the diocese in 1848, but that number dropped to fourteen percent in 1849. In 1850, Fischbach's share jumped back to sixteen, and jumped again in 1851 to nineteen. In

61 Diözesanarchiv Graz, Österreich; decantliche Schulvisitationen Birkfeld 1804-1897, XXVII b. 18

1852, however, it dropped to seventeen percent. This change seems to have affected Koglhof noticeably, as its share increased from five percent in 1851 to seven percent in 1852.

## HOUSEHOLD DISTRIBUTION

We have examined two sets of data so far, the number of houses and the number of children. Our next step is to compare the two sets of data. This will suggest to us whether a parish has an older or younger demographic. If we take the average number of eligible children (910) and divide the average number of houses (1,320) by the number of children we get 1.45. There was an average of one and half children per house in the diocese. Taking into account that some of the villages relied primarily on agriculture and that Austria was a very Catholic country, this is surprising (throughout the entire five-year period, not a single Protestant was counted among any data set). We might expect to find a Catholic agricultural community with a large number of children. Considering these aspects, we may assume that this diocese was fairly old in terms of its denizens (setting aside data on infant mortality, which would affect a community, using our data, to seem older).

We can examine this trend in detail by looking at the individual parishes. Birkfeld had an average of 30 percent of all houses within the diocese. It also had an average of 28 percent of all children. From this we can assume that the parish was relatively balanced in terms of children per house. On the other end of the spectrum, the parish of Ratten had an average of 17 percent of the children in the diocese, but only ten percent of all the houses. This would seem to suggest that, as a parish, Ratten was composed of a large number of younger families with children. At the other side of the spectrum, where the percentage of houses outnumbered the children, we find Fischbach and Gasen. Fischbach had an average share of 21 percent of the houses, but only a

sixteen percent share of all children in the diocese. Gasen had a fourteen percent share of all houses, but only a nine percent share of all children.

From this data, we can begin to question how imperial laws were treated in certain communities. For instance, in a community, such as Gasen, where there was a lower ratio of children to houses, imperial laws regarding education might not have carried much importance. In communities with a higher proportion, such as Ratten, these laws may have had much more significance. It is important to remember that these laws would have affected more than just the school-aged children. Families that lived on farms had their entire life dictated by agricultural cycles, and needed more help at particular times, i.e. planting and harvesting. The children, who acted as farmhands, had to divide their time between the farm and the school. The laws regarding school, therefore, would impact these families much more, and have a greater effect upon the community.

