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MAYNES, Mary Jo, 1949-
SCHOOLING THE MASSES: A COMPARATIVE SOCIAL HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1750-1850. (VOLUMES I AND II)

The University of Michigan,
Ph.D., 1977
History, Europe

University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

SCHOOLING THE MASSES: A COMPARATIVE SOCIAL HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1750 - 1850

(Volume 1)

by
Mary Jo Maynes

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History)
in The University of Michigan
1977

Doctoral Committee:

Professor David Bien, Co-Chairman
Professor Charles Tilly, Co-Chairman
Professor Raymond Grew
Associate Professor Louise Tilly

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The University of Michigan was a superb place to do graduate work in the field of European social history. The intellectual debts I accumulated during my years there are too numerous to itemize completely, but I would like to thank some of the people whose assistance has been particularly valuable. First on my list of creditors are the co-chairmen of my dissertation committee: David Bien, who has been a good advisor, fine teacher and careful critic since my first days of graduate school and who first suggested to me the idea of studying the social history of education; and Chuck Tilly, whose teaching and writings and personal guidance have shaped in fundamental ways my whole stance toward history. Louise Tilly was a friend, teacher and inspiration long before she officially became a member of the Michigan History Department. Raymond Grew has offered helpful criticism of my work based on his own expertise in the social history of education. Numerous other members of and graduate students in the Departments of History and Sociology at Michigan have offered support, criticism, discussion. While I cannot mention them all individually, I would at least like to thank collectively the members of the Collective Action Group of the Center for Research on Social Organ-

ization, the Comparative Colloquium of the Department of History, and the seminars of the Center for West European Studies.

Because I did a comparative dissertation, I seem to have relied on the help and resources of at least twice as many institutions and their staffs. The research on which this study was based was made possible by grants from the Horace G. Rackham School of Graduate Studies and the Foreign Area Fellowship Program of the Social Science Research Council, which, of course, accept no responsibility for its contents. In Paris, I availed myself of the services of the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Musée Pédagogique and the Archives Nationales, whose staff members usually got me what I wanted. In Avignon, the staff of the Archives Départementales de Vaucluse made my time in the Midi pleasant as well as productive. I would particularly like to thank Michele Tilloy, Monique Tyron and R. B. Leminor for their friendship and service beyond the call of duty. In Karlsruhe, the staff of the Generallandesarchiv was always friendly and efficient. Herr Weber, in particular, helped me to make the most of my time there. I would also like to thank the directors and staffs of the Stadtarchive of Mannheim and Heidelberg, and Herramtsvorstand Mergenthaler of the Mannheim Standesamt. Finally, the cooperation of the staff of various

Catholic and Evangelical Church archives facilitated my work with parish registers.

As I approach the completion of my dissertation, I can hardly forget the thanks I owe my typists, Jim and June Smith, whose expertise greatly facilitated the completion of the task that once seemed interminable.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADV	Archives Départementales de Vaucluse
AN	Archives Nationales
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
GLA	Generallandesarchiv
HStA	Heidelberg. Stadtarchiv
MC	Musée Calvet
MP	Musee Pédagogique
MStA	Mannheim. Stadtarchiv

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Comparative History of Education

In the year 1817, the Catholic deacon of the city of Mannheim reported to the Badenese Ministry of the Interior that he had "made the sad discovery of sixteen-to-eighteen year old young people of both sexes who had never in their lives attended school and couldn't even read and write." As far as the deacon was concerned, their ignorance placed them "on the lowest level of humanity, only a little removed from the African savage."[1] That the deacon saw fit to compare these young people, from the poorer classes of the city, to Africans, betrays the biases inherent in his own social and ethnic position: the world of the German poor and the world of the African native were both, to some extent, alien to him. Nonetheless, his shock at the illiteracy of the poor is instructive; it reflects the strong commitment to the written word pervasive in Badenese officialdom. In fact, the implicit ideal of universal literacy became a reality quite early in Baden. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the overwhelming proportion of the Badenese

population could read and write. Universal literacy was clearly established by the third quarter of the nineteenth century.[2]

While this may hardly seem to be a spectacular accomplishment, the situation in Baden was a far cry from conditions elsewhere in Western Europe. In France at mid-century, only about two-thirds of young adult males were capable of signing their names and half or more of all women were illiterate.[3] In certain regions of France, particularly in the South, literacy was even more limited. For example, in the southern French department of Vaucluse, mid-century literacy among newlyweds ranged from as low as one in five in some communities to about half in others.

These wide differences in levels of literacy reflect school attendance patterns that were also quite different. In Baden as a whole, over 90 percent of all six to 14 year olds were enrolled in school in the third quarter of the 19th century.[4] In many communities of northern Baden mid-century school enrollments virtually equalled the school-age population. In mid-century France, enrollments were much lower; in Vaucluse only about half of five to 15 year olds (that is, fewer than two-thirds of six to 14 year olds) were enrolled in schools in 1850. Again, the proportion of children attending school varied widely among the Vauclusan communities.

What accounts for the relative educational superiority of the Badenese? for the wide variance in levels of schooling among the French communities? What were the factors which were important in the establishment of educational trends in early modern Europe? Educational historians concerned with questions such as these have often sought answers through the analysis of national level administrative and legal developments. The argument has been made that educational advances were the result of the efforts of state bureaucratic organizations, of enlightened central planning.[5] But this type of analysis was often informed by several unexamined assumptions: first, that mass schooling systems were, in some sense, a necessary adjunct to political and economic modernization; second, that the liberal educational reforms of the early modern period were generally designed to encourage advancement through education; third, that schooling laws and national policies were actually enforceable and enforced and can thus be viewed as causes of behavioral change.

Much recent work on the history of education has challenged one or more of these assumptions. For example, M. Clifford-Vaughan and M. Archer have questioned the functionalist assumption that industrialization produced necessary and predictable outcomes for educational systems.[6] Their examination of educational

change in 19th century France and England suggests that the political struggle over control of the schooling bureaucracy shaped the type of system which evolved. Richard Johnson, a historian of schooling in England, also focussed his attention upon the interests and goals of educational policymakers. He concludes that, far from being egalitarian or benevolent, the middle-class school reformers of industrializing England were attempting to use the schools as institutions for the indoctrination and disciplining of future industrial workers.[7] His argument is echoed in the recent work of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis on American educational history.[8] Another Americanist, Michael Katz, has presented what is in many ways the most sophisticated scrutiny of the interests and motivations of proponents of school reform. He turns to a local study to find out which sectors of the population favored, and which opposed, a "democratic" extension of secondary schooling.[9] All of these authors have contributed to the recent reformulation of explanations of educational change. Their re-examination of the roles played by different social groups raises questions about the motivation behind educational change at the administrative level. They suggest that it is important to know, in explaining educational change, the interests represented by school administrators and reformers, the obstacles and opposition they faced, and their attitudes

toward the classes they were purportedly serving in their development of mass school systems. They are right, of course, but like their predecessors tend to focus too exclusively on people and policies in the political center. With one or two exceptions, educational change is understood by them largely as the product of coercion.

This is only half the picture. The schoolroom, after all, is a locus of child socialization. The history of schooling is inextricably bound up with the broader history of childhood and the family. Parents were the ultimate agents of educational change and no true understanding of historical trends in education can evolve outside of the context of the family. The close examination of the history of the family undertaken by social historians, the historical analysis of the family economy and of family strategies for child-rearing, provides valuable insight into the history of schooling as well.[10]

One of the earliest impulses for a rewriting of the history of education through reference to the history of the family came from the work of Philippe Ariès.[11] Ariès suggested that early modern concern with education was a reflection of new attitudes toward children, of modern child-centeredness of families and of the new willingness to invest in children's futures. Following Ariès, one might try to explain the above-cited dif-

ferences between Baden and Vaucluse by showing evidence that "modern" attitudes toward children emerged earlier in Germany than in France. It would presumably be necessary to define and analyse the components of modernity and discuss their appearance in European cultures. Several historians have followed the suggestive lead of Ariès and have tackled parts of that task. Others have rightfully pointed to the logical difficulties inherent in the attempt to explain behavioral change through reference to attitudes, but even critics retain the postulated centrality of the family as mediator between broad social and economic change and trends in education.[12]

Putting the family in the center of the study of educational history allows a systematic and meaningful analysis of a number of components of educational trends. Patterns of behavior, still the most direct evidence for discovering the history of non-elite and often illiterate groups, begin to make sense when viewed as reflections of familial strategies for coping with a set of needs within the constraints of available resources. Recent attempts to elaborate a theory of family behavior in the early modern world form a coherent context in which to interpret these patterns of behavior, including educational patterns. The work of Michael Anderson and of Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, for example, is particularly useful; the model they develop of the operation of the family

economy of early industrial Europe specifies the factors that were weighed by families in making decisions about marriage, fertility, work and schooling.[13] Economic theorists concerned with the history of education have developed explicit cost-benefit models linking the fate of schooling as a family investment with opportunities for child and adult employment in the local economy.[14] Here again, the family serves as mediator between economic conditions and schooling decisions. If the economists are correct in suggesting that investment in schooling can be understood in this manner, the impact of the local economy upon trends in schooling should be striking. Furthermore, structural changes which affect either the availability of resources or the opportunity for employment should result in changes in schooling patterns. As subsequent chapters will attempt to show, such factors do go a long way in accounting for variation in schooling levels among communities within a given school system; at the international level of comparison, however, the argument based on employment opportunities is less convincing unless the model is expanded to include such systematic factors as fines and other penalties for the choice of work over schooling.

In fact, looking at the history of schooling from the point of view of the family ultimately brings one back to certain features of the educational system as important

determinants of schooling trends. Part of the explanation for the differences between the schooling decisions of families in Vaucluse and Baden may stem from the different costs to families, and different degrees of availability of school facilities in the two regions. This is particularly likely in a situation where different portions of the costs of schooling were borne by local or central governments or by private (especially religious) groups. In a sense, the findings of administrative historians of schooling and family-oriented historians of schooling begin to merge. The step-by-step construction of universal schooling systems proceeded at different rates and under different auspices in Baden and Vaucluse; systemic changes in both regions were felt earlier and more strongly in some types of communities than in others. Such differences meant that the schooling options available to families varied in a predictable manner.

What all of this suggests is that there is not a single history of schooling. Like the histories of political movements or of industrialization or of statebuilding, the history of schooling will look different depending on the perspective chosen. School inspectors, shopkeepers, peasants all placed dissimilar values on schooling and they were usually aware of their disagreements. What will be presented here could almost be called two histories of education: the first, that of the central

planners and reformers; the second, that of the population toward which their planning was directed. But these two histories are by no means separate histories. The schemes of the planners shaped in important ways the options of families making choices about the present and future lives of their children, and the potential cooperation or stubborn opposition of families were important considerations in the calculations and projects of school administrators.

The form of the dissertation follows from these considerations. The first three chapters trace the history of schooling as it looked to the planners and administrators. They deal with their problems, their policies and their perceptions about the needs and limits of the people who were supposed to be sending their children to school. The second half of the dissertation, chapters four through six, attempts to piece together the less well-articulated, but nonetheless important, views about education and strategies with respect to schooling that shaped the behavior of ordinary people. For these people, too, had policies, though they were reflected in behavior rather than being presented in reasoned statements and preserved in official documents. Though perhaps more elusive, an understanding of the popular perspective is crucial as a complement and counterweight to the official view.

The Method - Comparative Local Studies

All history is, implicitly at least, comparative. The historian recreating the world of the past begins with his or her own historical condition as reference point and inspiration; furthermore, comparison along the dimension of time is inherent in most historical ventures. The emphasis on what is unique, distinctive or revelatory about a particular state of affairs assumes that some base line has been established or understood (even if that base line is nothing more than the state of affairs immediately preceding the one in question). Still, for some endeavors it is useful to make explicit historical comparison; arguments which attempt to assess the impact of a variety of factors upon specific historical trends seem particularly susceptible to elucidation through comparison. Sylvia Thrupp has outlined several types of comparative studies suited to the historical method.[15] One of these involves the comparison of two societies which are alike in many regards, but which present contrasting features in areas of interest to the investigator. Careful comparison of such societies (or, for that matter, states or organizations or communities) can be suggestive of the important sources of variation: similarities and contrasts emerging from the comparison of case studies point to likely areas of valid generalization

and put a damper on speculations along less fruitful paths. This is the method which I have chosen to follow for the exploration of educational history in early modern Europe. As will become apparent in subsequent chapters, the two regions of France and Germany chosen for study were similar in many respects, but presented striking contrasts in their educational histories. Hopefully, the comparison will highlight those features of social structure which were of most impact in creating this contrast. Perhaps comparative history is no more than a systematization of the procedure that many historians have always followed: the detailed case study pursued with a view toward generalization has long been part of the historical repertoire. But by stating clearly what is often only implicit in historical inquiry, by building into the research effort what if often left to chance or afterthought, comparative history allows a bit more precision, a bit more clarity and a new kind of accountability in historical study.

A Franco-German comparison seemed interesting for a variety of reasons, but primarily because it allows an assessment of the possible effects upon popular education of dramatically different central school policies. Early modern German state and church bureaucracies made energetic attempts to provide school facilities in every community; compulsory schooling laws were passed in some

areas as early as the 16th century and serious attempts at enforcement seem to have been undertaken during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In France, despite some attempt to organize mass education during the Catholic Reform, no complete program or permanent educational bureaucracy was established. Serious state commitment to schooling came only with the Revolution and no compulsory attendance laws were passed nationally before the last quarter of the 19th century. The reflection of these administrative differences in opportunities for and trends in schooling should suggest the effects and limits of policy.

The two perspectives from which educational history will be viewed, that is, the administrative and the familial, entailed research at different levels. Clearly the administrative perspective can be studied through the analysis of the activities, policies and problems of analogous bureaucratic organizations. The governments of France and the German states included, by the mid 19th century, specialized agencies charged with the administration of schooling systems; while their histories were different in many crucial ways, these institutions nonetheless provide a focus and a body of evidence around which to build an analysis of educational change as viewed by administrative classes. Comparable sources of information about family goals and strategies

are more elusive. For a detailed analysis of educational change as seen from the perspective of families in different circumstances it is necessary to search for evidence on a different scale, one much closer to the individual than that of the national state. Entities like "France" and "Germany" are impossibly large; local studies were suggested by the nature of the problem.

In order to facilitate the study of familial conditions and decisions, two small regions were chosen for intensive study--part of the department of Vaucluse in southern France, and several districts of northern Baden in southwestern Germany. These regions were selected for several reasons: first, archival information was relatively complete and accessible; second, the regions were similar in several important respects (notably in their geographic, economic and religious make-up) allowing, as it were, a degree of control over these complicated variables. While some types of evidence were collected at the regional level, the assembly of a precise data set entailed the selection of a group of communities for which essentially complete pictures of educational change, insofar as possible given the nature of available evidence, could be reconstructed.[16] The educational histories of these communities form the core of the comparison of family strategies in two different systems; but they also provide information about varied

reactions within the same system. The results of such a comparison can hardly be definitive, but they will, it is hoped, be highly suggestive of relationships between schooling history and broad social, economic and political transformations.

The Regions - Geographic Conditions and Boundaries Drawn

The two small regions which were chosen for intensive study were roughly similar in some respects. A description of geographic conditions and administrative organization of these regions will help to establish the context in which educational change was operating.

Vaucluse, or more particularly the two arrondissements of Avignon and Apt, are located in southeastern France. These two arrondissements formed the geographic and cultural northern boundary of Provence, first a Roman and later a French administrative province. The region included in the study extended eastward from the Rhone plain into the foothills of the Alps. (See Maps 1 and 2) The area was marked by a good deal of geographic diversity; the most significant topographic contrast was undoubtedly that which divided the eastern highlands from the western plain. Although the regional climate was generally mild and the growing season long enough to allow the production of olives, wine and silk, many

villages, particularly those at higher elevations were not immune to the ravages of occasionally devastating frosts.

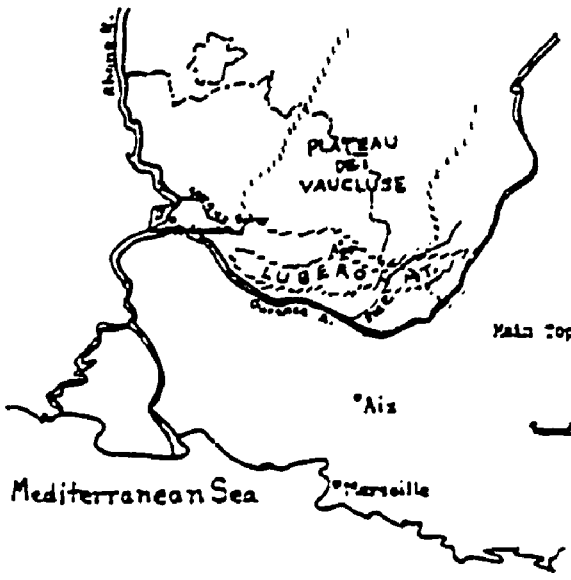
The rivers that flowed through the *département* of Vaucluse and into the Rhone, especially the Durance and the Sorgue, were important channels of communication before the improvement of roads in the early and mid 19th century. In fact, the southeastern part of the *arrondissement* of Apt was more naturally linked, by way of the Durance valley, with Aix and the region to the south than with Avignon. The generally east-to-west mountain ranges, particularly the narrow Luberon to the south, split the *département* into distinct regions and further isolated the southeastern corner from the Rhone plain. Trade routes, seasonal migration patterns and traffic in general tended to bow to geographic determinants, following river valleys and circumventing mountain barriers.

Historical frontiers reinforced geographic tendencies. While the mountainous territory that became the *arrondissement* of Apt at the time of the Revolution was part of the French province of Provence and included in the *baillage* of Aix during the Ancien Regime, the *arrondissement* of Avignon was created from territory that was formerly under the jurisdiction of the Papal States and the independant Comtat Venaissin. The administrative



MAP 1.

VAUCLUSE
on the
map of France



MAP 2.

VAUCLUSE
Main Topographic Features

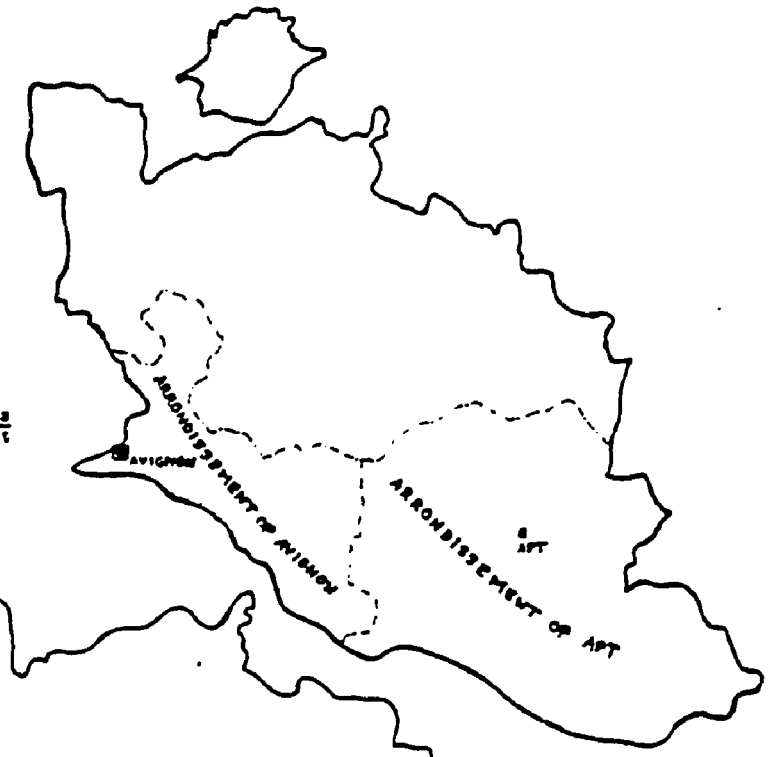
boundaries of the *département* as drawn in 1802 were used in the study, and are presented in Map 3. Map 4 indicates the location of the 20 communities in Vaucluse which were selected for intensive study of educational change.[17]

Like Vaucluse, the Unterrheinkreis of northern Baden was dominated in the west by a grand river plain. The Rhine valley formed a distinct geographic region including large areas in the administrative *Kreise* of Mannheim and Ladenburg, and distinguishing them topographically from the hillier and more wooded *Kreise* of Heidelberg, Wiesloch and Sinsheim to the east and south. (See Maps 5-6) Again in a manner similar to Vaucluse, intraregional traffic of all sorts tended to follow valleys of rivers which emptied into the Rhine. The Neckar valley was the most prominent in the western half of the Unterrheinkreis, which was the region chosen for intensive study. Although the climate of the Unterrheinkreis was, of course, not as warm and dry as that of Provence, it was nonetheless among the mildest of Germany. The region was noted for being extremely productive agriculturally and many of the products upon which the Vauclusan economy was based were also important here; the most notable of these were grapes and mulberry leaves for silk production.

The administrative history of Baden was even more complicated than that of Vaucluse. Much of the western

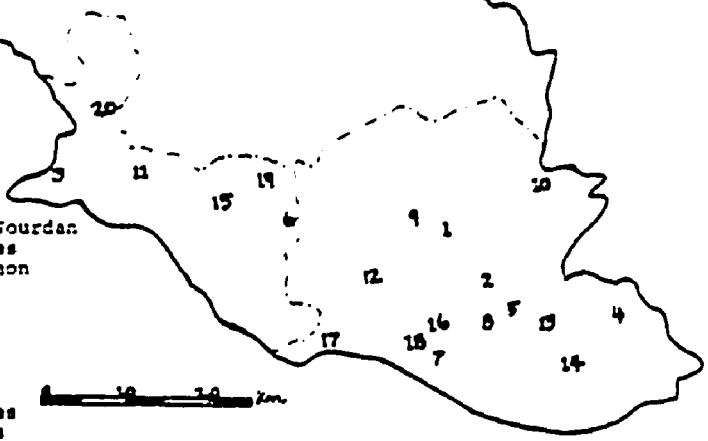
MAP 3.