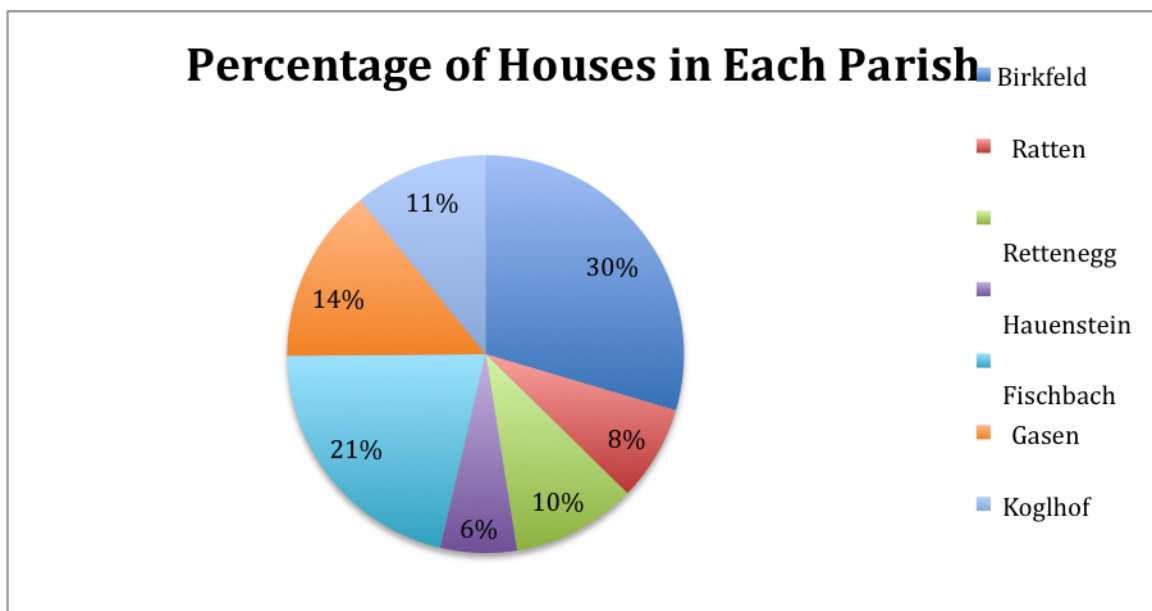


Fig. 9

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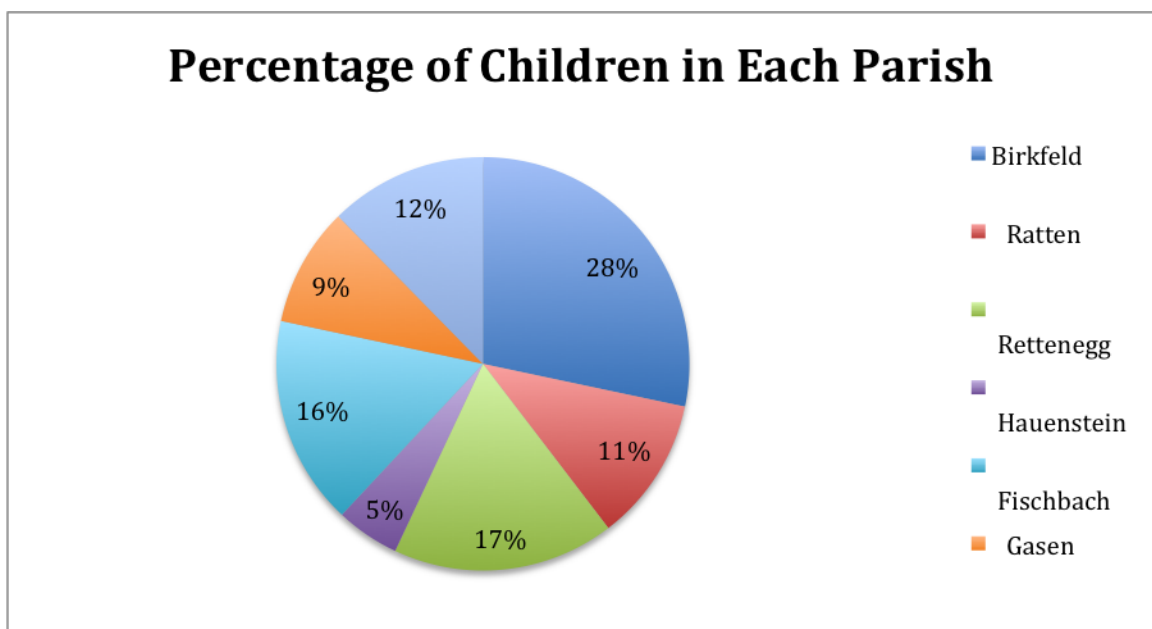


Fig. 10

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62 Diözesanarchiv Graz, Österreich; decantliche Schulvisitationen Birkfeld 1804-1897, XXVII b. 18

63 Ibid.

## SCHOOL ATTENDENCE

The next important set of data to examine is the number of children who attended school. The average percentage of children from the diocese who attended school was 88.<sup>64</sup> With this data set we see a clear and steady decrease in the percentage of children who attended school during the five-year period. The teachers were responsible for recording attendance. Both the Josephist reforms of the 1780s and the *Politische Verfassung* had stipulations that punished school absences. The teacher, therefore, had to communicate absences to the local priest in person every week and in writing to the superintendent every month. Both the priest and superintendent were entitled to impose punitive measures against parents who did not send their children to school (fees or community labor).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> This number is an estimate, using the data we had available. As with the number of houses, there are a variety of factors that affect school attendance. Some of the reports that were included with the tables mentioned the children who lived in the mountains. The reports always explained that their trip to and from school was dangerous. It is unclear from the reports whether or not these children were deemed eligible and actually attended a school (organized or otherwise).

<sup>65</sup> Schloffer, "Kreiskant Weiz", 70.

### Children eligible for school versus children who attended school, 1848-1852

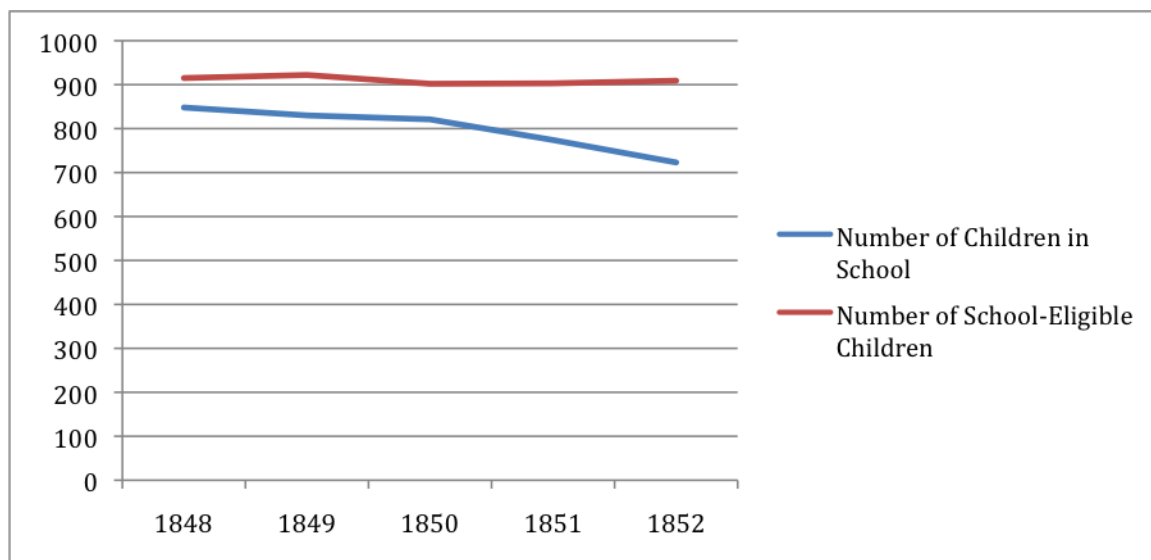


Fig. 11 Children eligible for school versus children who attended school, 1848-1852 <sup>66</sup>

In 1848 the percentage of children who attended school was 93 percent. That number slipped to 90 percent in 1849. In 1850 it jumped slightly to 91 percent, but in 1851 fell to 86 percent and then plummeted in 1852 to 80 percent. If we look more closely at the individual parishes, we can see the breakdown of this falling number. We start, as usual with Birkfeld. The data from Birkfeld mirrored the diocese quite well, with 85 percent of children attending school in 1848, 88 percent attending in 1849, 79 percent in 1850, 78 percent in 1851 and a dismally low 53 percent in 1852. The average of 77 percent is well below the diocese average, so which parish is coming up with the numbers? This set of data has an interesting feature about it, because there are children who attended school within a certain parish, but lived in a different parish. The tables do not specify which parish the children came from, but children who attended school from another parish averages about three to four percent of all children who attended school in

<sup>66</sup> Diözesanarchiv Graz, Österreich; decanliche Schulvisitationen Birkfeld 1804-1897, XXVII b. 18

the diocese. This is indicated in a table column specifying children from outside the parish who attended school. This fact explains why, in 1850, 216 percent of children from Hauenstein attended school. On a map, Hauenstein lies directly next to Ratten, so if there was an exchange between the two, we would expect to see that reflected in the numbers from Ratten, but in 1850 Ratten had a total of 104 percent of children who attended school. This indicates that the children from other parishes might be coming into Hauenstein and Ratten from another diocese.

The second lowest rate of attendance is in Rettenegg. The average attendance rate is 80 percent, which leaves it slightly higher than Birkfeld. Its lowest attendance rate in the five-year period was in 1848 with only 72 percent. It peaked in 1850 with 87 percent and fell back to 81 percent in 1852. If we examine this data compared to the size of the parish, there is no correlation between the size of a parish and the level of school attendance. Hauenstein was the smallest of all the seven parishes, garnishing a mere six percent of the total houses within the diocese, yet it averaged 146 percent attendance level. Birkfeld, conversely, contained an average of 30 percent of the total houses, but only 77 percent of children attended school.

The declining rate of school attendance is suggestive. One possibility is that school officials did not enforce the punitive measures stipulated by imperial law. This is a likely possibility in communities with an older population, where there were fewer citizens interested in school attendance; therefore the need to enforce it was less. In some communities, there may have also been a bureaucratic backlog of truancy claims that needed addressing. The imperial government was notoriously slow with the vast amounts of paperwork it generated. It is an appealing notion that local governments had

the same problem. Another possibility is the fees were a negligible amount of the community's disposable income. That is to say, the fee was nominal and was not an important factor in dissuading parents to keep their children at home. Besides the regular school hours, children were also expected to attend Sunday school, which gave them another level of religious instruction.

## SUNDAY SCHOOL

Another interesting aspect to consider is the rate of Sunday school attendance. In addition to running the schools, the church oversaw the Sunday school program to ensure the development of good moral character. In the index of the *Politische Verfassung*, the term “Sunday school” is referred back to *Wiederholungsunterricht*, which roughly translates into “repeated instruction.” It does not mean, however, that the same material was covered twice a week, but rather that the religious principles that the children were learning were augmented by what they were taught in Sunday school.<sup>67</sup> The instruction was suppose to draw parallels between ecclesiastical texts and real world experiences, so the children would have practical application for the religious principles (at least according to the *Politische Verfassung*). Children were expected to attend Sunday school throughout their school career until the age of 20 (as decreed by Maria Theresa). Francis II later lowered the age expectation to 15. In the country, the priest would keep the students after church and then he was required to bring them back home.<sup>68</sup>