VAUCLUSE
Arrondissements
of Avignon and Apt

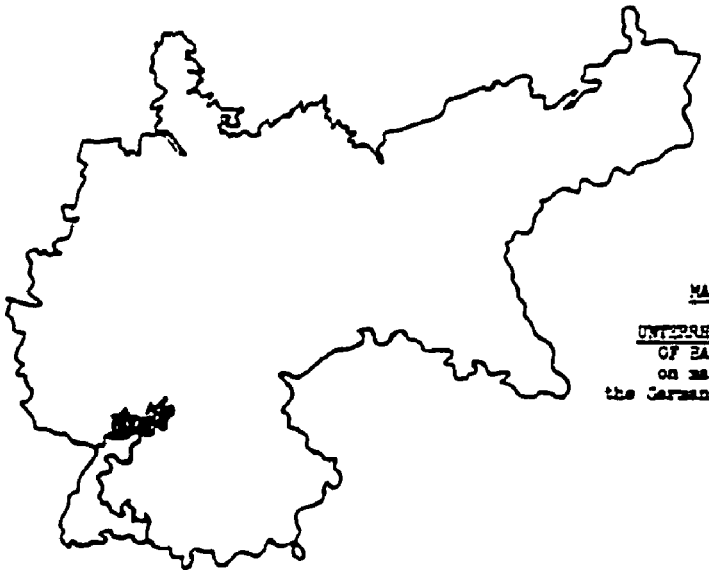


MAP 4.

VAUCLUSE
Sample
Communities

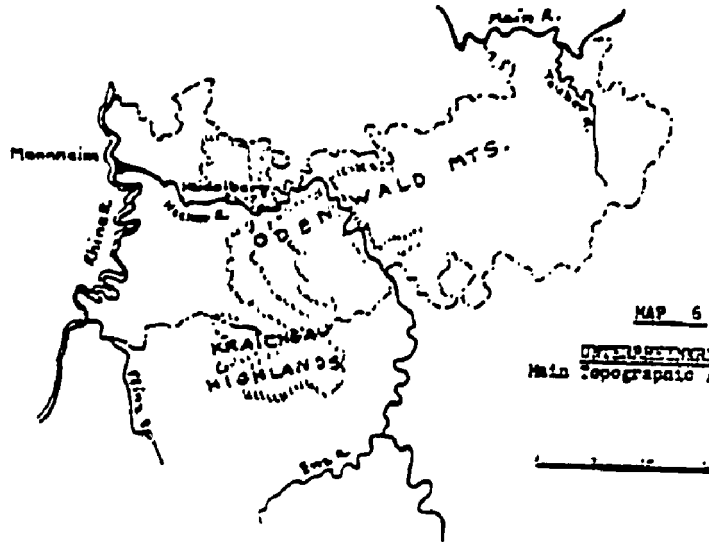


1.Apt
2.Auribeau
3.Avignon
4.La Bastide des Jourdan
5.Cabrieres d'Aigues
6.Cabrieres d'Avignon
7.Cadenet
8.Cucuron
9.Garças
10.Gignac
11.Jonquerettes
12.La Coste
13.La Motte d'Aigues
14.La Tour d'Aigues
15.L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue
16.Lourmarin
17.Merindol
18.Puivert
19.Saumanes
20.Sorgues



MAP 5.

UNIVERSITY OF BADEN
on map of
the German states



MAP 6.

Main topographic features

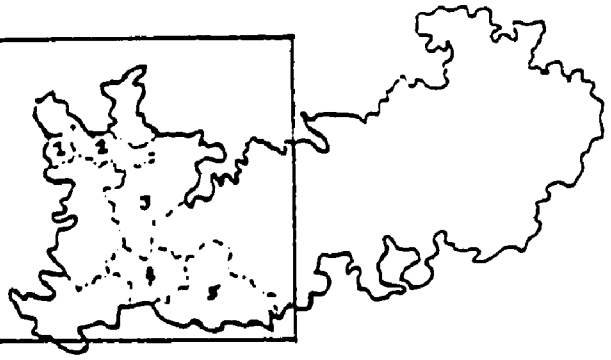
Unterrheinkreis was included in the territory of the Elector of Pfalz until the time of the Napoleonic consolidation in the early 19th century. Parts were under the rule of religious and lay nobility. In fact, northern Baden epitomized that hodgepodge of splintered sovereignties so commonly associated with early modern Germany. With consolidation, however, the area was integrated into the Badenese administrative system, one of the most efficient in Europe. First called the Neckarkreis, the region under consideration later became part of a larger unit called the Unterrheinkreis.[18] Map 7 indicates the boundaries of the Unterrheinkreis. The area within the square is enlarged in Map 8 to show the location of the communities within the intensive sample.

The distribution of population within the two territories also suggests comparability. Both areas were characterized by relatively urban settlement patterns. Even in the 18th century, residents of Baden and Vaucluse were more than usually concentrated into towns and small cities. The largest regional cities, Avignon in Vaucluse and Mannheim in the Unterrheinkreis, reached relative population peaks, around 1780, of about 28,000 and 25,000 respectively. These 18th century highpoints were not surpassed until the 1830's. Throughout the period under consideration, however, the most typical settlement was the overgrown village or small town of 500-2000 residents.

MAP 7.

UNTERSUCHUNGSKREIS
Landkreise Boundaries of Western Half

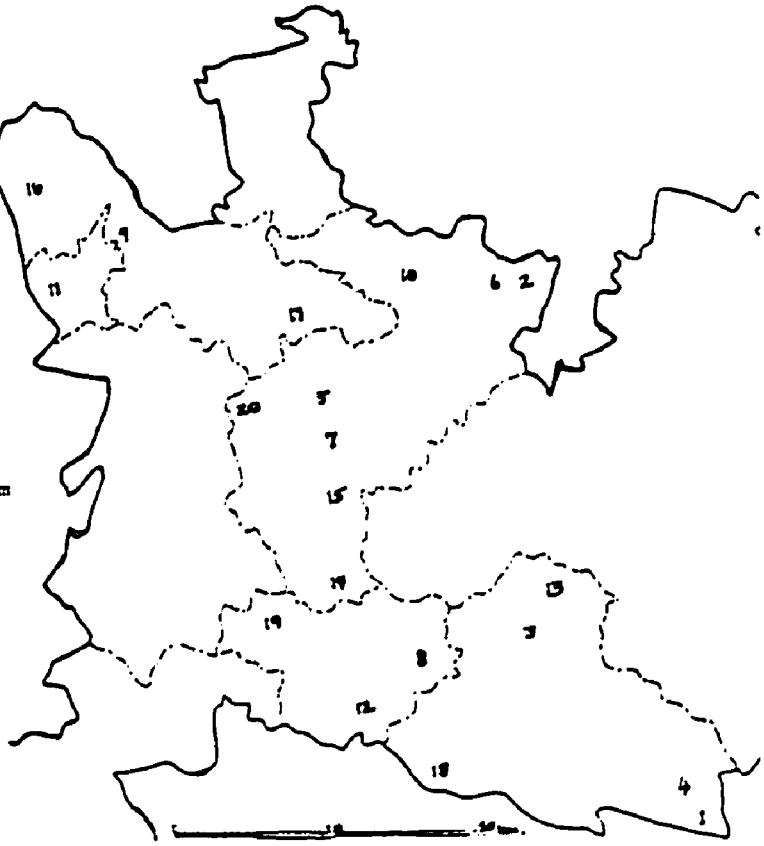
1. Stadtkreis Mannheim
2. Kreis Ladenburg
3. Kreis Heidelberg
4. Kreis Wiesloch
5. Kreis Sinsheim



MAP 8.

UNTERSUCHUNGSKREIS
(Western Half)
Sample Communities

1. Bockschaft
2. Brombach
3. Daisbach
4. Ehrstädt
5. Handschuhsheim
6. Heddesbach
7. Heidelberg
8. Horrenburg
9. Käferthal
10. Lampenhain
11. Mannheim
12. Mühlhausen
13. Neidenstein
14. Nussloch
15. Rohrbach
16. Sandhofen
17. Schriesheim
18. Waldangelloch
19. Walldorf
20. Wieblingen



Small cities, those in the 2,000-10,000 range, were also common. Significant regional increases in population occurred between the mid 18th and mid 19th centuries without much upset in the already high urban-rural balance.

Vaucluse, in fact, conformed with the typically Provençal pattern of population clustering. In the middle of the 19th century, nearly 50 percent of the population of the department was classified as urban (that is, living in communities of 2,000 or more residents). For France as a whole, the proportion was only a quarter.[19] But this urban style of life was an old one and urbanization was progressing only slowly. The proportion of the population of Vaucluse living in the villes-chef-lieux rose only slightly during the first half of the 19th century, from 20 percent in 1806 to 23 percent in 1852. The weight of Avignon's population in the Vauclusan total probably even diminished slightly after 1780, although it rose again in the 19th century.

Within the department, regional differences in population were striking. (See Table 1) The western arrondissement of Avignon included a population of some 60,000 at the turn of the 19th century, living in 20 communities. The eastern arrondissement of Apt, which included a territory about twice as large as that of Avignon, held a slightly smaller population distributed

TABLE 1

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE TERRITORY OF VAUCLUSE AND IN THE ARRONDISSEMENTS OF AVIGNON AND APT

Location	1760[a]	1806[b]	1836[b]	1852[c]
City of Avignon	28,000	23,789	31,786	35,890
Arrondissement of Avignon		61,853	69,820	78,384
City of Apt	6,500	5,374	5,958	5,770
Arrondissement of Apt		53,666	55,199	55,916
Département of Vaucluse	196,033	205,832	246,071	264,618

[a] Expilly, Dictionnaire géographique. . . and M. Pazzis, Mémoire statistique sur le département de Vaucluse (Carpentras, 1808), pp. 178-179.

[b] M. Pazzis, p. 178 ff.

[c] France, Bureau de la Statistique Générale, Statistique de la France (Paris, 1837).

[d] France, Bureau de la Statistique Générale, Mouvement de la population. . . (Paris, 1856).

among 50 communities. Change over time only accentuated regional differences. The sparsely populated arrondissement of Apt experienced only a slight increase in population during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and then entered into a long period of stagnation in the 1830's. In contrast, the western half of the department, including the arrondissement of Avignon, continued to grow throughout the period. Many communities in the west grew by 50 percent or more in the course of the first few decades of the 19th century; growth in the east was modest (less than 15 percent) or non-existent.[20]

The Unterrheinkreis presents a roughly similar picture, although the extreme densities found in parts of Vaucluse are absent. While Baden, like France, had a population that was about a quarter urban in the middle of the 19th century, the proportion of Unterrheinkreis residents who were urban-dwellers was higher--around 30 percent of the population. The weight of the legally-defined urban sector of the Kreis was not increasing and, in fact, declined slightly in the early 19th century.[21] (See Table 2) But as in Vaucluse, regional differences in population during the early modern period were quite important. Between 1780 and 1871 the population of the economically backward Odenwald (north and east of Heidelberg) doubled. In the Kraichgau highland (to the south of Heidelberg) population increases were on the

TABLE 2

POPULATION CHANGE IN THE UNTERRHEINKREIS AND IN THE REGIONS AROUND HEIDELBERG AND MANNHEIM[a]

Location	1780	1818	1852
City of Heidelberg	13,500	15,712	22,975
Landkreis Heidelberg	37,500	52,826	75,252
City of Mannheim	25,000	28,334	36,642
Landkreis Mannheim*	43,000	56,389	77,287

*Actually, there was no Landkreis Mannheim during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The population referred to is that of the region which was a separate administrative unit, this territory was largely included in the Landkreis Ladenburg during the century under consideration.

[a]Staatliche Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg, Stadt- und Landkreise Heidelberg und Mannheim (Mannheim, 1966).

order of 150 percent. In the Neckar valley itself, population grew by around 200 percent and in the booming Rhine plain in the west, 300 percent increases were common.[22] In fact, the stagnation of the legally-defined urban sector may mask the fact that among the fastest-growing communities were those suburban "villages" which were becoming centers of industry and commercial agriculture. Suburbs of Mannheim like Sandhofen and Käferthal, or of Heidelberg like Handschuhsheim and Wieblingen doubled and tripled their populations in a few decades, while in some cases retaining a rural legal status.

Population densities are, of course, closely related to economic activities. People who live in cities also generally engage in different types of activities from rural dwellers; in addition, changes in economic opportunity often bring about changes in population. Insofar as occupational possibilities and career expectations were different, varying amounts of interest in educational investment could be expected to follow. A general description of the economic structure of the regions under consideration adds another important background dimension to the understanding of educational trends.

In Vaucluse and Baden, as in most of early modern Europe, agriculture was the greatest employer of human energies. But during the period under consideration, the impact of early industrialization was already perceptible.

It has been estimated that at the turn of the 19th century, a full 80 percent of the work force in Vaucluse was employed at least part time in agriculture.[23] Typically small holders, Vauclusan peasants combined subsistence production of wheat, wine and sheep with production for the market of oil, wine, silk and other products. In the late 18th century, there was also a well-established rural textile industry; in fact, even at the beginning of the 19th century, "industrial production was as completely alive in the countryside as in the city." As late as 1830, a quarter of the textile weavers of Vaucluse were living in rural communities.[24] Production of silk thread was perhaps the most profitable of the rural industries, but linen and wool production persisted. Maxim Pazzis claims that the rural wool industry was in a state of decay by the time he wrote his "Mémoire Statistique" in 1808, but it still survived in some areas. Future trends were by then already apparent to him:

> Several cotton filatures have been in existence for a few years. This sort of industry which offers sure and substantial profits to the entrepreneur usefully employs the popular classes in the towns: girls, women, even children of both sexes who from the age of eight years are capable of earning fifty centimes a day. This employment was desired for a long time to replace the work which the [domestic] filature and manufacture provided in the old days.[25]

The department of Vaucluse was not, on the whole, to become an important industrial region; in fact, the once important rural manufacturing system was to disappear in

the face of competition of factory and urban-based manufacture. Nonetheless, certain sections of the department became early factory centers and by the middle of the 19th century, a considerable sector of the population had left agriculture. In 1851, agricultural work employed about two-thirds of the active population. But the age-long opposition between mountain and plain had become more emphatic. An analysis of the economic structure of the canton of Apt has revealed a classic pattern of de-industrialization and depopulation apparent by mid-century. Most noteworthy was the collapse of the once flourishing textile industry, but there was a simultaneous 19th century disappearance of nearly all sorts of industrial activity with the exception of that directly related to agriculture and extraction of raw materials.[26] In contrast, the Rhone and Sorgue valleys were relatively prosperous. Occupations of brides and grooms marrying in a sample of communities in the south and west illustrate the transformation that was taking place in the plain. At the beginning of the 19th century, nearly 60 percent of the marriage partners in these communities were employed in agriculture; by the early 1840's, the proportion had dropped to about 40% in these same communities. The proportion employed in manufacturing rose from below 30 to 40 percent. The change in employment patterns of women were more striking than in the entire population,

since as textile manufacture moved into shops and factories and became a fulltime, urban form of employment, it was the female labor force that was most affected. Few women were identified by occupation on their marriage certificates in the 18th and early 19 centuries; of those who were, most were either agriculture workers or daughters of peasants. By the 1840's, nearly a third of all brides were employed in manufacturing, while just under 40 percent remained in agriculture.[27]

In Baden, the economic situation is harder to assess since no systematic identification of residents' occupations was found at the community level. Nonetheless, the picture at the state level looks similar to that in Vaucluse. Until the 19th century, most communities combined subsistence agriculture with some agricultural production for market and cottage industry. A. Heunisch, a contemporary statistician, calculated that in 1830 about 120,000 families, or about 50 percent of the population of the state of Baden, were peasants. An additional 38,000 families were landless agricultural workers; the total agricultural work force comprised nearly two-thirds of the population.[28] By 1849, according to Heunisch, the agricultural work force had declined to 43 percent of the population. Thirty-seven percent of the Badenese people were by then engaged in manufacturing and an additional six percent were classified as industrial

workers having agricultural holdings (Ackerbautreibenede Gewerbeleute).[29] Wolfram Fischer claims that the period from 1829 to 1848 was the period of fastest factory growth in Baden before the last quarter of the 19th century. In the course of these 20 years the factory work force increased by about 300 percent.[30] It must be noted, however, that these workers represented only a small fraction of Baden's work force. Fischer has, in fact, gone back to the original occupational censuses and arrived at a less dramatic assessment of the change in the occupational structure that was occurring in Baden at this time. (See Table 3) The discrepancies between Fischer's results and those of Heunisch are not too surprising. In the early industrial period, the line between agriculture and industry as employment sectors is anything but clear. Particularly in areas of expensive small plot farming and cottage industry, like Vaucluse and north Baden, many people worked in both sectors and reported their occupations differently at different times of their lives and in different seasons of the year. In any event, Fischer would agree with Heunisch's finding that there was a slow overall movement out of agriculture and into industrial employment evident in Baden by the first half of the 19th century.

The few towns in the Badanese Kreise studied for which population lists were available show trends similar

TABLE 3

CHANGE IN THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE IN BADEN[a]

Proportion of the Total Labor Force Employed in		1810		1844	
Agriculture		52%		40-44%	
Home	Industry & Commerce	2%	36%	31-34%	36-40%
Artisanal		33%			
Factory		1%		5-6 %	
Day Labor				4-6 %	
Other		12%		7-11%	

[a]W. Fischer, Der Staat und die Anfang der Industrialisierung in Baden, 1800-1850 (Berlin, 1962), pp. 277-297.

to those of the western urban areas of Vaucluse. Neidenstein had 50 peasant families and 20 artisans in 1797; by 1825, thre remained only 29 peasant households, while the number of craftsmen had risen to 59.[31] Schriesheim, an agricultural market town at the end of the 18th century, was predominantly industrial by the middle of the 19th; there were then a larger number of artisanal and manufacturing heads of household (190) than peasant (135).[32] So in Baden, as in Vaucluse, while the bulk of the population continued to work at least part time in agriculture, significant parts of the population were seen to be engaged in fulltime or parttime non-agricultural employment. And the fact that the non-agricultural sector was increasing was apparent. But here too even in the context of important economic transformation, many communities remained or became exclusively agricultural; manufacturing jobs were often created in towns and cities at the expense of rural workers, forcing underemployment and out-migration in certain areas. Industrialization, or more aptly, the move of manufacturing from shops and homes scattered throughout communities of all sorts into factories and cities, was an uneven process. In both of the regions studied, growing urban areas were distinguishing themselves economically, demographically and culturally from their rural hinterlands. While the overall similarity in economic

structure of the two areas would suggest that large differences in schooling patterns cannot simply be attributed to different levels of industrialization, the important variation within regions among communities involved in different ways in the large-scale changes that were transforming early modern Europe could account for some of the variation in interest in schooling in these different communities. It is with considerations like this in mind that I have pursued systematic comparison among communities within the same school system as well as between communities in Vaucluse and Baden.

Patterns of Religiosity - Protestant vs. Catholic?

Among the cultural factors of unquestionable importance for the determination of schooling habits, religious practice is perhaps the most complex. The influence of religious adherence upon the organization and administration of schools, particularly before the 19th century, is crucial. A close look at the religious character of the selected regions is imperative for any analysis of schooling history.

Both regions studied were of mixed confessional allegiance. The mountains of southeastern Vaucluse had sheltered Protestant dissidents during and after the religious wars. Despite rigorous and often bloody

attempts to repress Protestantism during the 16th and 17th centuries, small communities of Protestants survived in the Aigues valley and in the scattered mountain communities of Haute Provence. (See Map 9) Six such communities with predominantly Protestant populations are included in the Vauclusan sample. In the remaining 14 communities, Catholics were predominant. In addition to its Protestant minority, Vaucluse held a number of Jewish enclaves, in part as a result of papal protection of Jews during the Ancien Regime. In the 18th century, cities like Avignon and Carpentras had substantial Jewish populations; despite the dispersal of such communities during the Revolution, communes like Avignon, Apt and L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue all counted small numbers of Jewish families in their early 19th century populations.