This is a very interesting statistic because it seems to disagree with all the other sets of data we have looked at thus far. For example, one would guess that in a very Catholic empire, such as Austria, attendance would be very high, but in fact, that is not necessarily the case. The average attendance rate for the diocese is 55 percent for the

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<sup>67</sup> “Der Wiederholungsunterricht soll nicht in einer blossen Wiederholung des bereits Erlernten bestehen, sonder auch eine verhältnitzmäßige Fortbildung gewähren. Zu deisem Zwecke wird das von Seiner Majestät genehmigte, bereits zum Drucke beförderte neue Lesebuch, eine Anleitung, Schrifliche Aufsätze, wie sie in dem bürgerlichen Leben vorkommen, zu verfassen, das Berechnen der Haus und Landwirthschaftskosten u. dgl. dienen.” Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 140, §311.

<sup>68</sup> Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 25 §55.

five years we are examining.<sup>69</sup> There is a missing data point for the year of 1852, where there is no number for how many children were Sunday-school eligible. All we have available to us is the number of children who actually went to Sunday school. If we look at the individual parishes, we find the highest rate at 108 percent in Hauenstein. In 1851 140 percent of the Sunday school eligible children attended Sunday school. There is no indication for why this happened, except to assume that, similar to school attendance, children from other parishes attended Sunday school in Hauenstein. The largest parish, Birkfeld has the lowest rate of Sunday school attendance with 25 percent of eligible children attending Sunday school. The second largest parish (according to the number of children as a portion of the whole in the diocese), Rettenegg, had only 35 percent of eligible children who attend Sunday school. On the other end of the spectrum there were two parishes, Fischbach and Gasen, which reported 100 percent attendance for all four years of available data. For size, these two parishes are in the middle, they are neither the largest nor the smallest parish in the diocese in terms of children or houses.

These numbers present us with a fairly clear correlation of size and Sunday school attendance. The larger the parish, the lower the Sunday school attendance. Hauenstein, which only comprised of 5 percent of children in the diocese, had the highest rate of Sunday school attendance. Birkfeld comprised 28 percent of children in the diocese and had the lowest rate of Sunday school attendance. What makes this correlation appealing is that the rest of the parishes follow this rule. This idea could serve as an important step

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<sup>69</sup> The original number used in this study was 26 percent. This was found by comparing the total number of school eligible children to those who attended Sunday school. This may or may not be a correct method for determining the rate of attendance, but because there is no indication of what the difference between school eligible and Sunday school eligible, it is better to compare the sets of data in their respective categories.

to continue research. From this idea, we could begin to understand where certain elements of imperial law were less important, i.e. older communities. Combined with population statistics such as birth and death data, we could construct an entire narrative of a community's education.

## THE TEACHERS

*“Überhaupt soll der Lehrer alle Obliegenheiten seines Amtes auf das genaueste zu erfüllen bemühet seyn.”*<sup>70</sup>

This quote, taken from the eleventh chapter of the *Politische Verfassung* entitled “*Eigenschaften und Pflichten des Lehrers und des Ortsseelsorgers*” exemplifies the expectations that the Imperial government had of the teachers. The teachers were a very important part of the imperial plan for education. They were responsible for the implementation of the children’s education and moral upbringing (if the children were able to attend school regularly). The imperial government was very cognizant of the fact that the teachers were going to be alone with the children for several hours a day (depending on where the school was). Without clear guidelines, foreign elements, non-Catholics and other undesirables could (theoretically) infiltrate the imperial schools and educate the children to their purposes, which could be counter to the purposes of the imperial government. The government, therefore, wrote very detailed instructions on the education, duty and personality of the teacher.

Among the important aspects of a good teacher was his personality. The Prince Bishop of Seckau, Roman Sebastian Zängerle (1771-1848), was an important advocate for the church’s independence to seek out its own teachers, and was able to convince Francis II as much.<sup>71</sup> He explained to the emperor that the success of instruction was

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<sup>70</sup> Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 99, §222

<sup>71</sup> Zängerle took the vows of the Benedictine order in 1788 and taught theology in Salzburg, Krakow, Prague and Vienna. In 1821 he was named the prince bishop of Seckau. As an admirer of the Redemptorists, he was opposed to enlightened, josephinist controls of the previous century. By 1832, he had gained the trust of the emperor, which allowed him to press for the reentry of the Jesuits and other monastic orders, which had been outlawed by Joseph II. Zängerle died in April of 1848, after his monastic order had been driven out

dependent upon the teacher's commitment to a devotional way of life. It was not uncommon for teachers to express their disdain for religion to their students. Zängerle complained often that many of the teachers lacked "*fromme religiöse Gesinnung*",<sup>72</sup> and the imperial government agreed. It believed that a teacher's lack of morals could be detrimental to a student's proper upbringing. According to the *Politische Verfassung*, teachers needed to have enough knowledge of religion, "*um sowohl sein eigenes Herz darnach (sic) zu bilden, sich in gottseligen Gesinnungen zu stärken, und durch seinen Wandel für die Jugend ein nachahmungswürdiges Muster zu werden.*"<sup>73</sup> In short, teachers needed to be able to mold their own heart, strengthen their own pious sentiments and be worthy models of imitation for their students.