In the Unterrheinkreis of Baden, 52 percent of the population in 1845 was Catholic. Throughout the century under study, Baden as a whole was about two-thirds Catholic.[33] Catholics were less dominant in the northern Unterrheinkreis than they were in the southern Kreise of Baden, but were, nonetheless, a substantial sector of many communities. Within the Unterrheinkreis, religious affiliation had a regional character. (See Map 10) The Landkreis Heidelberg was predominantly Calvinist, although there were Lutheran and Catholic minorities in many communities. The Landkreis Wiesloch was split: the northwestern half was largely Calvinist;

MAP 9

PROTESTANT COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHEASTERN FRANCE

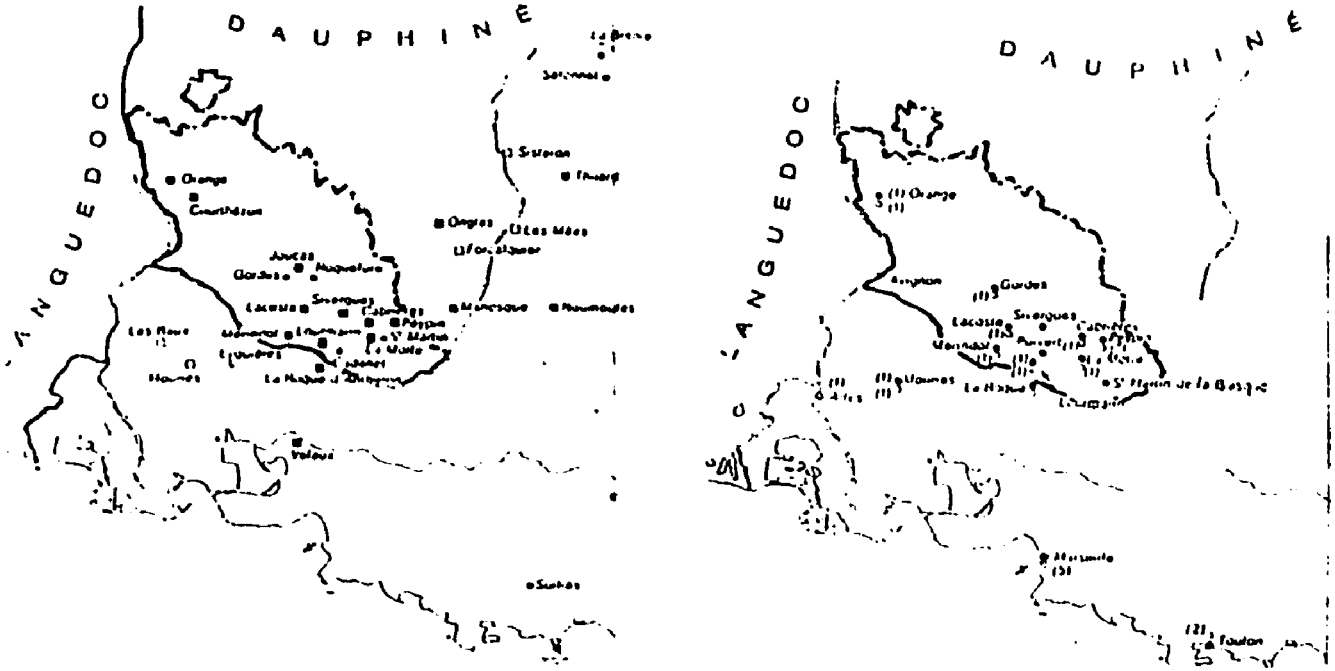
Mid 17th Century

- communauté où un temple protestant est attesté au milieu au XVII^{e}s
- communauté où le culte protestant est exercé librement à la meme epoque
- communauté où le culte a disparu sous Louis XIII

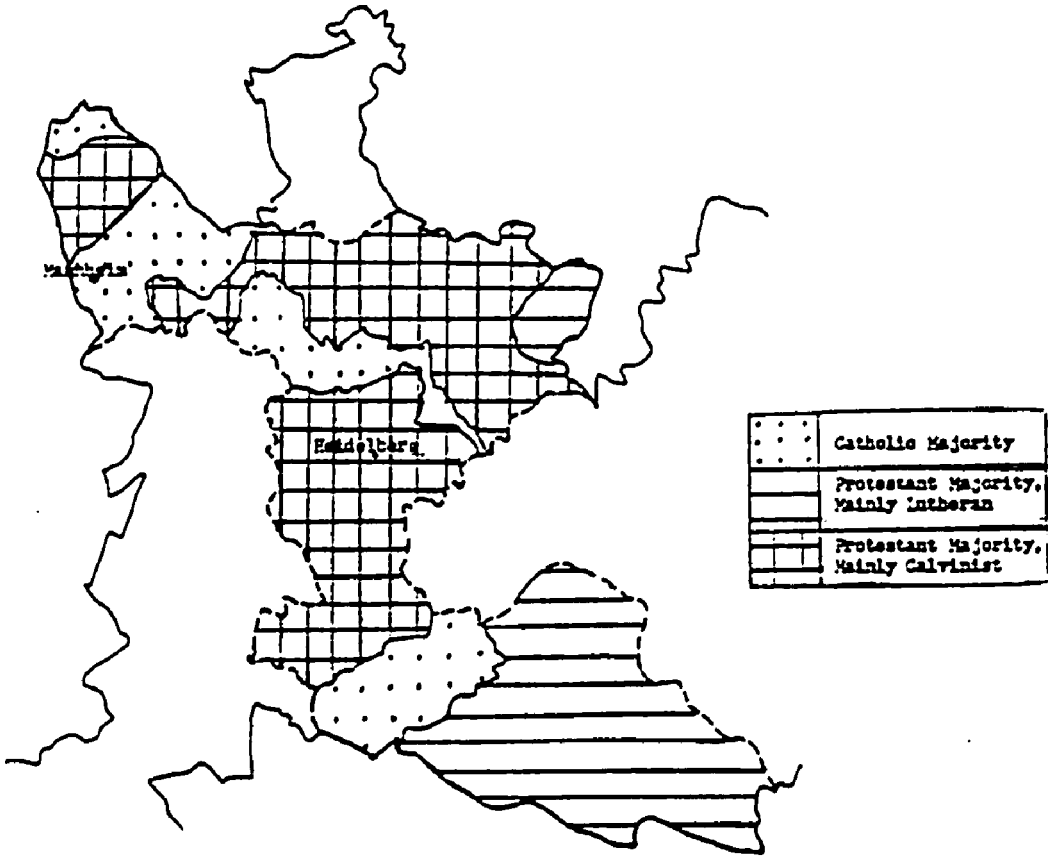
19th Century

- Presence d'un groupe de fidèles ver 1815
- presence d'un groupe de fidèles à la fin du XIXe siècle

N.B. Les chiffres entre parenthèses indiquent le nombre de pasteurs à l'une ou l'autre epoque



*Source: Baratier et al., Atlas Historique de Provence (Paris, 1969).



MAP 10.- Religious Adherence in North Baden, Landkreise of Ladenburg, Heidelberg, Wiesloch and Sinsheim, Stadtkreis Mannheim, c.1800

Source: Stadt und Landkreise Heidelberg und Mannheim; GLA:313/2816.

the southeast, formerly a possession of the Diocese of Speyer, had remained Catholic. Landkreis Sinsheim was largely Lutheran. Many communities of the Landkreis Ladenburg, as well as the city of Mannheim, had Catholic majorities.[34] In addition, there were a large number of Jewish communities scattered throughout the region, mostly in the Neckar valley.

That religious affiliation was, under some circumstances, an important determinant of schooling possibilities cannot be denied. The notable relationship between Protestant forms of organization and religiosity and the character and timing of schooling innovation will be discussed more fully later. Protestant church officials may well have been more energetic administrators of schools than their Catholic counterparts in general; furthermore, the impact of the Reformation and subsequent competition between religious groups upon the institutions of schooling was dramatic and enduring. But it is harder to assess the effect of religious affiliation at the level of the individual believer or family. Looking at communities of different religious affiliations helps in the assessment of the influence of religiosity at a more local level. At this level, no simple relationship between religion and educational attainment seems to be indicated.

For example, in looking at the Vauclusan communities, one can perceive a possible, if weak, relationship between religion and community-level literacy. Figures 1 and 2 chart literacy rates for predominantly Protestant and predominantly Catholic communities separately.[35] The first graph seems to suggest that levels of literacy were higher in Vauclusan Catholic communities than in Protestant communities. However, this simple plot does not take into account the fact that Protestant communities were generally smaller than Catholic ones, a factor of considerable importance in literacy variation. The second graph includes only those Catholic communities of less than 2000 population and indicates a slightly, by no means dramatically, higher literacy rate in Protestant communities than in Catholic communities of the same size range. A pre-1780 divergence, apparent even in the first graph, is striking and suggestive. It seems to indicate that religious factors were perhaps more influential in determining literacy in the 18th century in Vaucluse, that is, before the active participation of the state in schooling. Correlational analysis suggests the same thing: even though religious affiliation of a community may have been related to literacy levels in the 18th century, the relationship is weak (even when controlling for community size) and disappears by the middle of the 19th century. Catholic communities had literacy rates

FIGURE 1

LITERACY IN VAUCLUSE IN PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC COMMUNES

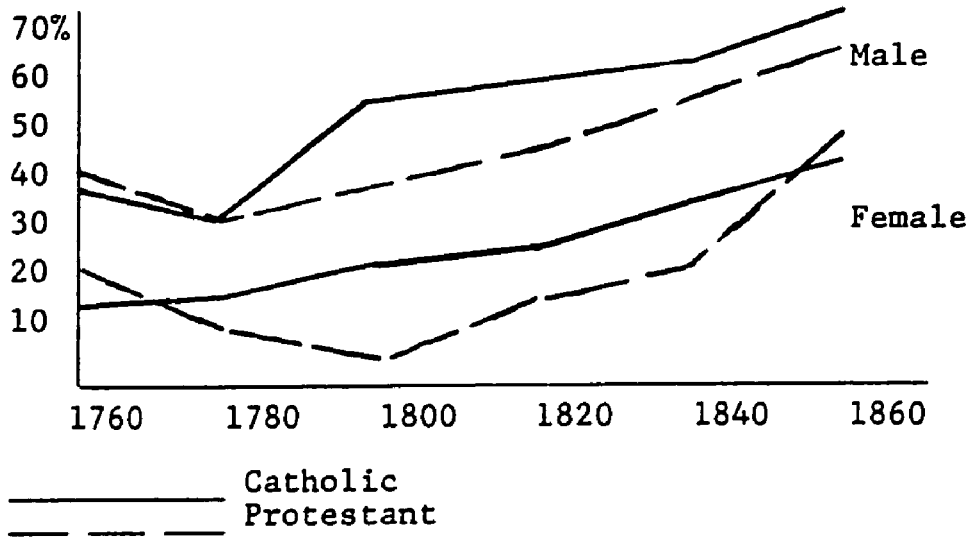
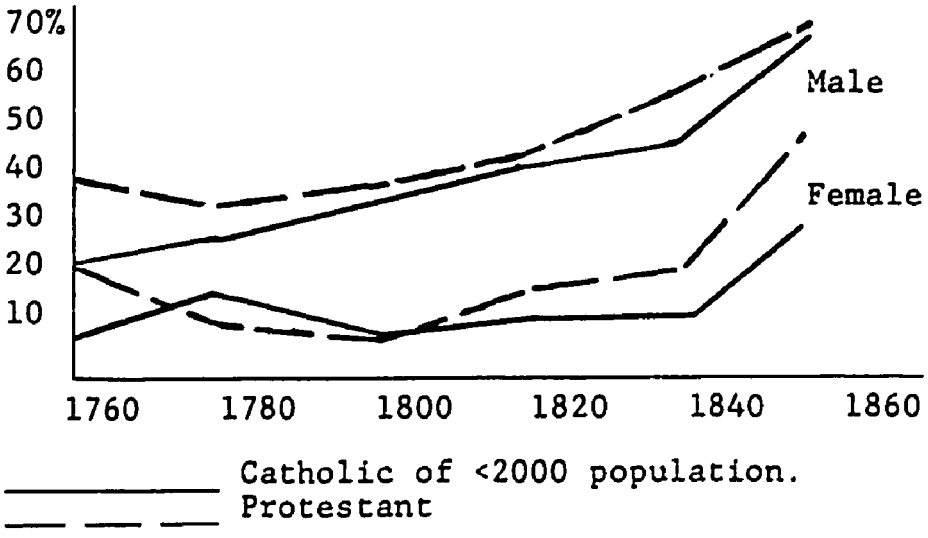


FIGURE 2

LITERACY IN VAUCLUSE PROTESTANT AND SMALL CATHOLIC COMMUNES



that were statistically indistinguishable from Protestant communities. (See Table 4)

In Baden, although the earliest inspectors' reports indicated that commitment to schooling may have distinguished Protestant church officials from their Catholic counterparts, the distinction does not seem to have persisted beyond the end of the 18th century. Neither the establishment of schools nor the attendance rates of school children significantly distinguish Catholic from Protestant-dominated communities in the north Baden sample. (See Table 5) While it is quite possible that 18th century Protestant communities were more likely to have higher school attendance and perhaps literacy rates than Catholic communities, such differences seemed to disappear in the face of stricter enforcement of school attendance and tremendous advances in literacy. Within the entire sample of communities, there is a relationship indicated between religion and school attendance levels, but this relationship is an effect of the fact that school attendance was generally higher in Badenese communities, which in turn had higher proportions Protestant. (See Table 5) Within each locality, there was no significant relationship between religious affiliation and schooling, although the correlations indicate that the weak link was in the expected direction: high school attendance was weakly related to low proportions Catholic, high proportions Protestant.

TABLE 4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PROPORTION CATHOLIC OF VAUCLUSAN COMMUNITIES AND MALE AND FEMALE LITERACY LEVELS

	Percent Catholic			
	Male Literacy		Female Literacy	
Year	r	(partial, size of community)	r	(partial, size of community)
1760	-.33	-.31	-.28	-.25
1800	-.07	-.20	.27	.29
1840	-.03	.07	-.08	-.07

TABLE 5

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PERCENT CATHOLIC AND PERCENT CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL*

Year	Total Sample	Vaucluse Only	Baden Only
c.1800	-.55*	.15	-.25
c.1840	-.50*	-.10	-.24

*.01 level of significance. When country is treated as a dummy variable, the partial between school attendance and proportion Catholic is virtually zero.

Religiosity was certainly a component of the cultural pattern that distinguished early modern Baden from Vaucluse. But to reduce this component to a simple Protestant-Catholic dichotomy will not reveal much about the questions at hand. Religiosity was different in these two places, even Protestant and Catholic forms of religiosity separately, because different historical traditions shaped religious experiences. It is undeniable that Protestants in Baden were book-oriented; in Vaucluse, however, Protestants had literacy levels remarkably similar to their Catholic counterparts. Despite the biblical focus of their religion, the social realities of their situation as residents of villages and small towns of southern France allowed no more. In Baden, where zealously competing religious organizations had set up the rudiments of a mass instruction system as early as the 16th century, orientation toward the written word could be more than a religious exhortation: it was a possibility, even for Catholics. Furthermore, generations of significant literacy had undoubtedly left their mark on the popular consciousness; relatively widespread literacy made it less thinkable to allow children to grow up illiterate, whether these children were Catholic and Protestant.

None of this would deny some relationship between religious identity and interest in education. The early

chapters of this dissertation will discuss in more detail the direct involvement of the churches in the promotion of schooling in Baden and Vaucluse. At the organizational level, differences between the two regions in religious involvement are striking. But, as the intraregional evidence suggests, simple affiliation cannot be viewed as determinate of decisions about schooling; the relationship is more complex than that and religious factors were operating in the context of regional political and socio-economic realities that structured the way people of different religious cultures reacted to the possibilities of schooling for their children. The fact that regions of mixed religious allegiance were chosen in both areas allows the possibility of sorting out the complicated role of religion in educational history.

From the standpoint of religious association, then, as from the perspective of geographic and economic analysis, the two regions looked roughly similar in the early modern period. General arguments about relative educational accomplishments in the two areas will have to be based on other kinds of factors. What does account for the educational superiority of Baden alluded to earlier? How are differences within each area to be explained? In order to arrive at an understanding of the factors involved, I will turn first to a discussion of development of school systems in Baden and Vaucluse.

This discussion should highlight crucial differences in schooling possibilities in the two regions; the effect of these differences on family plans for schooling will become clear in later chapters.

CHAPTER ONE FOOTNOTES

[1]GLA 235/22715.

[2]See below, Chapter 4.

[3]The ability to sign official acts, particularly marriage register entries, will be used throughout the dissertation as an indication of literacy. For a discussion of the meaning and validity of this measure, refer to Appendix A.

[4]France, Ministère de l'Instruction et des Beaux Arts, Statistique de l'Enseignement Primaire, 1829-1877, Vol. III (Paris, 1880).

[5]Some of the classic works in this tradition are: on Germany, Friederick Paulsen, German Education: Past and Present, T. Lorenz, trans. (London, 1908); on France, from both sides of the Third Republic Educational debate, E. Allain, L'oeuvre scolaire de la Révolution (Paris, 1880) and C. Hippeau, L'instruction publique en France pendant la Révolution (Paris, 1883); from the United States, Elwood P. Cubberly, The History of Education: Educational Practice and Progress (Boston, 1920) and R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Education (New York, 1947).

[6]Michelina Clifford-Vaughan and Margaret Archer, Social Conflict and Educational Change in France and England, 1789-1848 (Cambridge, 1971).

[7]Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," Past and Present, 49 (1970), 96-119 and "Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class, 1780-1850," Mimeograph (1975).

[8]Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (New York, 1976).

[9]Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

[10]For references to specific works, see below, note 13.

[11]Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, Robert Baldwick, trans. (New York, 1962).

[12]For example, several historians have attempted to cull from literary sources a sense of general beliefs and practices of child care, looking for evidence of change over time; among them are Elizabeth W. Marvick, "Nature Versus Nuture: Patterns and Trends in Seventeenth Century French Child Rearing," and Priscella Robertson, "Home as a Nest: Middle-Class Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in Lloyd de Mause, ed., The History of Childhood (New York, 1975). Georges Snyder has drawn on Ariès' insights and attempted to apply them to the analysis of middle-class schooling in 17th century France in his study, La pédagogie en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1965). Charles Tilly points to both the problems in the Ariès approach and the value of his innovative suggestions; in his review article, "Population and Pedagogy in France," History of Education Quarterly, 13 (1973), pp. 113-128, he outlines a possible strategy for studying the historical questions raised by Ariès while avoiding the logical problems inherent in the explanations of change through reference to scattered evidence on attitudes.

[13]Michael Anderson outlines an exchange theory approach to the study of familial relationships in Family Structure in 19th Century Lancashire (Cambridge, 1971). Joan Scott and Louise Tilly present their interpretations of the early modern family economy in a series of articles; among them are: Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, "Women's Work and the Family in 19th Century Europe," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 17 (1974) pp. 36-64. Louise Tilly, "Industrialization, the Position of Women and Women's History," Center for Research on Social Organization Working Paper 118 (Ann Arbor, 1975); L. Tilly and J. Scott, Women, Work and Family (Tentative title, forthcoming, 1977).

[14]Economists have been treating education as an investment in theory for at least a decade; see, for example, T.W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," American Economic Review, 51 (1961), pp. 1-17. More recent attempts to apply economic theory to the history of education include: L. Sol-mon, "Opportunity Costs and Models of Schooling in the 19th Century," Southern Economic Journal, 37 (1970), pp. 66-83 and W. M. Landes and L. Sol-mon, "Compulsory Schooling Legislation: An Economic Analysis of Law and Social Change in the 19th Century," Journal of Economic History, 32 (1972), pp. 36-91.

[15]Sylvia Thrupp, "Diachronic Methods in Comparative Politics," in R. L. Holt and J. B. Turner, eds. The Methodology of Comparative Research (N.Y., 1970).

[16]For a complete description of the sampling method and the data collected for the sample communities, refer to Appendix I. See also note 17, below.

[17]These communities, as well as the sample communities in Baden, were chosen by means of a stratified sample. Communities were divided into categories according to size; from within each category, a number of sample communities were selected as follows:

	Administrative Areas			
	Arrondissements of Avignon and Apt		Kreise of Mannheim, Ladenburg, Sinsheim, Heidelberg and Wiesloch	
	Number of Communities		Number of Communities	
Size Category	Total	Sample	Total	Sample
Less than 500	21	5	10	4
500-2000	35	8	47	10
2000-10,000	13	6	8	4
10,000+	1	1	2	2
Total	70	20	67	20

A stratified rather than a random sample was constructed essentially to insure that a minimum number of communities in each size category would be included. Since size of community is an important variable in educational levels, the sample had to include a disproportionate number of larger communities in order to allow comparison between categories. Because of this sampling method, it must be remembered, sample data cannot be though of as "representative" of the total populations of Vaucluse or Baden. Since population totals were fluctuating throughout the period studied, all communities were categorized, for sampling purposes, according to their populations around 1850.

[18]The boundaries of these administrative units--Kreise, Stadtkreise, Landkreise--were changed continually throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. For convenience, maps and unit boundaries are consistent with those that were in operation at the time of late 19th century archival reorganization, unless otherwise noted.

[19]France, Bureau de la Statistique Générale, Statistique de la France (Paris, 1837).

[20]Paulette Seignour, La vie économique en Vaucluse de 1815 à 1848 (Aix-en-Provence, 1957).

[21]A. Heunisch, Das Grossherzogthum Baden: Historisch, geographisch, topographisch statistisch beschrieben (Weidelberg, 1857), p. 240.

[22]Staatliche Archivverwaltung Baden-Württemberg, Stadt-und Landkreise Heidelberg und Mannheim, Vol. 1 (Mannheim, 1966).

[23]Paulette Seignour, p. 22.

[24]Ibid., p. 37ff.

[25]Maxim Pazzis, Mémoire Statistique sur le Département de Vaucluse (Carpentras, 1808), p. 323.

[26]Peter Simoni, "Un canton rural au XIX ème siècle" (Thèse de doctorat de 3eme cycle, Aix, 1976).

[27]For a description of the exact communities involved in this intensive analysis refer to Appendix A.

[28]A. Heunisch, p. 57.

[29]Ibid., p. 292.

[30]Wolfram Fischer, "Ansätze zur Industrialisierung in Baden, 1770-1870," Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial - und Wirtschaftgeschicte, 47 (1960), 186-231.

[31]K. Ziegler, Ortschronik Neidenstein (Neidenstein, 1962).

[32]H. Brunn, 1200 Jahre Schriesheim (Mannheim, 1964).

[33]A. Heunisch, p. 243.

[34]Information on religious affiliation is drawn from a variety of sources, including: A. Heunisch, p. 755; Stadt - und Landkreise Heidelberg und Mannheim, Maps; GLA 313/2816.

[35]Protestant vital registers for Vauclusan communities are available only sporadically for the pre-Revolutionary period since in principle they were illegal

until the 1770's. After the Revolution, all registration was recorded in civil registers and individuals cannot be identified by religious affiliation. The only systematic way of following the impact of religious affiliation over the whole century from 1750-1850 was to look at the community-level rather than individual-level data. In any case, most Protestant communities had substantial Protestant majorities, usually two-thirds or more. The danger of ecological fallacy is present, but unavoidable. Moreover, the presence of a Protestant population may have had an impact even on Catholic literacy, if Protestants showed an earlier concern with schooling and more interest in community support for schooling; in other words, part of the effect of Protestant religiosity should be felt community-wide and not merely by the Protestant sector. Such community-level effects are all that the data can evaluate.

PART ONE

THE OFFICIAL VIEW

"Eine auf Religiositat und Sittlichkeit gebaute Erziehung der Jugend ist die notwendigste, die sicherste Grundlage fur die Wohlfahrt und die Ruhe des Staates. . ."

"Education of young people which is based on religion and morality is the most important, the surest foundation for the welfare and peace of the state. . ."

from "Einladung zur Grundung von Rettungsanstalten fur verwahrlosten Kinder," presented to the lower chamber of the Badenese legislature, 1833.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCRETE REALITIES: LOCAL INSTITUTIONS AND STATE PLANS

Elementary schooling is now a routine part of childhood in Western Europe, but this has not always been the case. The campaign of state school administrators and schoolteachers to make primary schooling accessible and acceptable to all families was a long and difficult one, continuing into the 20th century in many regions of the continent. For the most part, however, schools were not initially established by state authorities. Locally run community and private schools of various sorts existed in many parts of Europe at the time of the Reformation and even earlier. Increased interest in schooling on the part of state officials, apparent in the 18th century and intensified in the early 19th, resulted in the creation of specialized and increasingly professionalized corps of state administrators and public schoolteachers whose task it was to assure that appropriate and uniform schooling was available to all the children in their jurisdiction. Still, the nature of the pre-existing local school system shaped the options available to central authorities in their efforts to reform educational institutions.

The task was not an easy one. As the present chapter will suggest, these people faced many obstacles in what they perceived as a crusade for popular enlightenment; the litany of their woes anticipates in many respects the problems encountered by officials attempting to bring about increases in school attendance and literacy in many underdeveloped nations today: on the one hand, they faced poor and often isolated agricultural villages inhabited by peasants who seemed strange and even uncivilized and curiously indifferent to the promise of schooling; on the other, growing cities where school facilities were often overburdened as a result of recent population growth. School buildings were inadequate, schoolbooks unsuitable, and adequately trained personnel scarce. Most important, the funds available for the immense task were always insufficient. It was against these odds that early attempts to create centralized state school systems were undertaken.

The first two chapters will explore the major administrative problems with which early state school officials dealt. While the reform of the teaching profession and the provision of the material resources upon which the new state school system would be based were crucial issues, they were handled in a framework oriented toward bringing the disparate resources and localized administration of schooling under central control. This

organizational problem was, in a sense, prior in emphasis, for without central control over school administration, the implementation of state educational policy was likely to be impeded. It should be emphasized that the task at hand was not so much to create a school system as to reform an existing one, to bring a localized infrastructure into state hands, to mold community schools to match state visions. Because of regional differences in the organization of schooling during the late Ancien Régime, Badenese school officials inherited a school system which was in many regards superior to and more easily manipulated than that of Vaucluse. The following discussion of the concerns of state educational reformers, of their actions in local communities will outline the basic resources available in the two regions, and will suggest some aspects of the institutional ideals toward which school reformers were striving. Their program will be made more explicit in later chapters.

The Centralization of School Administration

Schools were numerous during the Ancien Régime in Western Europe. In many areas, all but the very smallest villages were equipped with some sort of facility for elementary instruction. In southeastern France, com-

munities of 700 or so inhabitants were sure to have a publicly subsidized school, although only a minority of communities below that threshhold managed to finance public instruction.[1] While school records are rare for the pre-Revolutionary period, some evidence about community supported schools survive in communal budgets. Of the 14 Vauclusan sample communities for which late Ancien Régime budgets have survived, 12 included allocations for maîtres d'études or régents d'écoles. The two exceptions were Auribeau with only 24 families and Gignac with a total population of 160.[2]

The threshhold population necessary to support a school varied according to regional conditions. In northern Baden, for example, communities of more than 200 inhabitants without schoolteachers were rare. Of the 20 Badenese sample communities, all but one probably had schools in the late Ancien Régime, and the last community to finance one, Bockschaft (pop. 80) did so in 1790.[3]

These schools were generally religious in origin and curriculum, and the teachers were in practice subject to theauthority and supervision of the local pastor. Still, the secular community held a large share of the responsibility for the financial establishment and administration of the schools, for the selection and payment of teachers, for the setting of curriculum and tuition

rates. Teachers were usually laymen, although in urban Catholic areas male and female religious orders played an important role in elementary and secondary institutions; the only credentials teachers held were those provided by satisfied clients--the school patrons, village councils or pastors who hired them.[4]

Despite the active role of local administrative bodies in the running of schools, periodic visits from and evaluations by outside authorities did occur. Most common were the pastoral visits of bishops or other church officials, visits designed to assure that religious doctrine was being correctly and effectively taught, and that religious obligations were being met. On these occasions, local pastors were also to report on the results of their weekly visits to the school, and on their catechitical examinations of the pupils.[5] As in much of northern Europe, Kurpfalz communities also held yearly public examinations which tested children not only for competence in religious doctrine and moral progress, but also in such mundane subjects as spelling, arithmetic, and writing under dictation.[6] Such examinations seem to have been routinized by the late 17th or early 18th century. A bureaucratically organized system of school inspection, under the supervision of the Dekanat of each diocese assumed control of such examination and retained that function throughout the period

studied. In France, a similar annual visitation of the schools was included, in theory at least, among the pastoral duties of the bishop. While some inspection reports do exist, it is clear that many French Catholic bishops were neglecting their visitation duties in the late Ancien Regime; with one or two exceptions, bishops in Haute Provence and the Comtat were among the negligent. In the absence of such visitations, communities in the future Vaucluse were, as far as schooling was concerned, pretty much on their own.

By the middle of the 19th century, local communities in Baden and Vaucluse were no longer on their own. True, they were still responsible for raising the funds the state deemed necessary for the schoolteacher's salary and for the upkeep of school buildings, but virtually all other aspects of school operation and supervision had been taken over by centralized state bureaucratic organizations. The process of takeover occurred earlier, in a smoother manner, and was more complete in Baden than in France, but local autonomy was effectively curtailed in both regions.

The establishment of centralized state school systems was facilitated in the German states where networks of church schools had existed for centuries and where accomodation between church and state occurred early in the process of statebuilding. In Baden and the

Kurpfalz, as in many other German states, the churches and along with them the schools were administered as a special branch of government. As Paulsen observed, by the end of the 18th century, "The State had assumed full control over the schools, although clergymen continued to be entrusted to a large extent with the exercising of that power in the name of the State."[7] The local pastor doubled as school inspector and was expected to make weekly visits to the school; he was expected to see that state school ordinances were enforced. At the head of the church bureaucracies, cabinet level church directors worked out church and school polity in discussion with the monarch and secular cabinet ministers. As a result of the reorganization of the Badenese state during the early 19th-century Napoleonic consolidation, church direction was placed under the auspices of the Ministry of the Interior; special sections for each of the three faiths--Reformed, Lutheran and Catholic--were established as administrative authorities for supervision of religious institutions and church properties. This basic structure remained essentially unaltered throughout the first half of the 19th century, although the two Protestant sections were combined in 1820.

The central Kirchensection had direct supervisory powers over secondary schools, normal schools and special institutions. Supervision of primary education

was in the hands of the regional Dekanat of each Kreis, while finance was handled through the apparatus of the Kreisregierung.[8] Because schools were subsidized by church endowments and tithes and had been so since the Reformation, an active role of church bureaucracies in school administration was more or less taken for granted. Still, new claims affecting old prerogatives asserted by the activist state church bureaucrats often met with resistance from individuals holding traditional patronage rights and from local community groups. Decisions concerning the right to license and hire teachers, and to determine salaries and tuition fees, seem to have generated the most controversy. Despite local challenges to newly asserted claims, and intellectual and political challenges to clerical monopoly over education expressed before and during the French Revolution, Badenese officials of the state churches emerged in the early 19th century as the official state-supported overseers of education, a position they were to hold until the 1860's.[9]

The administrative history of schooling in France was significantly different. In fact, school administrators of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary governments in France consistently confronted more serious obstacles than the Badenese or their efforts to reorganize the school system, in part because of the adminis-

trative neglect of schooling during the Ancien Regime. During the Ancien Regime, the state had largely ignored educational institutions, with the exception of a few special institutions of higher education designed to train the technical personnel necessary to meet administrative needs. The French Catholic Church had begun encouraging elementary education during the 17th century through its secular clergy, and in addition many religious orders undertook the establishment of institutions of elementary and secondary instruction at this time. Control over schooling remained fairly decentralized. With the exception of special decrees dealing with the forced education of Protestants and similar concerns, involvement of either the state or religious bodies at a level higher than the individual diocese was insignificant. By the end of the Ancien Regime, even diocesan administration had grown lax in many areas.[10] Until the Revolution, schools were a local concern for all intents and purposes.

The first short-lived attempts at centralization of school administration in France followed the passage of the Bouquier Law in 1792. Schoolteaching licenses were granted to certified good citizens. Teachers were paid on a per pupil basis from district funds: 20 francs per year for each jeune citoyen and 15 for each jeune citoyenne. Schoolteaching of this sort was

established in at least 10 of the 14 sample communities in the arrondissement of Apt. Enrollments were generally high, particularly of girls who had rarely had access to special schools before, but the duration of these schools was short. Most had disappeared by 1794, apparently in the fiscal and political confusion of the later revolutionary period.[11] Napoleonic centralization, culminating in the establishment of the Université in 1808, was the next major stage of state takeover of schooling in France. The Université was a state controlled and bureaucratically organized corporation with a monopoly over the licensing and regulation of education. At first, Université officials concerned themselves primarily with the administration of higher education. France was divided into Académies comprised of several départements; within each Académie the Recteur was charged with the supervision of all educational institutions. Local evidence from the Académie of Nimes, of which Vaucluse was part, indicates that centralized control was exerted early. The first two decades of the Université's existence witnessed countless skirmishes over écoles clandestines - secondary level teaching by people who were evading the newly imposed per-pupil tax or teaching fees owed to the Université hierarchy--but more and more teachers began dutifully sending in the hefty fees or, apparently, going out of business because

of them and more and more local collèges began reporting up the hierarchy about financial conditions and enrollment trends.[12]

State regulation of primary schooling was once again undertaken only after the Restoration. The first system of local committees charged with the supervision of elementary instruction was created by royal ordinance in 1816. These committees were headed by the curé of each community and comprised of local notables. They were to operate under the supervision of arrondissement level committees, who were also charged with the licensing and examination of prospective teachers. Finding personnel for these and later supervisory committees was to be a continual problem for Université authorities. On the one hand, while clerical cooperation was deemed crucial by the newly restored Bourbon monarch, the new schools were to be state institutions and as such had to reflect policy determined by the secular state and its ministers. The latter often favored new experimental institutions and methods (in particular the Lancastrian system of enseignement mutuel, discussed below), regarded with distrust by the Church. To counterbalance clerical influence on administrative committees, the Minister of Public Instruction felt that choice of committee members, insofar as in the hands of state officials, should fall on "enlightened persons, disposed to

impartially examine new methods before rejecting them"[13] Such committees were soon assembled in Vaucluse; all of the eight cantons of the arrondissements of Avignon and Apt submitted lists of committee members by the end of the year. Along with local pastors, these committees included local property owners, officials and a scattering of trades people.[14]

The uneasy Restoration alliance between church and state in the realm of education was upset twice and each administrative change at the top sent local officials scurrying in search of appropriate local representatives of state policy interests. In 1824, the clerical party assumed national control, preceded by a few years by such a takeover in some localities, including Vaucluse. In 1828, national policy reestablished the principle of secular control of local committees and by 1830, with the fall of the Bourbon monarchy and the establishment of the liberal Orleanist regime, state dominance over local administration of education was established as a firm principle. Prefects now had the power of choice of the majority of local administrators. A new directive issued in 1830 stated that local committee members should be selected from among ". . . elite citizens who, besides their title to esteem and public consideration, are avowed friends of popular education and disposed to make sacrifices of time and even small

sums of money. . . to improve this education. . ."[15] Still, establishing the principle on paper and implementing it were two different things. In contrast with the Badenese situation, where an early compromise with church officials had allowed the establishment of a fairly unified school bureaucracy that reflected the policies of both the state and the state churches, French educational reformers were continually faced with the problem of dealing with the Church and its vested interest in educational institutions. Recruitment of local administrative personnel, so crucial for the implementation of national policy, was continually hampered by the mesalliance or competition between church and state; such clerical involvement was of particular importance in areas like Vaucluse that were centers of organized royalist opposition to liberal state policies.[16] Problems of personnel for administration were, nonetheless, small in comparison to the seemingly insurmountable physical, material and financial obstacles faced by school administrators. It is to these obstacles, as confronted by school administrators, that we will now turn.

The Geographic Barriers

In both Baden and Vaucluse, the largely agricultural populations were often too dispersed to allow easy

access to centrally located schools. Some communities were simply too small and poor to afford a teacher, and while several hamlets or villages could pool their resources to finance a school, the difficulties of finding an acceptable location for it made this solution generally untenable. In Vaucluse, the villages of Puget and Lauris decided to unite for the purpose of building a school in 1839; Taillades and Robion attempted the same solution, but the villagers of Taillades soon decided against the move since "being at a distance of over two kilometers, most fathers of families. . . would rather renounce the benefits of education for their children than send them to a school so far away, especially in winter." Even in larger communes, the dispersion of settlement raised problems. The hamlet of Croannet in the commune of St. Saturin asked for its own schoolteacher in 1834, but the municipal council felt that it could not afford the extra expenditure. For fear of setting unfortuante precedents, state officials were reluctant to allow such hamlets to resort to substandard solutions. For example, a curé living in a hamlet of the commune of St. Martin de Castillon requested authorization to teach children there. Permission was refused on the grounds that the commune's main settlement was only 1500 meters away and the only intervening barrier, a rivulet, could be crossed by a plank![17]

Such geographic barriers often kept children inhabiting hamlets and small villages from attending school in larger settlements. La Bastidonne, a village of about 400 inhabitants, was not far from the market town of La Tour d'Aigues, but

> . . . the path from La Bastidonne to La Tour is too difficult in winter and in the summer agricultural work occupies all the children. The poor population of La Bastidonne is thus condemned to ignorance with the exception of a few children from wealthy families taught by the cure. . .[18]

In 1831, the Recteur of the Academie of Nimes reported to the prefect of Vaucluse that of the 38 communities in southern Vaucluse without schools in that year, the populations of 24, mostly in the arrondissement of Apt, were too small or too dispersed to expect them to be able to support a school. Administrative energies, he felt, should be concentrated on the remaining 14 larger communities. (It should be noted that among the 24 communities written off by the rector were four of the sample communities, two of which had had schools in 1780.[19]) Hilly and sparsely populated areas like the arrondissement of Apt continued to present special difficulties for school organizers. The Vauclusan inspector Arnault, writing as late as 1856, felt that "in some localities of the arrondissement of Apt, the dissemination of the population, the difficulty of the roads in winter and the too great distance from the school are real obstacles (to school attendance). . ."[20] Ironically, the problems were

quite different in the growing towns and numerous bourgs of the department. Elementary schools were often inadequate in growing towns like Sorgues where too many children flooded the classrooms; in the older burgs an overabundance of institutions, particularly of secondary education, made for useless competition among schools for the restricted regional clientele for advanced schooling.

Similar difficulties were faced by Badenese officials, whose problems were most severe in the small and isolated communities of the Odenwald region. Parents of the Reformed community of Daisbach insisted on their own school in 1806 since their children "had to go to school in Zuzenhausen, nearly an hour's distance away, by a route usually so bad in winter that it was often impossible for schoolchildren to go to school. . ."[21] In 1812, Catholic officials decided that it was crucial for the small community of Horrenburg to have its own school since going to the nearest town would be difficult because of the bad road, especially in winter, because eating a midday meal and keeping warm during the break would be problematic for the children away from home, parents would have to spend extra money on clothes, the children would fight among themselves along the way, schoolbooks and writing materials would be damaged on the road, and the health of the children would be hurt, especially since most of the children were so poorly

shod.[22] The catalog of anticipated difficulties is an impressive and eloquent reminder of how complicated the task of sending a small child to school in the wintertime could be.

Again, the contrasting nature of the problems encountered in growing urban and suburban areas of Baden is striking. The city of Mannheim, with its erratic pattern of growth during the 18th and 19th centuries, presented school officials with difficulties in matching school-aged populations and school facilities. The Catholic population of the city, in particular, mushroomed during the mid-18th century. In 1755, there were still only two officially established schoolteachers for hundreds of Catholic schoolchildren. In 1817, during a new phase of urban growth, there were still over a hundred Catholic children not attending school.[23] The population of the Heidelberg suburb of Handschuhsheim was booming during the early 19th century; the Protestant school-aged population increased from 140 in 1808 to 260 in 1837. The single teacher was given an assistant only when his class had over 200 pupils.[24] Teaching was, of course, hindered by the crowded and unsettled conditions in the classroom. One inspector complained that teachers in Heidelberg could not make any progress because they "saw different pupils. . . nearly every hour."[25] Keeping track of urban migrants and their children was also

difficult, though school officials made valiant efforts to assure that migrant children were properly inscribed on school lists.

Bad roads, bad weather, uneven distribution of population--these problems were out of the hands of school officials, but in both Baden and Vaucluse they placed a ceiling on the results that their efforts could yield. All they could hope to do was to improve school facilities and distribute resources so that the largest possible number of schoolchildren would have access to adequate facilities. Their attempts to rationalize and reshape schooling began, perforce, with teachers, since in many communities 'school' and 'teacher' were nearly synonymous terms. In the absence of permanent, official buildings, equipment and budgets, slow to arrive in many areas, the school was personified in the teacher. The building of an acceptable, properly trained, loyal and well-paid teaching corps was the major early concern of school administrators.

The Professionalization of Teaching

In the middle of the 18th century, European schoolteachers were in many regards indistinguishable from the social classes they served. In villages of Vaucluse, their most distinctive characteristic was likely to be

their foreign origin; many of the teachers were recruited at autumn fairs from among the literate peasantry of Alpine communities. As seasonal migrants, they earned cash incomes in the wintertime by descending from their home villages to hold schools in the villages of the plain.[26] The only year round schoolteachers, sometimes members of religious orders, were found in the larger towns and cities where the communities were wealthy enough to finance such a service and where children were actually likely to attend school during the summertime.

Parttime teachers also dominated in the Badenese school system, but unlike their Vauclusan counterparts, these teachers tended to be year round residents of the villages in which they taught. They generally received part of their salary in land, however, and the farming of this land provided them with much needed subsistence. Again, the teachers in town and cities were exceptions; larger portions of their incomes were derived from payment in cash and kind. As will become clear later on, these differences in the method of hiring and subsidizing teachers in the two regions had a significant impact on the availability of schooling, particularly in small communities.

Besides doing seasonal farm work, teachers often supplemented their teaching salary with income from other types of work. Some teachers were artisans: Catholic

officials of the Diocese of Worms complained in 1750 that too many teachers were forced to take up Nebendienste or side occupations, because of the inadequacy of their income, and were thus neglecting their official duties. It was especially difficult for teachers in small communities to survive from teaching alone. Before the Catholic community of Neidenstein had grown large enough to claim public subsidy for its teacher, Catholic children there were taught first by a tailor, later by one of his sons, a shoemaker.[27]

Teachers in small communities continued to depend on secondary employment well into the 19th century, though the kinds of jobs they held became more official in nature, and presumably more compatible with the teacher's changing status as state functionary. Inspectors usually found some types of moonlighting objectionable, especially those which interfered with teaching responsibilities or were considered beneath the dignity of a teacher. The Vauclusan inspector reported that the teacher of the village of Lauris was not highly competent nor was he respected as a teacher, but was tolerated largely because he was the only surgeon in the vicinity and his services were needed. By granting the surgeon the public teaching post, the community hoped to retain his more valued medical service. In the 1840's, the instituteur of Robion was doubling as state tobacco

agent.[28] While schoolteachers in both Baden and Vaucluse were becoming freer of clerical dominance in the early 19th century, many teachers still performed minor religious duties as part of their service to the community. Another common arrangement, particularly in the town of Vaucluse, was communal subsidy of female religious orders for the double purpose of running the local hôpital and teaching classes for girls.

Teachers in many communities had been charged with public secretarial or witnessing duties. Often such service, with its potential income, was attached to the post of teacher. In 1826, the Catholic community of Neidenstein requested that the office of public clerk (Gerichtschreiberei) be formally attached to that of Catholic schoolteacher since "the income of that office is so little that we can't attract a learned schoolteacher."[29] In Vaucluse, the practice of combining the public secretary and teaching post became common during the second and third decades of the 19th century as the option of hiring a seasonal teacher was disappearing. Thus while the income from each post was insufficient for the support of a fulltime employee, the combined income from the two would often suffice. An 1859 report indicated that of 47 lay public schoolteachers in Vauclusan communities, fully 29 were also deriving income as communal secretary.[30] While earlier makeshift solutions to

the problem of providing teaching, so popular in small communities, had often met with official disapproval, the combination of the public post of secretary with that of schoolteacher seems to have been acceptable to all.