In addition to a sound religious grounding, teachers needed to be educated, as the state still deemed religion alone could not fully prepare its citizens for the modern world. A major attempt at teacher education began during the reforms of the empress Maria Theresia. Her school regulations stipulated the establishment of normal schools, which offered courses for teachers. The courses, which were eleven hours a week for three months, were offered four times a year.<sup>74</sup> However, the schools that offered these courses weren't very common, and teachers often had to travel to attend the courses. The primary issue at the time of the regulations was that many teachers who had been teaching could not leave their post for three months while being funded by the

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of the city; Gerhard Schwartz, "Roman Sebastian Zängerle, Bischof" <http://www.graz.at/cms/beitrag/10096104/1869835/>, accessed 7, April 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Amon and Liebmann, *Kirchengeschichte der Steiermark*, 99-100.

<sup>73</sup> Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 96-97 §212.

<sup>74</sup> Schloffer, *Kreisdekant Weiz*, 100; The exact quote from the regulation, "*Alle Kandidaten zu den nach Einrichtung der Normal- und Hauptschulen ledig werden den Schuldiensten müssen sich zu tüchtiger Führung des Lehramts in der Normalschule, oder wenigstens in einer nächst gelegenen Hauptschule bilden.*"

community at large. The candidates did have the option to take the test only, in order to be considered “qualified.”<sup>75</sup> This system remained in place until 1822, when stricter regulations were instituted. The length of the education courses was doubled, from three months to six. After successfully completing the course, the candidate received an “assistant’s certificate,” after which he completed a service year as an apprentice, then a final exam and finally a teaching certificate.<sup>76</sup>

After the teacher was qualified, he was expected to continually enhance his knowledge through reading “good books.”<sup>77</sup> He should not be ashamed to reach out to other teachers for good advice either. He also had to believe and seek to use the counsels of his superiors, especially that of his local priest. His teaching was not to be purely a passing on of knowledge, but it needed to be applied with ease, so the children would feel relaxed in the classroom. In addition to teaching, he must have the ability to play the church organ without error. The songs, though, were only to be those sanctioned by the church.<sup>78</sup> Despite all of these regulations, and the fact that he was at the bottom of the educational hierarchy, he should not have labored under the fear of being punished or expelled, but rather used his conscience to drive his sense of duty.<sup>79</sup> The position of the teacher is an excellent example of the combination of state and church, which the

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 102. Despite the concerted push for better-qualified teachers, there is no indication in our archival material as to whether these teachers were certified or not. It should also be noted that the pronoun “he” is used extensively, but does not mean that there were no female educators. The female educators were found primarily at the all girls schools or *Mädchenschule*. Because we have no *Mädchenschule* in our diocese, we will “he”, as the large majority of teachers in the *Trivialschule* were men.

<sup>77</sup> This was another way of controlling the teacher’s knowledge because of the strict censorship laws in place in Austria, the books available were approved by the government to reinforce its ideals.

<sup>78</sup> Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 98-99 §220. Again, we see a limit on the teacher’s resources. The songs he could play for the children would reinforce the churches motives, while the books he read reinforced the state’s motives.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 99, §222.

*Politische Verfassung* sought to encompass. The teacher's was a duty of both secular and religious importance, shown through the requirements of the office. Teachers were expected to be caring tutors of secular knowledge, as well as moral compasses that reinforced church doctrine.

Birkfeld's teacher was Anton Hrdy, a Bohemian man, born in 1805. As a Bohemian, we might assume that Hrdy's first language was not German (we may also speculate that he may not have been Catholic, but there is no evidence to support this). This would make it more difficult for him to communicate to students, especially in a country where every valley had and has its own dialect, and he would have had an accent.<sup>80</sup> Most of the other teachers, however, were likely to have been native Austrians. The teacher in Hauenstein between 1848 and 1851 was Johan Wiedler, and in Gasen we find a Josef Daminger, both names that sound very Austrian. The Austrian born teachers were not exempt from their share of difficulties. If we look at the example of Josef Daminger, we can get an interesting picture of the teachers and their life.