While available teachers often did not measure up to standards set by school administrators and policy makers, there seems not to have been a shortage of teachers in either Baden or Vaucluse. Most communities had teachers on the eve of the French revolution, and many towns and cities had them in abundance. In Vaucluse, new public subsidies for teachers made available during the first Republic were claimed by an expanded corps of instituteurs, but this subsidy soon disappeared. The confiscation of church properties, abolition of tithes and octrois that occurred during the Revolution destroyed the bases of communal finance of teachers in many communities, but teaching continued nonetheless. An inquiry conducted in An X (1802) revealed that there were 75 teachers practicing in the arrondissement of Apt alone, although many communities formerly having schools were apparently without one at this time.[31] Many of the lay teachers of Vaucluse continued to teach throughout the Revolution; clerical teaching however, seems to have been quite disrupted, and clerical teachers scattered. At the time of the reestablishment of the Brothers of the Christian Schools during the first decade of the 19th century,

the Rector of Nimes reported that only six pre-Revolutionary members of the once numerous Order were to be found in Vaucluse: two of these were too old to teach; one was already teaching and another was agreeable to resuming his teaching career; one had married and gone into business and the last was a convicted sodomist.[32]

By the end of the second decade of the 19th century, however, when the juries of examination began certifying teachers after reviewing their capacities and credentials, there were fully 65 certified teachers in the 50 communities of the arrondissement of Apt. Though numerous, their distribution was uneven: only about half of the communes had teachers. In the arrondissement of Avignon, 19 of 20 communes had teachers.[33] An 1824 survey found 91 teachers in the two arrondissements. Even the supply of female teachers was fairly large. Between 1819 and 1831, over 150 women received brevets or letters of obedience entitling them to teach in Vaucluse. By the mid 1830's, there were 35 institutrices teaching in the arrondissement of Apt and 26 in that of Avignon, about half of whom were religious.[34] At this same time there were more than a hundred authorized male elementary school teachers in the two arrondissements.

In Baden, the supply of teachers was even larger and better distributed. There were at least 55 publicly subsidized teachers operating in the 20 sample communi-

ties at the turn of the 19th century. In addition, there were an unspecifiable number of private school teachers concentrated in the cities, who seem to have survived despite official attempts at repression of them. By the late 1830's, there were 65 subsidized teachers in addition to about a few dozen private ones tolerated and regulated by the educational laws passed in the 1830's.[35]

While teachers were by no means in short supply, officials were continually concerned with the type and quality of instruction they offered. Good information about the competence of teachers is difficult to find; mst surviving evidence reflects the official disdain for the local, rural, unprofessional character of most teachers. Even these reports begin fairly late. The quality of teaching in Ancien Regime Vaucluse remains mysterious, although the system of contractual hiring allowed the easy replacement of teachers with whom the community was dissatisfied. Bargains were struck, pay rates were established on the basis of the teacher's capacity, often proven in public competition and this system allowed the rejection of incompetents. Still, while such competition could check the master's reading and penmanship skills, it hardly tested his pedagogical skill. The traditional méthode individuelle, where each pupil was called individually to the teacher's desk for recitation of read or memorized texts, was practiced by

virtually all teachers except those trained as Brothers of the Christian Schools, who were among the earliest to employ simultaneous teaching of groups of children.

Clearly, little in the way of pedagogical expertise was expected of the Ancien Régime teacher. By the time of the first systematic inspection reports, which began to appear in the 1830's, Vauclusan village teachers were often deemed incompetent. Individual teachers were criticized for a variety of offenses. Some neglected their pupils, like M. Taubert of Cavaillon who was "immoral, quite ill-kempt" and who had taught only five or six of his 25 pupils to read and write. Villard of Cabrieres d'Avignon "completely neglected his duties as instituteur" despite the fact that he was well-educated enough to teach Latin to his son. M. Germain of Roussillon was criticized for "complete absence of order and of method" and the terrible reading, ill-kept notebooks, and lack of understanding of mathematics exhibited by his pupils.[36] Some teachers inspired lengthy diatribes on the part of the inspector; such was M. Bernard of St. Saturnin d'Apt, who elicited this reaction in 1838:

> Never incompetence more pronounced, never rusticity more brusque, never filth more repulsive. . . [has been] combined in one teacher and in one class. . . After an hour and a half of interrogation, the sole response that we [M. the Mayor and I] was able to obtain from the pupil designated as the smartest was that "the first letter of the alphabet is 'a'".[37]

Still, Bernard was not the worst teacher in the arrondissement, according to the inspector. That distinction was reserved for Armand of Cabrieres d'Apt, old, ill and incompetent, whose pupils displayed "bad reading, detestable handwriting, exercise books filled with spelling errors, no sense of grammar and arithmetic limited to the first two rules."[38]

A conclusion that teaching was wholly inadequate in general before the intervention of the state would nonetheless be erroneous. On the eve of the Guizot law, the state conducted a survey of teaching conditions all over France. In the arrondissements of Avignon and Apt, there were nearly 90 elementary school teachers for whom inspection reports were sent to Paris. In the 20 sample communities, five of which were reportedly without instruction of any sort, 34 teachers were holding classes. The performance of 23 of these was deemed adequate by the inspectors. (Table 6 summarizes the results of this inspection). It is clear that the smaller communities had the most difficulty recruiting acceptable teachers. Only four of the nine teachers living in rural communities were deemed competent, while 19 others of the 25 teachers in communities larger than 2000 were acceptable. Most were noted to be "free from violence" (22 of 34), although most admitted to at least occasional corporal punishment. With regard to the level of performance of the pupils, an interesting dichotomy is revealed in the reports.

TABLE 6

RESULTS OF SCHOOL INSPECTION, ARRONDISSEMENT OF APT, 1832

Sample Communities With Schools	Evaluation of Notebooks		Evaluation of Oral Responses	
	Good or Satisfactory	Bad or Unsatisfactory	Good or Satisfactory	Bad or Unsatisfactory
<2000	7	2	2	7
>2000	17	1	7	11
Total in Sample	24	3	9	18
Total Arrondissement	68	12	25	57

Sample Community	Capacity of Teacher	
	Adequate	Inadequate
<2000	4	5
>2000	19	6
Total	23	11

With the exception of the seven schools in the arrondissement of Avignon, pupils were graded separately on the condition of their notebooks and their oral responses to the inspector. In the schools of the arrondissement of Apt, pupils performances on written skills were generally rated quite well; 24 of the 27 classes received notes of Bien or Assez Bien on the state of their cahiers. In the category of réponses, however, the overwhelming number received comments of mauvais, faible or peu satisfaisant (18 of 27). Again, the divergence between written and oral competence was particularly marked in the smaller communities, where seven of nine schools received satisfactory reports on cahiers and unsatisfactory comments on oral French. As is indicated in Table 6, the sample communities do seem to be typical of the arrondissement as a whole. What the report suggests is that Vauclusan children were learning something, but when confronted by a French-speaking foreigner, were unable to express orally in French what they had learned to write. The main problem, which will be discussed in more detail below, was the persistent habit of patois speaking which affected the children's ability to learn spoken French. That the réponses should be stammered and uncertain is hardly unexpected; that the written performance of the schoolchildren was so satisfactory is perhaps more surprising and suggests that complaints of general incompetence

among schoolteachers were perhaps exaggerated. While teaching in community schools was unsatisfactory from the standpoint of an official of the national government, it may still have met local needs in many cases.

Charges of incompetence were levelled against Badenese teachers as well. The Reformed teacher in Waldangelloch was teaching 145 pupils in 1810; the inspector complained that "even the pupils in the highest grade cannot read fluently, correctly and with expression."[39] The Catholic deacon reported on the occasion of his visit to Sinsheim in 1817 that, not only was the teacher neglecting to keep his truancy register, but also that "children who have attended school for two years cannot even syllabize and others who were enrolled since All Saints' of last year still don't have any knowledge of the first letters of the alphabet. . ." The deacon also reported carefully on the mathematical abilities of the pupils, which were also unsatisfactory. Only 10 of the 67 youngest pupils could count to a hundred; of the 18 oldest, only two knew how to divide and many did not know their multiplication tables.[40]

If nothing else, this detailed report at least suggests the level of performance expected or sought after in Badenese classrooms. Some more direct indication of the teachers' abilities are given in their applications for open positions. The numerous applications

preserved in the archives generally indicate meticulous handwriting and a clear and easy style of Hochdeutsch. Some applicants for elementary posts even indicated a knowledge of Latin. The aspirants were not always so impressive when it came to arithmetic; some Schulkandidats actually included in their letters of application multiplication problems with incorrect solutions![41] Few ventured to try their hand at long division, suggesting that administrative complaints on the subject of incomplete knowledge or arithmetic were perhaps justified.

Still, there were larger numbers of applications for teaching posts, especially the more lucrative ones; competition was intense. For example, there were a few dozen applicants for teaching posts in Heidelberg and Handschuhsheim in 1820; when the evangelical post in 1838, eight candidates; in 1841, 21; in 1853, 33.[42] This very competition suggests that school officials had a fairly broad choice in the selection of teachers, at least where communities had assembled appealing incomes. While there were mistakes made in the applications, those actually successful in competition made no such mistakes.

French and Badenese inspectors did not restrict their criticisms of teachers to the area of pedagogical capacities. Often problems indicated were those of immorality or insubordination of teachers rather than incompetence. As presumed servants of the religious

establishment and junior partners of the local pastor, public schoolteachers were expected to behave in a manner acceptable to the church. The Catholic pastor of Käferthal complained in 1760 that the teacher sometimes failed to hold school and sent the children away without instruction. Moreover, he was prone to "obscenity, anger and drunkenness" and had not taken communion at Eastertime.[43] Drunkenness, brutality and negligence were the most common complaints in both regions, persisting well into the 19th century. The Vauclusan school inspector reported of Arnaud of Rustrel that "he is accused of beating the children and of giving himself over to drink"; Ducros of Sorgue was "a violent man with a very serious vice of losing his temper with the children."[44] As in Baden, neglect of specifically religous duties was a problem. For example, one teacher "was refusing to conduct his pupils to services."[45] Complaints of drunkenness persisted in Baden as well, again typically in rural communities with undesirable teaching livings. In Kohlhof in the 1840's, the problem was considered so serious that parents were refusing to send their children to school and eventually the teacher was dismissed.[46] Problems of of insubordination intensified as the organized progressive teachers began demanding separation of teaching and religious duties. W. Leitzeifer, who was an activist in teaching reform in Baden, was dismissed from his post in

Heidelsheim for refusing to rise to ring the early morning churchbell. In short, despite the large number of teachers practicing in Baden and Vaucluse in the early 19th century, central authorities had difficulties recruiting teaching corps that would satisfy their criteria. The political and moral mission for which the teacher was being groomed entailed behavior that was sober, strict without being brutal, disciplined, submissive to political authority and respectful of established religion. Many of the teachers which early inspection tours discovered fell short on one or more of these requirements.[47]

In addition to their problems with the public schoolteachers, school officials were also faced with the project of regulating the myriad of less official and often competing institutions: petites écoles, Nebenschulen, Winkelschulen etc. Often neighborhood schools run for the convenience of working parents, these private schools were seen as a threat to public education where they competed for pupils of the same age as those in the public institutions or where their effects upon children were thought to be adverse to the goals of public instruction. Teachers with public posts in Baden were quick to report illicit competition and such complaints were numerous in urban areas. There were at least seven Nebenschulen in Mannheim in the middle of the 18th century competing for Catholic pupils. The innkeeper Althof

was running a huge, religiously mixed school for young children in the same city in the 1760's where, according to official teachers, "the schoolchildren entrusted to him were led into the disorder so hateful to God and into a shameful wildness" which made the task of their later teachers all the more difficult." At the end of the eighteenth century, Mannheim's teachers of all three religions joined in a petition against the still numerous Winkelschulen, which were taking tuition income from the legitimate teachers and were also a public danger; the teachers felt that "the state should be watchful of the tender youth, exposed to erroneous modern principles which could have all sorts of evil consequences . . ."[48]

To confront problems of incapacity and indiscipline of schoolteachers, and to regulate access to the profession Badenese authorities began promoting special training institutions for teachers and tightening licensing procedures in the late 18th century. Actually, the precedent for state certification had long been established: as early as the 17th century, candidates for schoolteaching posts were required to sign a pledge before taking up service. In the pledge, the teacher promised to teach correct religious doctrine (at the time, evangelical Reformed) to conduct the pupils to services, maintain the approved behavioral code and "remain loyal and gracious toward the Pfälzisch Elector as his ordained higher

authority . . ."; in addition, he promised to "subject himself to all Kurpfälzisch public orders and special decrees and . . . zealously implant in his students all fitting obedience and respect toward the state authority and the law."[49] By the end of the 18th century, teachers were not allowed to practice without a license from the state; most official posts were being filled by certified Kandidats who had often been trained in the new normal schools scattered throughout the upper Rhine region. For Protestant teachers, there was a seminary in Karlsruhe since 1768; many Catholic teachers were trained in Mainz until the opening of a Catholic Lehrseminar in Mannheim in 1787. After the consolidation of the Badenese state, official seminaries for teachers were established in Karlsruhe and Rastatt. The Badenese system dealt with unauthorized teaching as well: while private schools continued to draw small numbers of children into the 19th century, teachers complaints about illicit competition disappear in the early decades of the 19th century.[50]

State licensing of teachers was undertaken much later in France. While at least minimal proof of patriotism was required of Revolutionary teachers, it was only under the Restoration that the state first claimed authority to rule on the intellectual capacity of the teacher to teach. For a long time, however, clandestine teaching and evasion of the regulation of the bureaucracy

by teachers continued to be a problem. In fact, the debate over freedom of teaching (liberté d'enseignement) without state interference was a recurrent one throughout the 19th century since the Church in particular continued to assert its right to run schools independently of the state.

As their counterparts in Baden had begun to do at the end of the 18th century, French school authorities combined, in the early 19th century, new claims of control over the licensing of teachers with the creation of new institutions designed to create cadres of teachers imbued with the spirit and knowledge deemed appropriate for the state educational system. The first attempts to establish normal schools were undertaken during the latter Restoration, though these efforts met with little success. In the late 1820's, the municipal government of Avignon claimed no need for such a school: the city's noviciate for Brothers of the Christian Schools filled local needs. The cities of L'Isle and Cucuron also refused the requests of the Académie to open a department normal school, claiming lack of funds. Only when departmental funds were made available in 1832 was the first école normale of the department established in Avignon. The two year course of study at the normal school was modest in its aspirations. Besides the basic elementary subjects they were to teach, future teachers studied

pedagogical methods, bookkeeping, elementary aspects of science, history, geography and music, as well as the French Civil Code and state ordinances. While state policy advocated a restricted education of normaliens, one appropriate for their generally modest social origins and future expectations, central authorities were nonetheless a bit embarrassed by the forthrightness in this regard of the director of the normal school in Avignon, who wrote them in 1840 that:

> if this education is not to be a dangerous instrument and is to respond to the active concerns of families and of the government, if it shall be in everything proportionate to the future needs of the schoolmasters who receive it and to the classes to which they will communicate it, such an education, we do not shrink from saying it, must be above all eminently Christian . . . since our young men, educated and poor, thrown into a society where the ideas of ambition, independence and revolt are so much in the fore, will be more susceptible than everybody else to the evil influence of the disrupters of order.[51]

Through the establishment of the normal schools, and the more forceful assertion of the state's claim to grant and withhold the permission to teach, school administrators hoped to reshape the teaching corps. In Vaucluse, implementation of this policy was immediate. Normaliens were more likely than others to be granted brevets or certificates of competence. Of the 16 candidates for the brevet in 1837, all seven non-normaliens were failed, although one promising candidate was granted a scholarship to the normal school. All the normaliens were passed, and the inspector noted happily that the

number of applications to the normal school had risen as a result of "the severity shown by the commission in its examinations for the acquisition of brevets."[52] When vacancies in teaching posts appeared, school administrators encouraged local communities to accept normal school graduates. Université officials regarded this influence over the selection of teachers as essential for their goals, since as one inspector expressed it:

> it is essential that the teaching personnel be composed only of men who through their conduct and their knowledge can have influence over the populace and cause them to welcome instruction by making them realize its advantages.[53]

This would be continually more likely to happen, it was felt, as older teachers retired and were replaced by normal school graduates.

The inspectors, indeed, continued to see progress in the quality of teaching, "principally in the areas where [they] had been able to place pupils of the normal school."[54] Even for those teachers who were not actually trained in the normal schools, there were special six-week improvement courses subsidized by the state for ambitious non-normaliens. Several Vauclusan teachers took advantage of these courses, including Simon of L'Isle, who was eventually to receive gold and silver medals awarded annually to the best teachers in the department. Inspectors found other exemplary teachers as well, like

Meritan of Saignon, who was eventually incorporated into the department's administrative bureaucracy.

In order to insure that teachers would be acceptable to state authorities, not only teacher training but also teacher appointment had to be brought under state supervision. In Baden, the right to appoint the schoolteacher belonged traditionally to the holder of the Patronatsrecht, a right which often went along with some sort of financial endowment of the teaching position. While the Patronatsrecht was originally often the prerogative of the community or local lord, by the late 18th century the church bureaucracies seem to have successfully asserted their claim to this authority in much of the Kurpfälzisch territory. At the time of the naming of the schoolteacher to the Reformed school in Mannheim in 1759/60, church authorities pointed to the "vexation, conflict and disorder" that usually arose on the occasion of such appointments when made by the community, and claimed that appointments could be more judiciously made by the clerical hierarchy.[55] Though the Reformed community fought back, the bureaucracy had the force of the state government behind it and future appointments seem to have been made by application to the church bureaucracy. Communal dissatisfaction with teaching personnel could be expressed only through petition to church authorities who eventually held the ultimate powers of hiring, firing

and certification of public schoolteachers. The Kirchenrath Instruktion of 1797 codified existing procedures for certification and placement of candidates, procedures which subsequently were applied to the Kurpfalz when it was incorporated into the Badenese state. According to these ordinances, at the time of a vacancy, local and Oberamt officials would submit a list of candidates for the teaching post to the Consistorium, who would then confirm an appointment. While Patronatsrecht continued to be invoked into the 19th century, for example when a Jewish teaching post was created in Neidenstein in the 1820's, the Badenese Ministry of the Interior denied such patronage procedures any role in the hiring of teachers. Hiring had by then become a bureaucratic routine.

In Vaucluse, in contrast, local communities retained much of their traditional responsibility in the area of hiring and supervision of teachers. Under the Restoration, when the first national attempts at encouragement of public popular instruction were made, decisions about hiring were left in the hands of local committees of clergy and notables, who were, however, to choose teachers from among individuals licensed by arrondissement level committees chosen by diocesan and state representatives. The July Monarchy did little to alter the local selection of teachers, although in the late 1830's, a new regulation required teachers to be authorized by the

Université to teach in a specified locale.[56] Furthermore, a national system of inspection was inaugurated, which opened the way for state evaluation of teachers' performance and input into local decision making; while the potential for central control was established, state input remained largely advisory in the early 19th century. Although central administrators in Baden and Vaucluse sought many of the same qualities in teachers, and encountered many of the same problems in recruiting teachers who would meet state standards, Badenese officials had established more direct control over recruitment, training and supervision of teaching personnel than their French counterparts.

Buildings and Books

Second as a focus of concern after the teacher was the provision of an appropriate locale for holding classes. Again, while within each region a great deal of variety prevailed, officials in Vaucluse appear to have had more difficulties than those in Baden in this regard. The itinerancy and seasonality of teaching in Ancien Regime Provence did not encourage communities to invest in permanent and solid structures for either teachers' dwelling or schoolroom. Some teachers' contracts did specify that a lodging for the teacher (often doubling

as a classroom) be provided by the community. In urban areas, where teachers were likely to be permanent residents, such provision was common. The city of Avignon had invested large sums in the construction of classrooms and residences for the Brothers of the Christian Schools; bourgs like Apt and La Tour d'Aigues also had municipally-owned school buildings during the Ancien Regime. But in the villages, the teachers were often required to bargain over whatever facilities were available, and there is little record of the kind of accomodations that were typical.

It was only during the 1830's that French officials began to concern themselves with the problem of adequate classrooms. During the earliest inspection tours, conditions in many classrooms shocked the inspectors. Rooms in which children were taught were often disorderly, bustling with all sorts of activities, particularly where located in a residence or public building, or where the teacher was a part-time secretary, tax official or artisan. Makeshift classrooms, like makeshift arrangements for teaching, met with official disapproval. Vauclusan inspectors of the 1830's reported, for example, that in St. Saturin, the schoolroom was attached to the tax collector's office and was continually crossed by residents conducting tax business.[57] In Bedarrides, the room was inconvenient because "to enter,

it was necessary to cross a billiard hall."[58] In Gadagne, the classroom was "very badly located, in an attic of the city hall having a low ceiling and too few windows, and insufferably hot;" in Gignac, the school was located in "a horrible little attic."[59] According to a survey of 1835/36, only nine of the 20 communities of the arondissement of Avignon owned school buildings; the arrondissement of Apt was even less well provided for since only six of 50 communities there had communally owned schoolbuildings.[60] The following year, school officials estimated that 31 of the communities without buildings were either too small or too poor to finance them; seven were deemed capable but unwilling to establish public schools; 15 made promises to build schools within a few years.[61] According to local estimates, building schools was a costly procedure: over half the communities surveyed claimed that over 3000 Francs were needed to build or repair adequate facilities.[62] While state grants were made available to some communities which allowed them to buy or build schools, by mid-century, only four of the 20 sample communities had buildings that were deemed "sufficient" for local needs.[63]

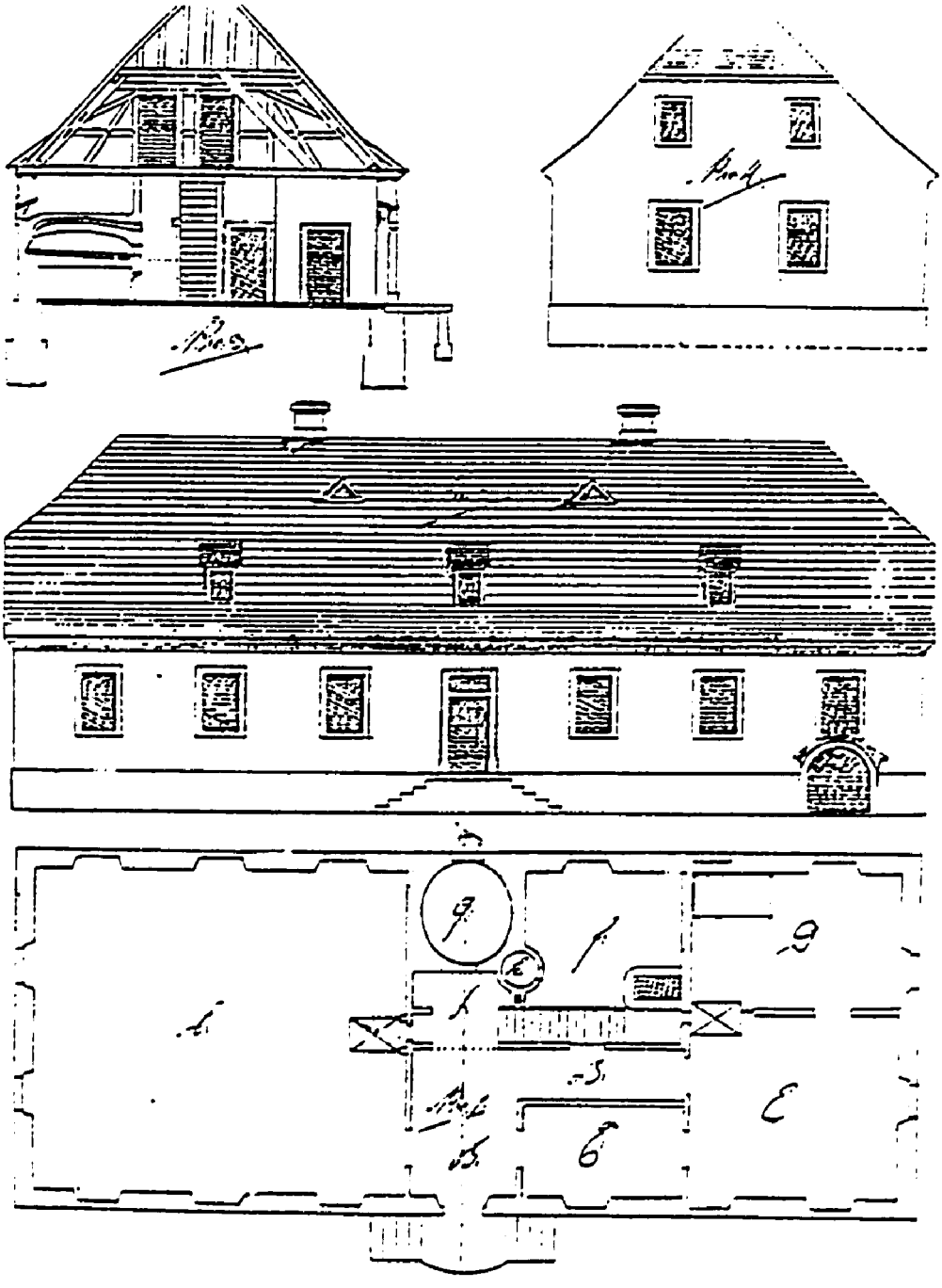
The Badenese communities seem to have been significantly better supplied with permanent schoolbuildings and residences for teachers. Many school Kompetenzen, specified that both a house and a classroom were part of

the payment to which the teacher was entitled.[64] Existing plans for schoolbuildings reveal that even small villages were equipped with spacious buildings built with teaching specifications in mind. Figure 3 illustrates a plan for a typical village schoolhouse from Baden, the likes of which was found only in wealthier urban areas in Vaucluse before the middle of the 19th century. That nearly every Badenese teacher had a schoolbuilding is apparent from Heunisch's 1833 statistics, which reveal that the Kirchesektionen were administering 1327 school positions and 1000 schoolbuildings for Catholics and 570 positions and 570 buildings for Protestants.[65] The quality of the buildings, particularly in crowded urban areas, was sometimes below standard. A professor of hygiene at the University of Heidelberg reported in 1810 that one of the Reformed schools in that city was "unfriendly, damp, dark and in a bad location" while the Lutheran school had "bad air because there were numerous pig stalls in the vicinity."[66] Nonetheless, available evidence suggests very strongly that most Badenese communities were supplied with some sort of public school building by the beginning of the 19th century.

After teachers and buildings for schools, the third area of administrative concern was books and teaching materials. While there were books and other printed materials, at least in small numbers, in every community,

FIGURE 3

PLAN FOR THE REFORMED SCHOOL IN HANDSCHUHSHEIM, 1767



Source: GLA: 229/38401.

reading material considered appropriate for the classroom was rare. One of the requirements of the new teaching methods advocated by state authorities was that all children in a class be supplied with uniform texts and school supplies. When the individual teaching method was in use, the text employed for teaching was of minor importance. Dealing with each child individually on the basis of an agreement with his or her parents, the teacher could teach reading from whatever book the parents had seen fit to supply. If the contract with the parents covered writing as well, the child would also have to be supplied with a slate or paper and pens. Simultaneous or mutuel teaching of whole classes changed these conditions; in particular, identical textbooks and supplies had to be provided for each child if the methods were to be efficiently applied.

Thus along with their encouragement of modern methods of teaching, inspectors and administrators had to concern themselves with the supply of readers and other classroom equipment. Books had to be approved, uniform and available in large numbers. Paper and writing materials, as well as the new array of large class teaching aids like wall charts, maps and blackboards, had to be provided, and provided free to the poorer pupils whose parents were little disposed or unable to purchase books. The teacher in the mutuel school in Avignon reported in

1831 that "a number of pupils are frustrated to the extent of abandoning their education for lack of the modest sums necessary for the purchase of paper, pens, ink and books. . ."[67] Schools geared to the urban poor, like those of the Brothers and the mutuels, depended on grants and other special arrangements for the supply of educational materials.

Other teachers were using books deemed inappropriate. The new pedagogic emphasis on practicality and goal-oriented teaching meant that schoolbooks had to be more than just printed matter. Inspectors condemned the practice of parents who "not wanting to buy readers for their children, gave them instead the sole volume that, perhaps, has been in the family for generations."[68] Books had to be up-to-date, geared to the pedagogic design of the school, and thus the responsibility of supplying acceptable readers was assumed by the school bureaucracies.

In both Baden and Vaucluse, official readers began to replace or supplement the generally religious material like Bibles, New Testaments and devotional literature and catechisms that had formerly been the mainstay of reading instruction. Badenese church officials had long been involved in the publication of catechisms designed for use in the schools. By the turn of the 19th century, the church bureaucracies began to organize the

publication and distribution of ABC books and elementary readers.[69] Teachers chose reading from among such works as Basedow's Kinderfreund, although the Bible still seems to have dominated classroom reading assignments. The centralized printing and distribution of teaching texts introduced uniformity. A rule passed by the Evangelical Kirchensektion in 1837 prohibited from classroom use all but the two authorized ABC books for beginning instruction.[70] By the 1840's, readers oriented toward the presumed learning capacity of different age groups were being provided and used in more progressive classes, although in smaller communities the grouping of wider age ranges in the same classroom made the use of such techniques more difficult.

In Vaucluse, religious organizations had also taken early responsibility for the production and distribution of inexpensive religious texts and teaching materials. Most energetic were the Brothers and other teaching orders who taught large classes of poor students. In Avignon at the end of the Ancien Regime, syllable books were available for one sou, small catechisms for two sous, copies of Devoir du Chretien for 13 sous, and for the ambitious the Large Catechism of Avignon for 15 sous.[71] These books were distributed directly by the Brothers to cut costs to the students.

The materials produced during the Revolution followed this early pedagogical model. Revolutionary catechisms were introduced as teaching devices in the short-lived Republican schools. For the next two decades, public efforts were sporadic; the proponents of mutuel education were quick to provide the special books and other teaching devices necessary for the method, but it was only under the July Monarchy that the French state took an active part in the production and dissemination of texts. In 1831, state grants were distributed to each department for the purchase of texts; arrangements were made with private publishers (most notably Hachette) to produce inexpensive texts and wall posters. Hachette's 1831 catalog included:

Alphabet et premier livre at 50F. for 500 copies.
Tableaux de Lecture 100F. for 10 sets.
Arithmetic de Vernier 50F. for 100 copies.
Petit Catechism de Fleury 62.50F. for 100 copies.

The government itself purchased and distributed large numbers of these editions. In 1831, the Minister of Public Instruction approved the distribution of 500,000 copies, at government expense, of Alphabet et Premier Livre, which was felt to be essential to classroom use because of its useful moral lessons, and uniformity that allowed teachers to make use of the new teaching methods. The department of Vaucluse received 1500 copies of

Alphabet. . . in addition to 300 copies of the catechism, which the prefect subsequently distributed among the communities of Avignon, Cavaillon, and L'Isle. In 1837, the department received 2000 additional copies of Alphabet. . . , as well as 50 sets of reading charts, 500 catechisms, 250 arithmetic books and 100 copies of Robinson Crusoe.[72] Still, at the time of the 1833 inspection, even before the massive distribution of books had been undertaken, 24 of the 32 schools inspected in the arrondissement of Apt were found to have books that were "uniform and sufficient."[73] Again, the evidence suggests that although some communities were lacking equipment before state intervention, the majority had managed to assemble some materials, at least for those who could pay for them, before the active involvement of the state. The problems which state authorities were trying to solve in their intervention in the supply of books, as in their intervention in the supply of teachers and buildings, resulted not so much from scarcity as from the unacceptability to them of existing provisions. While local resources did exist, the kind of material resources necessary for schools satisfying state requirements were deficient. In order to create facilities that would meet their standards, state authorities, particularly in France, had to supplement existing funds or pressure localities into new educational expenditures.

Paying for Schooling

Many of the obstacles to schooling reform were, at base, financial. The provision of professional teachers, healthful, heated and spacious classrooms, uniform textbooks and supplies all entailed financial outlays on the part of generally hard-pressed communities and families. Before the modern methods of teaching could be applied, before the full effect of organizational innovations could be felt, school administrators had to insure that an adequate financial basis for schooling was established in every community. It is significant that the financial obstacles to schooling seem to have been more formidable in Vaucluse, especially after the fiscal disruption of the Revolution, than they were in Baden. Among the many contrasting organizational aspects of schooling in Baden and Vaucluse, the method of finance was perhaps the most striking and influential.

In Vaucluse, the formula for communal subsidy of a schoolmaster was simple and changed little between the Ancien Regime and the early 19th century, although communal finance of schooling was, of course, disrupted during the Revolutionary period itself. Typically, the syndic or municipal council would allocate a fixed yearly salary (known first as gages, later as traitement) out of public revenues. This salary was supplemented by speci-

fied mois--monthly payments by the families of the children attending the school. Often the teacher would be obliged to teach a specified number of indigent children for free, in exchange for his monopoly on instruction. Only in rare cases, generally in the larger towns, was the salary set at a high enough level to allow the subsistence of the teacher on his salary alone, and without mois that were substantial. The earliest recorded contracts, dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, generally also stipulated provisions for the nourishment of the teacher during his stay in the village, since many schoolmasters were seasonal migrants who descended from their mountain communities during the winter to teach in the villages and plains of Provence.[74] Little evidence of these types of nourishment clauses remains for the 18th century and later; most communities seem to have been paying their schoolmasters fairly generous salaries in cash by the end of the 18th century. The market in schoolteachers, like that of the other services and commodities exchanged in the numerous fairs and market places of Haute Provence, had become a money market by the last decades of the Ancien Regime.

In part, the peculiarities of finance reflect broader organizational attributes of the Vauclusan school system. Although education in the primary school was certainly religious in content, unlike the Badenese case

it was the lay community who played the most active role in the hiring of teachers and the establishment of their responsibilities. Even in the Comtat Venaissin with its strong papal influence "the primary school appears to owe its creation as much to municipal initiative as to the inspiration of the clergy. . . it was from the municipal budget that it drew its principal means of support."[75] Throughout the Ancien Regime, community budgets routinely included sums for the payment of a maître d'études or régent d'école. For example, the teacher in Saignon was being paid 100 livres in 1769 and was allowed to charge between five and 10 sous a month for each pupil. In Caumont, the fixed salary was 150 livres in 1788 in addition to a per-pupil fee of three to six sous a month.[76] A series of contracts preserved for one community indicate that the teacher's salary was rising throughout the 18th century: in Caumont, the salary of the teacher rose from 24 livres in 1745 to 60 in 1755 to 150 in 1788; in Ansouis, the salary was set at 50 livres early in the century, had increased to 150 by 1746, and was reduced to 100 in 1764 when monthly fees were raised to eight sous.[77] By the end of the Ancien Regime, salary allocations ranged between 50 and 200 livres, while the most common amount in surviving budgets was 150 livres. At a time when salaries of 10 sous a day were common, this amount

was substantial for what was usually only a seasonal employment.[78]

Of course, some communities found it difficult to raise such a large cash salary. Surviving budgets from the Viguerie of Apt indicate that virtually all of the communities of more than 500 residents had publicly subsidized schools, but smaller communities were unlikely to. While fixed salaries were smaller in the villages, per capita assessments weighed heavily on smaller communities. In the Viguerie of Apt, communities of less than 2000 residents paid nearly four times the per capita assessment for schoolteachers salaries of larger communities. Small communities were further disadvantaged in that they included fewer school-aged children at any one time, which made it unlikely that the teacher could supplement his salary through tuition fees. As a result, the smallest communities were unable to assemble an income high enough to attract a schoolmaster; of the 21 communities of fewer than 500 residents in 1780, only 12 were subsidizing schoolteachers.[79]

Larger towns, on the other hand, could often afford the services of teaching orders who taught the popular classes for free. In the early decades of the 18th century, free schools run by the Brothers of the Christian Schools were established in several Vauclusan communities including Avignon, Apt and Pertuis. Reli-

gious schools for girls, often run by the Ursulines, were also established in several towns. Sometimes, parts of their salaries came from pious endowments. For example, the eight Brothers who were teaching in the city of Avignon until the Revolution were paid just over 1000 livres during most of the century. Three-hundred and twenty livres was derived from a perpetual rente of 8000 livres established by a private gift in 1703; another 300 livres came from a later Papal endowment; 400 livres were allocated each year from the municipal budget.[80] In 1778 the Brothers complained, no doubt legitimately, that the amount was no longer sufficient for subsistence because of the decades of inflation that had intervened since their establishment in the city. Apparently the Brothers were in similar financial difficulties in many cities at the end of the Ancien Regime. The city of Avignon responded by raising their allocation; in Apt, in response to a similar problem, the council voted to suppress the Brothers' school.[81]

An examination of the numerous records pertaining to school finance in late 18th century Kurpfalz reveals a world far different from that of Haute Provence. To be sure, small communities there were not as able as the towns and cities to raise attractive salaries for school-teachers, but they could nearly all offer something. Drawing from an incredible variety of sources, they were

able to put together a living large enough to support a teacher and still keep tuition fees relatively low. A school budget from Neidenstein is illustrative. Neidenstein, with a population of about 600 at the turn of the 19th century, was about two-thirds Protestant and had Catholic and Jewish minorities. The community supported several schools at any one time during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. An especially detailed account of the revenues of the Reformed schoolteacher during the late Ancien Regime has been preserved. He received:

> -From tithes, for bellringing, one Florin and about a half bushel of wheat; for washing the church linen once a year, 30 Kreuzer; for playing the organ, 10 Florin.
> -From the poor fund, for carrying around the collection plate on St. Martin's Day, one Florin.
> -For tuition fees, 15 Kruezer per quarter, plus one log a day from each child in the wintertime.
> -From the lord's estate, about 10 bushels of wheat, firewood and a free house.
> -From each peasant with a plow, three cones of grain.
> -From each peasant without a plow, two cones of grain.
> -From each citizen and each resident, a loaf of bread, plus one additional loaf for each schoolchild.
> -In land, an acre of farmland and one of meadow.
> -Accidenzien; namely, for every adult funeral, a half bushel of wheat, for the funeral of a child not yet confirmed, a loaf of bread; for a baptism, a loaf of bread; for a wedding, a glass of wine, a piece of meat, a loaf of bread or thirty Kreuzer to buy a meal.
> -His personal freedom.[82]

While this account is unusually detailed, it is not unusual in other respects. The typical Badenese schoolteacher received income in all of these forms and from all of these sources. Because most of it was in kind and land, it is hard to estimate the proportion of the total

income derived from the various kinds of sources. A schoolteacher in the village of Waldangelloch actually calculated the cash equivalent of the different parts of his income in the early 19th century. His account shows that only 10 percent of the total value of his income came from his fixed salary in cash. An additional 25 percent, also in cash, came from tuition payments. But the bulk of his income was in the form of payments in kind and land, with the latter accounting for over a third of the total revenue.[83] Of course, the proportion of the various kinds and sources of income was different in each community, but these examples are certainly typical. In the 20 Badenese sample communities there were at least 14 teaching position that provided the holder with a plot of land at the end of the 18th century; virtually all of the positions paid at least part of the salary in kind until the middle of the 19th century. Late 18th and early 19th century school registers from dioceses in the north Badenese area indicate that fixed cash salaries of more than 20 or 30 Florins, out of total revenues of between 200 and 300 Florins were unusual; only in the larger towns and cities was the teacher likely to collect more than 30 Florin in cash. Even in the 1830's, cash payments of more than 50 Florin were rare except in cities.[84]

In Baden, the availability of communal resources for schooling (in the form of Schulpfründe, endowed resources for the income of the schoolteacher) and community controlled resources (in the form of communal claims to portions of the revenues from communal forests, tithes and feudal dues) meant that the financial obstacles to public schooling encountered by smaller communities in Vaucluse were somewhat alleviated. Perhaps more significant for school attendance, these differences in mode of financing were reflected in the residual proportion of the teacher's income that had to come from school fees, and ultimately, in the level of those fees. Tables 7 and 8 summarize the differences between Baden and Vaucluse in this regard. The most striking contrast is between the real cost of schooling to parents in the two regions. Schooling for a Badenese child cost his or her parents only about a day's pay per year; schooling in Vaucluse was significantly more expensive. Secondly, while per-capita expenditures on public schooling were naturally higher in smaller communities in both regions, high enough subsidies in land and in kind could be assembled in Badenese communities to allow the cash salary and cash fees, always harder to raise in rural areas, to remain low. In Baden, tuition fees were typically lower in villages than in the urban areas where teachers were more dependent on cash income. In Vaucluse,

TABLE 7

REAL VALUE OF AVERAGE ANNUAL TUITION FEES (TOTAL FEES/CHILDREN ENROLLED)[a] IN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES[b] EXPRESSED IN UNITS OF AVERAGE DAY'S WAGE, 1800-1836

Size of Community	Baden				Vaucluse			
	1800	(n)	1836	(n)	1800	(n)[c]	1836	(n)
<2000	.6	23	.9	18	10.5	4	7.7	11
>2000	1.8	6	1.8	10	7.3	4	3.4	7
Total	.8	29	1.2	28	8.9	8	5.8	18

[a]The Vauclusan average includes the free pupils for whom fees were subsidized; the Badenese totals do not take into account such subsidy since no records of the number of pupils for whom fees were paid was found. In other words, were such figures known for Baden, the difference in average fees would be even more exaggerated.

[b]In Vaucluse, the unit is communities; in Baden, the unit is religious communities, since finances were separate for each religious group.

[c]Since there were so few publicly subsidized teachers in Vaucluse in 1800, incomes of private teachers were used where there was no public school.

TABLE 8

PROPORTION OF TEACHERS' INCOME COMPRISED OF TUITION FEES, SAMPLE COMMUNITIES OF BADEN AND VAUCLUSE, 1800-1836[a] EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL TEACHING INCOME

Size of Community	Baden				Vaucluse			
	c. 1800	(n)	1836	(n)	c. 1800	(n)	1836	(n)
<2000	23	17	26	11	100	6	51	11
>2000	28	13	45	10	76	5	37	7
Total	25	30	37	21	89	11	49	18

[a]See Notes a-c above (Table 7) for explanation of units and methods of computation.

on the other hand, fees were higher in rural areas: rural families, who were less likely to have cash on hand had to pay more for schooling than their urban counterparts. That high fees were a deterrent to schooling seems likely: in Vaucluse, the level of fees is a good predictor of school attendance in the sample communities. Even when controlling for community size, there is a high negative correlation in the 1830's between school fees and school attendance (-7); in Baden, there is no significant association.[85] As will be discussed below, differences in child labor patterns and parental expectations in rural and urban areas accounts, no doubt, for part of the variance in community-level school attendance patterns within Vaucluse, but the sheer cost of schooling in rural areas presented an additional obstacle to those parents who might otherwise have been interested in schooling.