There is a note in the records from Herr Daminger, written August 28<sup>th</sup> 1849, which explains that he was caught drinking, and was threatened by the Deacon, Joseph Hirzberger, that if he did not stop, he would lose his job. He admits his proclivity to drink and promises to reform. This small example begs an interesting question about the

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80 Despite being born in another part of the empire, Hrdy was probably expected to take the "oath of office", which pledge support to the local authority, "*Ich endes Gefertigter erkläre hiermit an Eides Statt, daß ich dermahl mit keiner geheimen Gesellschaft oder Verbrüderung weder in dem In noch Auslande verflochten bin, oder wenn ich es wäre, mich sogleich davon losmachen, und mich ins Künftige in dergleichen geheime Verbindungen unter was immer für einem Vorwande nicht mehr einlassen werde, so wahr mir Gott helfe! Zur Urkunde dessen habe ich diesen eidlichen Revers eigenhändig geschrieben und unterschrieben.*" The teacher, by taking the oath, renounces his fealty to any previous local authority or engaged with any secret society and pledges support to the new local authority. (We may also speculate that this was to ensure cooperation in religious matters, where certain parts of the empire were not as devoutly catholic i.e. Bohemia), Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 77-78 §166.

teacher's performance and school attendance. If school attendance were directly affected by the age and personality of the teacher, wouldn't attendance in Gasen be low, at least for 1848, before he admitted to his drinking problem? This is, however, not the case. Zängerle's argument about the importance of the teacher's personality seems to gain some traction here. There are, of course, limitations to this evidence, but one would think that if a teacher were performing poorly (i.e. hung-over or still drunk) children would be less likely to show up, either on their own volition or that of their parents. Though the teacher may not directly have influenced school attendance, perhaps we can turn to teacher pay to give us insight into what may affect attendance.<sup>81</sup>

The teachers that we are looking at occupied a strange place in society. They were not considered employees of the church, nor were they exclusive employees of the state. If we refer back to the power structure diagram on page 20, the teacher had obligations to both secular and religious authority. The community in which they taught decided their pay (and often times room and board). The *Politische Verfassung*, did, however stipulate that according to a law from 1785, teachers were to be paid no less than 130 *Gulden* per year. In our diocese, this was not the case (some teachers received

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81 In addition to their personalities, their discipline styles may have differed. Starting in 1785, Joseph II outlawed corporal punishment in schools. Instead, there were two books, *Buches der Ehre* and *Buches der Schande* (book of honor and book of shame). If the child misbehaved, kept his or her school book in poor condition, or did not do his or her homework they wrote the reason and their name in the book of shame. An example from 1837 shows this, "*Weil ich in der Erlernung (in) Mathematik so beispilloos liederlich bin, daß ich in sieben Lehrstudnen nacheinander jedesmahl ein einfaches Dvisions-Exempel zu machen nicht im Stande war, so schreibe ich zu bleibeneden Schande meine Nahmen in dieses Buch. Am 6. November 1837 Rudolph Stenzl, Schüler der II. Gramatical-Classe.*" The boy, Rudolph, was "unparallel in his sloppiness" in math that he could not correctly write simple division examples, and therefore must account for his poor performance. The teacher, marking some good attribute that the student exhibited, filled out the book of honor. The reality seems to have been that the positive motivation outweighed the negative. A book of shame contained only 26 pages between the years 1782 and 1840 (which may have been an oversight on the teacher to cover his poorly disciplined class). Engelbrecht, *Erziehung und Unterricht*, 223.

less than 50 *Gulden* per year).<sup>82</sup> In some instances, there was a school fund set up, usually by a wealthy benefactor in the community, to pay the schoolteacher. In cases where there was no school fund, the community paid directly for the teacher, in cash and in kind. According to the *Politische Verfassung*:

*Es sollen aber zu diesem Gehalte alle Einkünfte des Schullehrers, die er von seinem Dienste bezieht, gerechnet, folglich soll genau erhoben werden, was der Schuldienst sowohl an sichern und fixirten Einkünften vom Kirchen und Meßnerdienste (welcher überall, wo es immer thunlich ist, mit dem Schuldienste verbunden seyn soll) von Stiftungen u.s.f als am Schulgelde, ferner an Körnern, Most und andern Naturalien ertrage.*<sup>83</sup>

The teacher was to be paid for all services that related to school services. Payment in kind was also considered valid tender. It is clear that the government foresaw disputes arising because of a teacher's inability to garner payment for their services. The law, however, does not state that the government will pay for the teacher. It is the responsibility of the community to find adequate funds to compensate the teacher. If we examine our own diocese, we can see how this system worked in practice.