That forms of payment characteristic of a pre-market economy were significant to the Badenese school system is clear. Community claims on manorial income were newly exerted as late as 1790. Perhaps taking advantage of the Revolutionary menace, the villagers of Bockschaft created a school in that year through agreement between the inhabitants and representatives of the Grundherrschaft; the latter agreed to contribute eight Florin and a cord of wood each year; a village resident contributed a house; the parents agreed to pay tuition. While this was a

small income indeed, it allowed the tiny community of 80 inhabitants to support a parttime schoolteacher.[86]

Badenese teachers carefully guarded their traditional perquisites, and violations of them were cause for immediate outcry. In religiously split communities, adherents of different sects jealously eyed the privileges and payments, from properties that could be construed as communal, to teachers of rival sects. In Schriesheim, for example, the Lutheran community sent several petitions including one bearing several hundred signatures to the government, claiming that the Lutheran teacher was not being granted the same common rights as the Catholic and Reformed teachers. A similar complaint from Wieblingen indicated that the Lutheran teacher there was engaged in a dispute with the village accountant over the fiscal meaning of the grant of personal freedom allowed each schoolteacher in the Kurpfalz.[87] There were disputes in several communities over the bell-ringing duties traditionally performed by the teacher. In some religiously mixed communities, the dispute centered on which of the several teachers had the right to be the town's official bellringer and collect the salary attached to this post; in other areas, the dispute was between the pastor who expected the teacher to perform this service and the teacher who considered it a nuisance.[88] It is nonetheless clear that bellringing was considered a normal part

of the teacher's service and most Kompetenzen include separate mentions of a five or ten Florin salary or some other form of reimbursement for its performance. A rhyme attributed to the early 19th century bears further witness to the practice and burden of the four or six-o'clock sounding:

> In the morning, before the break of day,
> When everyone still lies in sleep,
> There on the bellcord he already hangs
> The poor little village schoolmaster.[89]

Less onerous was the duty of witnessing baptisms, burials and weddings, which also brought in small incomes. Again, Kompetenzen like the one cited earlier routinely indicated a certain amount of income from Accidenzien or Trivialen. While this type of service was sometimes recompensed in kind, as it was in Neidenstein, cash payments were also sometimes made. For example, the teacher in Schriesheim received, in 1819, 15 Kreuzer for the funeral of an infant, 30 Kreuzer for the funeral of a child between one and six, and 45 for the funeral of an adult. Only the stillborn and the indigent were buried without payment to the schoolteacher.[90] Baptism fees often varied with the status of the newborn; in Waldangelloch, the parents of legitimate children paid 12 Kreuzer, while those of illegitimate children paid 24.[91] The possible logic of this system becomes clear from a complaint by the schoolteacher Freund of Daisbach in 1831 concerning the operation of the witnessing system and its payment. He wrote:

> . . . for the burial and baptism of illegitimate children, as well as those of resident non-citizens (Beisässen) 15 Kreuzer are paid; on the occasion of a legitimate birth to a full citizen, however, nothing is paid because in the old days schoolteachers were invited to the feasts given on these occasions . . .[92]

Freund went on to complain that under the new Evangelical rite, baptisms were always held on Saturday morning, the same time was weddings and funerals which meant that all the banquets were held on the same day too, making it impossible for him to collect all the meals due him. Following the trend advocated by so many others, he suggested that the meals might be converted to simple cash payments for his services.

The suggestion to convert to more convenient cash payments was typical of the early decades of the 19th century. Such moves were generally favored by the teachers, although parents and communities often found it difficult to come up with cash substitutes. Old customs like the Wandertisch, the practice of feeding the schoolteacher on a rotating schedule in the homes of his pupils' parents, persisted into the 19th century in the smallest Badenese communities. In 1804, the community of Horrenburg considered switching from the Wandertisch arrangement to a payment of eight Kreuzer daily Kostgeld (food money). The citizens apparently did not particularly like the Wandertisch but "they still preferred to give the schoolteacher food to money, because money is rare

in these days and food for one man at the family table doesn't strike them as being as costly as money. . ."[93] The switch was made a decade or so later. Similarly, the Wandertisch was abolished in Lampenhain in 1818, in Kohlhof in 1834.[94] Schulbrod and Glockenbrod, loaves of bread given for teaching and bell-ringing, also went the way of Wandertisch. While the community of Waldangelloch voted overwhelmingly in 1815 to retain the Glockenbrod payment method, such payment in bread seems to have disappeared by the 1830's. In Walldorf, money was substituted for bread in 1826. Payment in wine seems to have been particularly troublesome to teachers, since the communal dole occurred only a few times a year and entailed hauling large quantities of wine from the depot (or central collecting place). Complaints about the difficulty of transporting such payments in wine were made by Catholic schoolteachers in Heidelberg in 1786, and in Käferthal a decade or so later. Even as late as 1836, schoolteachers in Heidelberg were still trying to convert their wine income into cash.[95]

Counterbalancing the inconvenience of payment in kind was the danger of inflation where payment was made in cash. Recorded complaints of schoolteachers concerning the inadequacy of their income begin to appear with growing frequency in the latter decades of the 18th century. Even the relatively well-paid teachers of the

cities of Heidelberg and Mannheim seem to have been most vocal in their complaints, no doubt as a result of their great dependency on cash incomes, their greater susceptibility to inflation, and their higher level of organization. Requests for state subsidies for firewood, and for increases in tuition were numerous in the decades between 1790 and 1810.[96] Ironically the very conversion from kind to cash payments that had begun at the teachers' behest made their situation more serious. In Mannheim, the complaint was that the prices established at the time of conversion had become so inflated that subsistence was impossible.[97] What the teachers wanted, in essence, was the convenience of cash with the security of a stable real wage. With the growth of professional organization apparent in Revolutionary and Restoration Baden and thereafter, teachers began presenting demands for the reform of payment systems to the state. They wanted the abolition of customs like the Wandertisch which they considered demeaning; they wanted minimal salaries for all teaching posts; some demanded decentralization or abolition of tuition fees. But even by the middle of the 19th century, the teachers were unwilling to commit themselves completely to the cash nexus. In a petition submitted to the Frankfurter Assembly in 1848, teachers requested that farmlands remain attached to schoolteaching positions since "the worth of a money salary is too

subject to change."[98] More than anything else, it was the increasing organization and professionalization of the Badenese teachers as a corps that resulted in the movement for the abolition of the archaic and cumbersome system of administration and finance that characterized the Badenese school system throughout the early decades of the 19th century--that very system that had allowed the subsistence of teachers in even the smallest of the Badenese communities.

Ironically, it was the advanced monetization of schooling finance in Vaucluse, related, no doubt, to the level of commercialization of other types of village exchange, that made support of schools relatively more difficult. Unlike both Baden and other regions of France, Vaucluse had many communities with little communal property. In the absence of communally controlled resources in the form of land or produce, schools could only be financed through annual allotments in cash raised as part of the communal budget. Throughout most of the period studied, such income had to be derived from fermes, octroi and other essentially regressive forms of taxation.

Communal propertylessness was an old problem in parts of France. Regional patterns of control over communal resources account for some of the variety within France in the ability of communes to support schools.

Guizot noted this relationship in the early 1830's. In a report to the king, he wrote:

> . . . in the former provinces that conquest or familial alliance united most recently to France--Champagne, Burgundy, Alsace-Lorraine, Franche-Comte--communities have remained proprietors of their communal forests, while in the older France. . . these have been entirely lost. For the communities in those provinces, they are sources of considerable revenue. It is with these revenues that they have built schoolhouses and paid the teachers. . . and the taxpayers have had to pay only very low rates.[99]

Where there were no communal properties, the fiscal disruption of the Revolution had more impact. Changes in monetary policy, nationalization of Church lands, reform of tax policy and local administrative procedure meant that the routines formerly used for the operation of schools became totally inappropriate.[100] Even before the national legislation on schooling, some communities decided locally to revolutionize schools by creating free mass education. For example, the municipal council of Cavaillon decided to subsidize free instruction in 1792 since,

> teachers have hardly any pupils because, in addition to the salary paid by the commune, parents are obliged to pay a sum each month to the teacher. . . the result is not only that the children do not acquire good principles, because the schoolmasters are not paid enough, but also that most of the inhabitants cannot afford the cost of an education . . .[101]

Between An II and An IV teachers salaries were paid by the district government at a per pupil rate and instruction was free. For one or two years during the Revolu-

tion, there were thus free schools in many communities for the first time.[102] But these salaries soon disappeared in the general fiscal and political crises of the later years of the Revolution. By the turn of the 19th century, teachers in Vaucluse were almost all dependent on fees alone for their subsistence, rarely receiving any communal subsidy at all. Fees were high, ranging between 75 centimes and three francs a month. Only with the re-establishment of fiscal stability do any subsidies reappear, but even by the 1820's, there were many more communities without public schools than there had been in 1780. Of the 20 sample communities in Vaucluse, only five were providing any communal subsidy to schooling in 1820, while at least 15 had been doing so in 1780.[103]

When the national state began to encourage the communal support of teaching, financial difficulties continued to stand in the way of public schooling, particularly in small rural communities. Again, the problem seems to have been more serious in some regions of France than in others. A survey undertaken in 1832 revealed that in the department of Bas-Rhin, for example, one of the well-endowed areas mentioned in the above-cited Guizot report, salaries of teachers were quite high, nearly three times what they were in Vaucluse. Tuition fees were correspondingly lower--about a third of Vauclusan levels.[104]

Because of the complexity of the system of reimbursement for teaching, it is difficult to estimate trends over time in teaching incomes. Public subsidies were usually recorded, but where part of the subsidy was in land or kind, total values are difficult to arrive at. Furthermore, teachers' salaries were nearly always supplemented by tuition payments which varied with attendance. Still, some rough estimations can be made. Table 9 summarizes estimated teachers' incomes in the sample communities in Baden and Vaucluse. (Table 8 showed the proportion of that income derived from tuition fees) In Baden, earlier evidence is sporadic but suggests that fixed salaries varied little between the late 18th and early 19th centuries, while total incomes were rising especially in urban areas because of increasing enrollments and increasing tuition fees. The size of classes was growing tremendously in some areas, which meant more work for any one teacher, but also more income. Steady, if slow, advances were more noticeable in the north Badenese sample communities than in Baden as a whole. Heunisch reported in 1833 that the average teacher's income from local subsidy and fees was just under 200 Florin a year; state subsidy raised that amount to about 215 Fl. By 1857, the Badenese average had risen to about 240 Fl., a figure substantially below that of urban communities in the north Badenese sample.[105]

TABLE 9

AVERAGE INCOMES OF PUBLIC SCHOOLTEACHERS BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY, SAMPLE COMMUNITIES IN BADEN AND VAUCLUSE, 1800-1836

Size of Community	Baden (Florins)				Vaucluse (Francs)			
	c. 1800	(n)	1836	(n)	c. 1800	(n)	1836	(n)
<2000	160	20	191	16	283	6	389	14
>2000	370	31	487	38	315	12	622	33
Total	287	51	399	54	304	18	553	47

Note: During the early 19th century, average incomes of the general population have been estimated at around 275-300 Fl. a year in Baden and around 450-500 fr. in Vaucluse at full employment; at the same time, the wages of agricultural laborers were around 110-120 Fl. and 250-350 fr. respectively in Baden and Vaucluse.

In Vaucluse, most communities provided public subsidies for schooling during the Ancien Regime, and were again subsidizing public instruction by around 1840.[106] But during the intervening decades, teachers were largely dependent on fees alone. As in Baden, teachers incomes were climbing during the first half of the 19th century, after what must have been a decided setback between 1790 and 1810 or so. In the sample communities, the turn-of-the-century average of around 300 francs had nearly doubled by the middle of the 19th century. Inspectors reports indicate a higher overall average in the arrondissement of Avignon, incomes of nearly 800 francs in the mid 1830's, as compared with around 500 in the poorer and more rural arrondissement of Apt.[107]

At these rates, the rural teacher in both Baden and Vaucluse was earning by the mid-19th century an income somewhere between that of an unskilled laborer and a fully employed artisan. Teachers in both regions earned significantly more in urban than in rural areas. In addition, the post of schoolteacher offered a security rare in the early industrial economy; come what may, the teacher's income was usually assured and early on brought a modicum of security for the future in the form of pensions as well. As a schoolteacher, a person held a defined, if not particularly exalted, position as a state

functionary. Through organization as a corps, increasing professionalization, and forceful assertion of new claims for improvements in their lot, teachers were already exhibiting in the early decades of the 19th century the kinds of behavior that would earn them status as minor notables by the late century.[108] Still, their position was hardly enviable. Collecting waht was due them often involved long struggles with the people they were supposed to be serving, and what was due them was often not enough, particularly for teachers with families. Although often drawn from modest origins, their education and the importance of their functions, they felt, entitled them to more.

The state could hardly quibble with such claims. Anxious to upgrade the teaching profession, state authorities also tried to upgrade teaching salaries. By the 1830's, regular state subsidies were being applied to teaching salaries. In 1832, the Badenese government allocated 55,000 Fl. to this end, enough to raise salaries about 15 percent on the average.[109] A French state grant in the same year of about 10,000 fr. was allocated to primary schooling in Vaucluse, about a thousand <u>francs</u> of which went to supplement the salaries of poorly paid teachers. By the late 1830's, seven of the 20 sample communities of Vaucluse were receiving state subsidies of

from 120 to 250 fr., among them four of the five communities of fewer than 500 residents.[110]

Once central state organizations began to find it useful to subsidize schooling, communities in need had a new authority to appeal to. Even then, of course, some resisted state aid if it meant meeting such grants through locally raised funds. Still, the minimum needed to finance a school could finally be assembled in many communities formerly unable to have one. But before the massive intervention of the state in schooling finance, Badenese communities with their communally controlled lands and pre-market system of finance were better able to finance cheap public schooling than were the Vauclusan communities with their more modern cash economies.

Despite the common tendency to associate political and economic modernization with public subsidy of cheap schooling, the comparison between Baden and Vaucluse also suggests that the more bureaucratized but less democratic Badenese school system managed to marshall resources for schooling more effectively than the decentralized French system of schooling finance. Part of the explanation lies in the opposition of many people to the plans of the central administrators; where some sectors of the local population had a say in schooling provision, as they did in Vaucluse, they often opposed the bureaucrats. The next chapter will explore administrative problems of a

different kind; it will present a picture of local populations as they were viewed from the administrative center, focussing on the human obstacles in the path toward the kind of educational progress desired by state authorities.

CHAPTER TWO FOOTNOTES

[1]For a review of the regional situation, see M. Vovelle, "Y-a-til eu une revolution culturelle . . .?" in Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 22 (1975), 89-141.

[2]AN: H1248, 1250.

[3]For sources of evidence, see Appendix.

[4]See below, Chapter 4, for description of Sample communities and data.

[5]GLA: 77/3120.

[6]GLA: 77/6102. See also K. Lockridge, Literacy in Colonial New England (New York, 1974).

[7]F. Paulsen, German Education, p. 136.

[8]A. Heunisch, Beschreibung des Grossherzogthum Baden (Heidelberg, 1833).

[9]For a discussion of the dispute over the proper role of the church in supervision of schools at the end of the eighteenth century in Germany, see E. Fooken, Die Geistliche Schulaufsicht und Ihre Kritiker (Wiesbaden-Dotzheim, 1967).

[10]For a discussion of the general conditions of primary education in Ancien Regime France, see F. Furet and J. Ozouf's forthcoming (1977) study.

[11]ADV: L, Fonds 2, 96.

[12]ADV: Serie T, diverse.

[13]ADV: T, I.P., 1bis.

[14]Ibid.

[15]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[16]For a more detailed discussion of the political and religious polarization of early nineteenth century French communities, see M. Agulhon La République au village (Paris, 1970), 259ff.

[17]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis, 4; AN: F^{17}10292.

[18]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[19]ADV: T, I.P., 3.

[20]AN: F^{17}9335.

[21]GLA: 377/235.

[22]GLA: 388/41.

[23]GLA: 213/2625; 235/22715.

[24]GLA: 235/21735.

[25]GLA: 435/847.

[26]See M. Vovelle, p. 127 and R. Rey, "L'enseignement primaire et les écoles publiques dans les états pontificaux . . . avant 1789," Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse, 11 (1892), 9-45.

[27]GLA: 377/756.

[28]ADV: T,I.P., 4.

[29]GLA: 377/755.

[30]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[31]ADV: T,I.P., 1.

[32]AN: F^{17}6286.

[33]ADV: T,I.P., 1bis; AN: F^{17}10374.

[34]ADV: T,I.P., 2,3,3bis. Actually, the reports varied on exact numbers. The Inspector visited 146 institutrices in 1835/36, and estimated that there were a total of over 200 in Vaucluse. In 1836/37, the inspector found 170 institutrices.

[35]See Appendix for complete listing of sources for location and conditions of teachers.

[36]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38; Rapport de 1835.

[37]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[38]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[39]GLA: 229/109025.

[40]GLA: 377/965.

[41]GLA: 229/91547.

[42]GLA: 235/21692, 93/21722.

[43]GLA: 229/50612.

[44]ADV: Rapport de 1836.

[45]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[46]GLA: 356/751.

[47]See note 108, below.

[48]GLA: 213/2664, 2665, 2645.

[49]GLA: 204/1824.

[50]See note 12, Chapter 5.

[51]ADV: T,I.A., 84.

[52]ADV: T,I.A., 84.

[53]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[54]ADV: T,I.A., 102.

[55]GLA: 213/2623.

[56]ADV: T,I.P., 1bis.

[57]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[58]ADV: Rapport de 1835.

[59]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[60]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[61]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[62]ADV: T,I.P., 4.

[63]ADV: T,I.P., 4.

[64]Scattered. Among others, GLA: 229/38401; 229/38.

[65]A. Heunisch, pp. 147ff.

[66]Cited in H. Heyd, Geschichte der Entwicklung des Volkschulwesens . . . (Buhl, 1900).

[67]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[68]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[69]GLA: 235/20120.

[70]GLA: 235/19266.

[71]MC: Ms. 1972.

[72]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[73]AN: $F^{17}155$.

[74]R. Rey, p. 30.

[75]MP: A.E.P., 6.

[76]MP: A.E.P., 6.

[77]MP: A.E.P., 6.

[78]AN: H 1248, 1250.

[79]AN: H 1248, 1250.

[80]ADV: H, 3; MP: A.I.P., 6; M. Feuillas, "L'enseignement à Avignon au xviiie siècle," (Mémoire de Maitrise, Aix, 1959).

[81]MP: A.E.P., 6.

[82]K. Ziegler, Ortsgeschichte Neidenstein (Neidenstein, 1962).

[83]K. Keller, Waldangellochs Vergangenheit (Eppingen, 1935).

[84]GLA: 63/144; 77/9838; 388/242.

[85]See below, Chapters 5 and 6.

[86]GLA: 377/7189.

[87]GLA: 229/94992; 229/113590.

[88]E.g., GLA: 229/113594.

[89]H. Derwein, Handschuhsheims Geschichte (Heidelberg, 1933).

[90]GLA: 63/78.

[91]GLA: 377/1096.

[92]GLA: 377/230.

[93]GLA: 388/42.

[94]GLA: 229/57428; 356/751.

[95]GLA: 204/1807; 362/1652.

[96]GLA: 213/2662; 204/1825; 204/1808; 213/2644.

[97]GLA: 213/2644.

[98]GLA: 235/29580.

[99]F. Furet (forthcoming, 1977).

[100]A. Prost, L'Enseignement en France, 1800-1967 (Paris, 1968), pp. 89-90.

[101]MP: A.E.P., 6.

[102]ADV: L, Fonds 2, 96.

[103]AN: H 1248, 1250; ADV: 50, 51-27. See below, Chapter 5.

[104]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[105]Heunisch (1833), p. 238; A. Heunisch, Das Grossherzogthum Baden (Heidelberg, 1857), p. 578.

[106]See below, Chapter 5.

[107]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[108]There have been a number of recent studies on various aspects of the process of professionalization of the teaching profession, and the changing social and political position of teachers. See, for example, B. Singer, "The Teacher as Notable in Brittany, 1880-1914," French Historical Studies, 9 (1976); A.J. la Volpe, "From Schoolmasters to Schoolteachers: The Making of a Modern

Professional Corporation in Prussia, 1750-1850" (Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1976); P.V. Meyers, "Professionalization and Societal Change: Rural Teachers in 19th Century France," Journal of Social History (Summer, 1976), An earlier general study of teachers in France, G. Duveau's Les instituteurs is also of interest, though unsystematic.

[109]A. Heunisch (1933), p. 238.

[110]ADV: 50, 102-103.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RAW MASSES

State officials held some fairly well-defined views on the kind of population necessary for a strong and prosperous nation. It should be: conversant in the national tongue; self-disciplined, industrious, prudent, reasonably ambitious; respectful of the national government, its laws and its legitimate religious institutions; and possessed of the minimal skills necessary for the fulfillment of military, fiscal and legal obligations. At the same time, it should be open to the opportunities for personal gain and intellectual development created by political and economic change. Such was the ideal population of the liberal bureaucrats who were increasingly dominant among educational planners. No longer was suspicion of educating peasants acceptable policy; no longer was the prime concern rural exodus resulting from misapplied education. Overeducation was still regarded as a potential problem in towns and cities. There, of course, there was always the danger of too many boys receiving schooling of the wrong sort. But for the most part, the new visionaries saw the benefits of schooling as far outweighing its possible dangers. In fact, education was seen by many as the major process

through which a prosperous, contented and eminently governable population was to be formed. The classroom was the hothouse in which a new variety of citizens would be bred.

The immense physical and material problems faced by early educational bureaucracies in the commencement of their campaign to school the masses have already been discussed. But these were not the only obstacles to universal education. Even more frustrating to them was the lack of cooperation with which their efforts were met by the people who were the focus of their concern. Because the people were as yet unenlightened, educators felt, they were often unable to appreciate the reforms undertaken in their behalf; because they were uneducated, the people were unable to perceive the advantages to their children of the new educational institutions; precisely because of the long history of educational deprivation, the vicious cycle of ignorance rooted in a popular culture indifferent to learning could be interrupted only through intervention from the outside.

School officials in Vaucluse encountered indifference, suspicion and even hostility to their innovations at every turn. While Badenese officials had evolved a more effective bureaucratic way of circumventing or countering obstinancy or indifference in the population they administered, they continually struggled,

nonetheless, with the insufficient enthusiasm of some, the backwardness or recalcitrance of others.