The first statistic that we will look at is the amount that each teacher was paid. The pay was divided between *Kreuzers* and *Gulden*, with one *Gulden* equaling about 100 *Kreuzers*.<sup>84</sup> We might assume that Birkfeld would command the highest real number in terms of payment, based on the previous data trends, but interestingly enough, that is not the case. The teacher's average annual salary in Birkfeld was 179 *Gulden* and 48 *Kreuzers*. The highest paid teacher taught in Rettenegg, where the average salary was

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<sup>82</sup> Austria, *Politische Verfassung*, 79 §167.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 79 §168.

<sup>84</sup> The actual exchange rate was never simple, as the amount of gold and silver in each coin fluctuated, as well as the price of gold and silver. For our purposes, we will assume a very straightforward conversion, but we must keep in mind that the *Kreuzer* varied frequently in its relation to the *Gulden*. An online article by Martin Vortuba at the University of Pennsylvania contains a detailed discussion on the topic, <http://www.pitt.edu/~vortuba/qsonhist/habsburgcoinsslovakcoins.html> accessed 5-5-2012.

201 *Gulden* and 37 *Kreuzers*. The lowest salary was in Gasen at only 57 *Gulden* and 40 *Kreuzers*. If we examine the percentages, Birkfeld composed 19 percent of all teacher salary, Rettenegg 21 percent and Gasen only six percent. As we can see, several of these average salaries were well below the required 130 *Gulden* per year. There could be a variety of explanations for this. One explanation might be that the teacher's full salary was not listed in the church documents. If the teacher was receiving payment in kind, it is likely that it was distributed at various times throughout the year. Unless the teacher was very exacting in his records, it is possible that some of the payment in kind went unreported. The tables might only list income after tax. In 1850, the phrase "*gesetzlichen Abzüge mit*" (with legal deductions) is written next to each of the teacher's salary amounts.



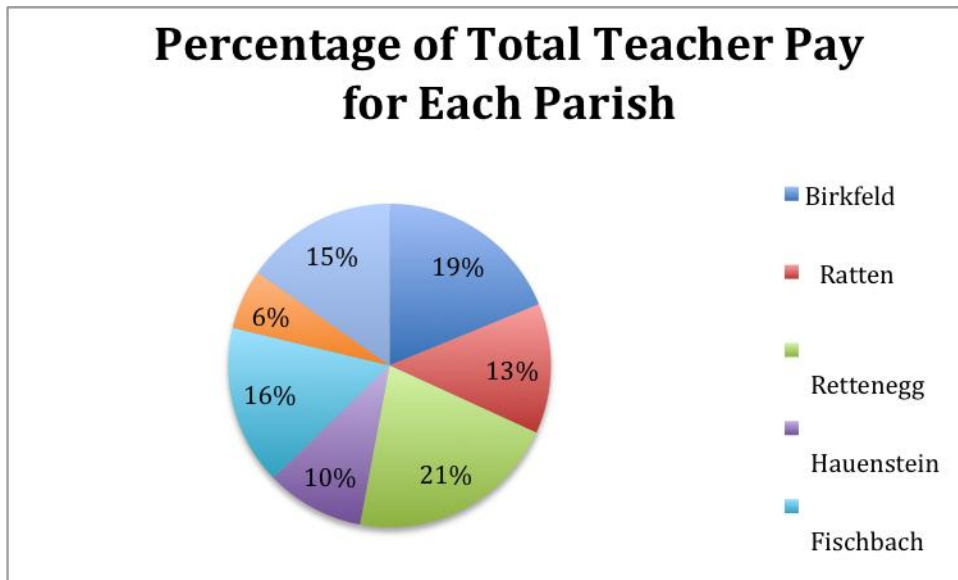


Fig. 13

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Birkfeld, while the largest parish, was only second in terms of pay. Rettenegg, however, was the fifth largest (out of seven) but had the largest pay. Rettenegg also had the second lowest rate of school attendance in the diocese (Birkfeld's was the lowest). How do we explain this phenomenon?

Each parish could contain multiple villages, as stated above, and some of these villages had what were called unorganized schools. These were schools that had no real schedule and met only when it was convenient for both the teacher and the students (this does not, however truly explain why the largest parish, Birkfeld had the lowest school attendance. If we examine the school attendance rates for the smaller villages within the parish, we find they have higher rates of attendance than the town of Birkfeld). These unorganized schools are found in two parishes, Birkfeld and Fischbach, but are only reported for the years 1848-1850. It is unclear whether from 1851 and on, if the unorganized schools were abolished, or they simple weren't reported. The average

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86 Ibid.

school attendance rate for children from the various villages within the Birkfeld parish was 101%, with the extra percentage referring to children from different parishes. The average for Birkfeld itself, however, was only 68 percent. A similar pattern can be found within Fishbach, with the average for the villages at 100 percent, but the average for Fischbach itself at 93 percent. An important fact to consider when looking at these statistics is that the unorganized schools most likely did not meet every day, so if we were to consider over all class time, surely the children in the unorganized schools would fall behind. Each of the unorganized schools had its own teacher, but often times they were not paid, most likely because they did not work long enough throughout the year to garner full payment.

If we return our attention to Rettenegg, we can better understand why the payment is so high. There were two towns in the parish of Rettenegg, Rettenegg itself, and Feistriztwald. Unlike the Birkfeld and Fischbach parishes, Feistriztwald had an organized school. This meant that the school met regularly, and therefore the teacher worked on a regular basis. The teacher in Feistriztwald received a salary of 90 *Gulden* and 12 *Kreuzer* for all five years, which in perspective of the total share of salary comes up to only nine percent of aggregate teacher salary. Similarly, Rettenegg's share of total salary is only 18.8 percent, at an average yearly salary of 179 *Gulden* and 40 *Kreuzers*.

Teacher's pay is another integral part of our data set. It is some of the only economic data we have available to us in this study. This paper certainly could expand on the connection between annual teacher salary and community wealth, but without other economic indicators it would be a tenuous argument. For our purposes we need to

only look at education and its value within the community and leave the wider economic picture to future scholars.

## CONCLUSION

This study attempts to shed light on a heretofore-neglected topic. Statistics do not always make for the most fascinating of reads, but they are necessary to build a successful narrative. The primary purpose of this study is to construct the framework for future scholars. The framework that we have discussed introduces a variety of topics that scholars can work with, with emphasis on three major topics: housing, children, and teachers. From each of these topics, we can see different possibilities for future research, which is necessary for this little known topic.

We began with housing as an attempt to understand the size of our diocese. Obviously there are different ways to understand population size, but by examining houses we get a sense of community growth. Houses were (and still are) expensive to build, limiting their growth rate. If we examine a community in which housing expands rapidly, we can look for certain economic figures that point to overall growth. If the community's housing stays static, our research can compare it with population growth to understand if the community was over or under populated. The communities that we examined remained largely static, with one spike in the data. Such an intense spike could indicate a change in definition rather than new growth (especially when the number decreased the following year). The causes for the spike could certainly be examined and discussed as a piece of scholarship. With the resources available to this study, however, we must allow for the unknown.

Our second major topic was children. The children are the most important piece of this study, because without them there would be no study. The data that we had available allowed us to examine the relative size of each parish and the rates of

attendance. These numbers, when combined with the housing information, allowed us to put forth ideas regarding community age. As a framework piece, this study shows that school data can augment previous works on births and deaths. It would be plausible to compare the data in this study with birth, death, and marriage registers to better understand community growth. With these four sets of data, we could understand an entire community's age distribution at a given time. If we combine this population data with economic data of the community we can understand how age related to wealth, and from there hypothesize about how the school children understood success in their own community.

Teachers were involved members of their community, and therefore integral to our study. Our particular data contained information about teacher salaries, as well as their names, ages, and job performance. The data on the teachers are very interesting, considering that the community paid them. We discovered that our particular diocese did not have a positive correlation between size of the parish and the amount of salary. We can make endless speculations about why this is, but unless we examine the population and economics of each parish in detail, we won't truly understand this phenomenon. If we were to compare teacher income to our previous set of data, which included birth, death, marriage, and school-aged children we can recreate a community that can tell us if they valued education for their children and if not, why.

These three topics are better understood when we integrate the macro efforts of the government. The purpose for the *Politische Verfassung* is to supplement the data. The *Schulvisitationsprotokolle* and the *Politische Verfassung* compliment each other by clarifying their respective aims. For example, we knew from the data, how much

teachers were paid, but without comparison, it is seemingly meaningless. By adding the government's stipulation of 130 Gulden per year, those numbers are given more relevance. The data regarding the children is likewise given more relevance by the information in the *Politische Verfassung*. The law that made primary school compulsory casts the school attendance rates in a new light.

In conclusion, this study is the first step in assessing the importance and nature of Austrian elementary education. We have looked at the data and attempted to give it some relevance by comparing it to the imperial law. With this information we have suggested a variety of options in future scholarship, such as expanding on available economic data as well as examining birth and death records, which could help to adjust the gap in current research. In addition to its importance in filling a gap of historical importance, it has an importance in today's society as well. In the United States and Europe, education is a very important topic that is being discussed in many forums. There are pressing concerns about pedagogy and funding that have wide ranging implications. Our study could be described as a case study to be used in this current debate. It is important to understand the necessity of historical case studies in our modern world. They are not so far removed from our reality that they are rendered completely useless.

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