Ironically for the progressive bureaucrats, the constraints on popular schooling seem to have altered by the early 19th century. During the Ancien Regime the progressive clamor for schooling had been directed, as often as not, toward the absolute monarchs on behalf of the uneducated masses. It was the Fredericks and Louies and other policy makers who had to be convinced that an educated populace was not to be feared. Now that the state was an active partner in the schooling effort, the battleground had shifted. As one inspector of the Academy of Nimes noted in 1837:

> . . . for a long time now the poor and humble classes of society asked to be permitted to enlighten and better themselves, to grow intellectually and morally; [those in power] always pretended not to understand needs of this sort, and refused to satisfy them. . . [now] the words Instruction, Popular Education are on all lips. The movement, the impulse, as they say, comes obviously <u>from above</u>. Is it the case that the classes who are the object of so lively and so general a solicitude understand the value of this benefit, the emjoyment of which we want to assure them? Do they accept with enough rapidity and gratitude the sacrifices that are made for them for a goal so elevated and so selfless? Now, is not the resistance coming <u>from below</u>?[1]

The more extensive were the efforts to provide universal schooling, the more obvious the resistance from below became to authorities. This inspector, like so many <u>Universitaires</u>, felt he "could not help being profoundly affected by the coldness with which our own population

still accepts that for which it has so pressing a need and to which is so generously offered."[2] To many, the truth was clear: local populations were decidely not going to be voluntary partners in their own betterment, at least not immediately. Stubbornly resistant to innovation of all sorts, according to the official view, still often dominated by backward-looking local elites, ridden by factions and obsessed with generations-old political quarrels, prone to religious fanaticism, the people had to be cajoled or coerced into accepting the educational institutions that would ultimately serve their own interests. Most annoying to school administrators was the apparent indifference of parents to the promise of the future for themselves and their children, their lack of appreciation for the spiritual life and for the potential benefits of schooling. The people often failed to take advantage of new educational opportunities made available to them through the efforts of state administrators.

Peasant indifference to schooling was an old problem for school officials, one that was evident ever since those officials had come to regard schooling as a duty incumbent upon all parents.[3] An ordinance of the Kurpfalz government of 1751 berated Catholic parents who "out of pure stinginess, in order to save school tuition and firewood, condemn their children to irrever-

sible damage of body and soul" by keeping them out of school. The edict went on to set stricter punishments for truancy.[4] In the following decades Reformed and Lutheran authorities continued to issue ordinances condemning parental negligence of schooling in rural areas. The officials understood, of course, that there was a need for seasonal labor of children, but they felt that parental demands were often excessive and selfish. The pastor of Heddesbach reported in 1807 that parents were abusing and exploiting their children by making them tend flocks during church and school hours.[5] The pastor of Daisbach reported several years later that truancy was inordinately high in his parish, and while he was dutifully keeping a register of truants as required, the payment of fines was not being enforced.[6] Authorities felt that coercive measures, fines and even light jail sentences, were the only effective way of dealing with recalcitrant parents and such punishments were applied with increasing predictability in the early 19th century. By 1845, records indicate, parents in the hamlet of Kohlhof were fined for their refusal to send their children to a drunken schoolteacher;[7] in 1853, several Lutheran families in Nussloch were fined for their refusal to have their children taught in a united Evangelical school. That fines were being assessed and collected routinely in these areas is implicit in the complaints

of parents about their treatment in these special circumstances.[8] But in Baden, parents were enrolling their children in school and sending them during at least part of the year. In Vaucluse, school administrators had to deal with a population singularly unresponsive to the attraction of even primary schooling. As one inspector lamented in 1837:

> One of the biggest obstacles to primary instruction is the lack of enthusiasm for sending their children to school shown by the poorer classes of the villages and the rural population. It is true that there are parents who, while aware of the usefulness of instruction, still prefer having their children work to make even a small profit, from them rather than sending them to the schoolteacher. For these people, the present moment is everything; the future of their families is nothing because they don't see it or are afraid that they won't profit from it. . .[9]

Such apparent shortsightedness on the part of the peasant population frustrated school authorities in Vaucluse throughout most of the 19th century. Often, inspectors were convinced, parental indifference to schooling resulted more from benightedness than from poverty. One inspector noted that cultivateurs from Pertuis refused out of sheer "insouciance" to see the need to send their children to school; very few parents, he felt, could actually demonstrate need for the meager income earned by their children. At La Tour d'Aigues, the small cultivateurs who formed the majority of the commune "couldn't begin to understand" the importance of schooling.[10] Local supervisors from the community of Jonquerettes reported

in 1834 that the main reasons why children were not attending the new school were the "negligence, ignorance and greed" of their parents.[11] In Thor, in 1837, parents were reportedly more interested in making their fortunes in the production of garance, for which intense labor of children was used, than in sending their children to school.[12] While occasional comments reflect an awareness of rural poverty as a contributing factor, it was clear to inspectors that many farmers who could afford to send their children to school were not doing so. In 1847, when the national government conducted a survey about non-attendance at school, the overwhelming reason given in Vaucluse (for 760 children of 1101 absentees in the arrondissement of Avignon and 371 of 778 in Apt) was "parental indifference."[13]

Negligence of daughters' education was more widespread than that of a sons in rural areas. In Caorieres "the inhabitants, believing that instruction is unnecessary for their daughters, set them to housework from their early childhood on." At Beaumont, even parents who sent their daughters to school continuously interrupted their schooling for work demands. At St. Saturin, it was reported, "the mothers, who all belong to the agricultural classes and having no education themselves don't know how to appreciate the advantages of knowing how to read their own language. . ." were thus opposed sending their

daughters to school.[14] The battle was apparently not won even by mid-century. The Abbé Rouossi reported as late as 1856 that on the continual struggle in Vaucluse to get the children into the classroom. Among the difficulties he cited were:

> the poverty of the inhabitants; the too great avarice of some families who without being constrained by need, want to make some profit from their young children; the indifference of some parents who don't desire for their children a benefit whose advantages they are ignorant of because they themselves are deprived of it. . .[15]

The continual dilemma perceived by school authorities was the impossibility of convincing parents of the value of an education, since appreciation of schooling was difficult for the ignorant. Three years after the Abbé, the Inspector Arnault commented in a similar but more cynical vein that:

> the biggest obstacle, I could say the only obstacle which stands in the way of progress of primary education, since poverty should not be considered a factor here, is the indifference of parents who don't want for their children an advantage the privation of which they themselves don't feel. . .[16]

Among that majority of rural parents in Baden, and that minority in Vaucluse, who were sending their children to school in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, were many who did not seem to understand the proper use of school facilities. They failed, for example, to see the need for regular attendance and sent the children only at their convenience, apparently mindless that such interruption was considered subversive of

of the intellectual development of their children and of the orderly running of the classroom. The Reformed church council of the Kurpfalz reported in 1765 that "parents are not industrious enough in sending their children to school. . . [many children] spent hardly a quarter [of the year] in school."[17] A similar complaint in the following year, from the Lutheran Diocese of Heidelberg, maintained that as a result of their spotty attendance record, children "soon forgot what they had just learned during the short time spent in the classroom" and that, furthermore, parents tended to send to school only their children who "could not yet be of help or only very little."[18] Throughout the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Badenese school officials fought the common practice of summer truancy, but even as late as 1831 they were discovering small rural communities like Bockschaft where no children were attending school in the summertime.[19]

A similar situation prevailed in rural communities in Vaucluse where inspectors saw "the desire, the need to make money [as] the cause of the fact that there exists not a single agricultural commune in which the generality of parents consent to deprive themselves of their children during the rural work season, or if a few send their children to school during this time it is because they are too young to be of real use to them."[20] In a hamlet of the commune of Gordes, the teacher was further annoyed

by the practice of rural children "coming at different hours of the day, only to pass a few moments at the school."[21]

Not only did individual families neglect to send children to school, but whole communities often failed to cooperate with school officials as well. The obstinate refusal of local communities to raise the funds deemed necessary for public school programs was a critical problem where public education could only survive through such expenditure. In Baden, of course, this problem was not serious; community and church bureaucracy shared in the administration of endowed funds which had been marked for centuries for educational purposes. Practically the only communities that had to raise new schooling subsidies during the late 18th and early 19th centuries were the growing urban centers where tax bases were sufficiently large anyway to allow such subsidy. Upgrading salaries to meet the demands of an increasingly well-organized and professionalized teaching corps proved difficult for the smaller communities. Conversion to cash salaries also created problems. But virtually all Badenese communities had some resources with which to meet school expenses and state subsidies for the really hard-pressed were made available from the late 18th century onward. Furthermore, the churches commanded a substantial proportion of the resources that were applied to schooling, and the Union

of the Reformed and Lutheran churches that took place in 1820, which combined their endowments, actually eased the financial burden of schooling in many small, religiously mixed communities.

In Vaucluse the situation was different. Local communities bore the brunt of schooling finance and school authorities met with much resistance in their efforts to persuade municipal councils to vote the funds necessary for public schools. In 1830, in one of the earliest measures passed by the July Monarchy government, communities were required to deliberate about the funds necessary for the establishment of a publicly subsidized teacher, the amount appropriate for a teacher's salary, the availability of local funds for schooling, the number of poor children whose tuition would have to be subsidized communally, and the projected tuition rates required to round out the salary. Response from Vaucluse was, for the most part that classic communal stonewalling that was the French administrator's nightmare: communes refused to see a need for reform or claimed it was impossible given local circumstance, impoverishment and so forth. The phrasing of some of the refusals to the 1830 request suggests that municipal councils were seasoned veterans at dealing with the demands of central authorities. The council of the bourg of Bonnieux decided

> that the wholly paternal intention of Your Majesty in issuing the above cited ordinance was to provide

> the poor classes the means of instructing themselves; but that in rural communes and in this one in particular any ad hoc expenditures would be useless because it would not fulfill Your Majesty's goal. . ."

Following this line of reasoning, the council voted that an increase in the existing public subsidy of 50 francs a year for the teacher's rent would be pointless.[22] The council of Mirabeau was no less adept at the game and its language and reported that it

> [recognized] the bounty and solicitude of our august monarch for his people, [wanted] to support insofar as communal revenues permit, these benevolent intentions, and [considered] at the same time the interests of the taxpayers whose losses from the hail and the freezing weather of last winter have caused our revenues to decrease, [and did not want] to resort to the extraordinary taxation indicated by the article nine [of the law]. . .

The council decided it would vote only 100 francs to subsidize the teacher who was already there, in exchange for his teaching eight pupils for free.[23]

Actually, the hundred francs voted by the council of Mirabeau was a more generous response than most. Deliberations of nine of the Vauclusan communities which have been preserved reveal that, one after another, the communities came up with excuses about the inappropriateness or redundancy of the new law. Apt already had a school and a large departmental subsidy for the establishment of an ecole mutuelle; Cucuron, Lourmarin, Merindol and Sorgues had several well-attended private schools; the villages of La Motte d'Aigues, Cabrieres d'Avignon

and Saumanes reported that they had schoolteachers who were doubling as secretaries to the mayor and receiving salaries in the latter capacity; the councillors of Saumanes reasoned further that it would be pointless to subsidize the schooling of the poor since it was precisely the poor who were most in need of their children to work and could not send them to school anyway; finally, the council of the tiny village of Jonquerettes declared that it was simply impossible for the community to support a teacher.[24]

Even more annoying to French officials than the refusal to raise funds locally was the suspicious rejection of educational subsidies offered by the state. In 1831, the Academie of Nimes was granted 60,000 francs to be dispersed among its four departments for the establishment of public schools. The prefect of each department was supposed to collect information about communities still lacking schools and select from among them a few ideal candidates for state aid. At first, officials were thwarted "because of the difficulty of obtaining the necessary information from local authorities." The prefect of Vaucluse finally chose a few communes he considered appropriate, with the commune of Vaugines first on his list. When apprised of its selection and of the state's willingness to offer generous aid to the community

if it would cooperate, the municipal council decided that:

> 1 - there are not enough children here to keep a schoolteacher busy
> 2 - people prefer to have their children work to sending them to school
> 3 - there is no building appropriate for housing a teacher
> 4 - those fathers who want to give some education to their children send them. . . to Cucuron
> 5 - finally. . . the funds available to the community will be absorbed by the establishment of a clock tower and a fountain. . .

The council decided to vote only 50 francs for rent for a schoolteacher.[25] The whole procedure was duly reported by an incredulous prefect, who claimed that Vaugines had 8000 or 9000 francs in its municipal treasury. To him, the whole incident proved that "no one in the area knows how to appreciate the advantages of education and the favor which the government wanted to grant."[26]

The local reluctance to finance schools was even more marked when it concerned female education. "Communities consent only with great difficulty to endow [girls' schools]," the Vauclusan inspector wrote in 1838. Those communities who had financed schools for girls often expected the teaching orders who ran them to double as attendants at the local <u>hôpital</u>. For those who refused even this option, financial difficulty was the classic excuse. The opinion expressed by the municipal council of the commune of Cavaillon was typical:

> Recognizing all the use and advantage to the community that would result from the establishment of a girls' school and considering nonetheless that the primary school for boys is not yet well enough organized to fulfill the wishes and needs of the population and that the financial situation of the community does not allow us to occupy ourselves with the organization of two schools at once, it is better to complete the organization of the boys' school before concerning ourselves with the organization of a school for girls. . . .[27]

The absence of separate schools for girls was a serious hindrance to female education in areas like Vaucluse where both customary behavior and official policy discouraged coeducation. To some extent, of course, administrators shared the opinion that girls' schools were low in priority, but they insisted on their eventual establishment. Again, the same old problem of ignorance breeding ignorance was operating with respect to girls; their mothers, "having no education themselves . . . are opposed to having their children devote themselves to studies."[28]

Religion, Politics and Schooling

The financial problems faced by many communities, the sheer scarcity of resources, clearly made the financing of schools difficult and lay behind local opposition to new expenditures. The discussion of communal financing of schools presented earlier suggested just how much more problematic for communes and parents was schooling

in Vaucluse than in Baden, or than in some other parts of France. There seems to be some legitimacy to the opinion expressed by Trinque, instituteur at Lourmarin, who wrote to Minister Fourcroy in 1807 about the "deplorable" state of public instruction in Vaucluse. He claimed that "most of the communes are without schools because they cannot find the resources sufficient to support one."[29] His remark was probably especially true of the early years of the 19th century when communal modes of finance had to be completely overhauled. Still, the reaction of communes like Vaugines, cited above, to governmental offers of aid suggest that communal pleas of insolvency cannot all be taken at face value. Communities in Vaucluse did have budgets and they were making decisions about the allocation of resources. Part of the problem of the French system of school finance was that it failed to deal with local decision-making bodies that were hostile to the public financing of schools. Another Vauclusan schoolteacher, writing in 1831, claimed that the population of his region was without education "for want of principle." He went on to explain that the continual failure of local support for public instruction was the fault of the:

> cures, seigneurs and a few bourgeois. . . who deprive [the agricultural population] of all instruction except that which leaves them in complete ignorance of all civilized principles, thus assuring themselves in their administration the means of containing opposition to their administrative acts, at which they are only too effective, since in general it is impossible to form councils capable of watching over the interests of all. . .[30]

He suggested that the only way to get around opposition of this sort was the creation of communal endowments designated perpetually for educational purposes.

Obstinancy among local notables and hostility on their part to the educational program advocated by the state was a large problem for the educational bureaucracy. Not only were their plans blocked by powerful local elites who saw in public education only its cost in terms of local taxes,[31] but they also had to cope with the systematic and principled opposition of local groups who were opposed on political and religious grounds to the particular type of public instruction advocated by the Université. Vaucluse was, after all, a center of Legitimist and Ultramontane sentiment; Avignon was notorious as a capital of the Jesuit underground in France.[32] Hostile to any program that issued from Paris in the name of reform, these entrenched or newly restored local elites used their power and influence to oppose the take-over of the schools by the state. And none of the bureaucratic structures established by the various ministries of post-Revolutionary France altered the simple fact that the central planners in Paris were dependent on local communities for funding and on local elites for administering their program.

The contrast with Baden is again striking and significant. Schools in Baden, like many other public

institutions, were financed and administered predominantly by the highly bureaucratic state church organizations. Policy was implemented more or less routinely. Disgruntled local groups could protest and petition to the central policy makers, but their acquiescence was less crucial to the continued existence and operation of the schools. The bureaucratic structure of school finance and administration in Baden effectively depoliticized key aspects of schooling. The problem of local resistance to state programs which frustrated French officials was circumvented in Baden.

Local opponents of state institutions in Vaucluse often chose to support other educational options. A rare inspection report indicating the social composition of schools' clienteles noted that in Pertuis in 1835, the communal school was attended by "the least wealthy members of the artisinal classes and a minority of cultivateurs," while the free private school of Brother Cyprien was attended by children of "comfortable families."[33] In this case, the Brothers' school was not serving the urban poor for whom it was in theory destined, but was rather used as an ideologically preferable alternative to the public school by those who could afford to pay for education. Behind the choice of the comfortable families of Pertuis to avoid the public school lay, no doubt, with a commitment to Catholicism and a suspicion of the

modern, secular and possibly radical education offered there. As suggested above, the role of the clergy in primary education in France was a continual sticking point throughout the 19th century. Curés, especially, could neither be ignored or trusted by school administrators of the state. They and their lay allies could be counted upon to disrupt secular education wherever they held sway. The influence of curés in the villages is legendary, and the relationship between cures and public schoolteachers was troubled from the start. But the local religious and political polarization felt to be so detrimental to the smooth operation of public schools was nowhere more obvious than in the decades-long battle between the amis des Frères and the proponents of enseignement mutuel.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools had a long history in Vaucluse. They were established in a number of Vauclusan towns and cities in the first decades of the 18th century. Several of these towns, including Apt, suppressed the Brothers' schools in the 1780's at the time of their demands for increased municipal subsidy. In Apt, the decision to suppress them was also motivated or at least rationalized by obscurantist sentiment on the part of the town's elite.[34] By the time of the Revolution, the Brothers survived in only two Vauclusan communities--Avignon and Bolleme--whose schools were shut down in 1792.[35]

Among the earliest religious orders to be recalled after the Concordat, the Brothers were restored to Avignon at the beginning of the 19th century. When the Minister of Public Instruction made if official policy to support enseignement mutuel in 1816, the scene was set for a confrontation that would occur and recur in towns in Vaucluse and the rest of France for the next two decades. The situation in Vaucluse was intensely polarized. A proponent of the école mutuelle of Avignon wrote to Paris in 1821 that "the Brothers' schools are wholeheartedly favored by municipal councils, and the mutuel school, on the contrary, is totally discredited by fanaticism exacerbated by ignorance."[36] Despite the national policy favoring the innovative mutuels, dependence upon local administration meant that Parisian will could be thwarted in practice. The Conseil Général of the Department issued their own statement of educational policy in 1821, which favored religious orders for public school teaching, well in advance of the national compromise with the Church in 1824. The 1821 decision declared:

> in a monarchical and Christian state, public instruction must in its essence be religious and monarchical and if the monarchy is hereditary, political instruction must be based on the dogma of legitimacy. . . Where can the sufficient guarantee of this uniformity of principle, of belief and of religious and political doctrine be found? How can the danger be avoided that each individual employed in public instruction takes with him his individual spirit,

> his own thoughts and substitutes his personal opinion for invariable doctrine? Only teaching orders can avoid this danger. . .[37]

In the wake of the Council's decision, and with the encouragement of generous grants from the department, some towns began to replace mutuel schools and other secular institutions with the Brothers. Public subsidy of secular education in Vaucluse stagnated throughout the 1820's. Thereafter the balance shifted, particularly after 1830, when the July Revolution brought a complete changeover in departmental and local administrative personnel. The General Council of the department began a policy favoring mutuel education, again enacted through means of grants for the establishment of these schools.

The partisans of religious schooling were by no means silenced. Some members of the municipal council of Apt remonstrated against the decision made by the council to withdraw public funding of the Brothers' school in favor of the mutuel school in 1831 with the following language:

> the people, who constitute the immense majority of the Nation, in whom reside a redoubtable superiority, who alone support all the burdens of society and whose passions, so quick to be moved and afterward so difficult to damper, the people demand imperatively a bridle to keep them to the path of duty. . . only education, and a religious education, is capable of imposing this restraint. . .[38]

Local supporters for clerical education lost their majority on many councils in 1830, but by the late 1830's

a new coalition favoring religious education gained control in many localities. For example, in Sorgues, the municipal council engaged in a dispute over whether to continue to support the secular school, or to return their support to the Brothers, who had remained in the commune with the help of private donations after an earlier council had withdrawn public subsidy for their school. According to the school inspector, the later debate, that of 1837, was held because "the new municipal councillors, along with a few older ones, now have a majority who wants but one school--that of the Brothers."[39] Table 10 illustrates the relative stagnation and resurgence of religious education in Vaucluse during the Restoration and July Monarchy. By the end of the 1830's, most of the Vauclusan mutuel schools had been suppressed by what a member of their sponsoring organization, the Society for Elementary Instruction, called "a permanent Carlist and sacerdotal conspiracy."[40] The dispute went beyond the municipal council chambers and into the streets as well, as children of the rival schools engaged in stone-throwing, name-calling and harassment of one another's classes.

State officials in Vaucluse, while officially favoring the lay schools, were inclined to see the usefulness of the popular Brothers' schools, and by the late 1830's were often short-tempered with the radical pro-

TABLE 10

PUBLIC RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS IN VAUCLUSE, SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1825-1845

Year	Public Schools for Boys Taught by:				Public Schools for Girls Taught by:			
	Laymen		Religious	Total	Laymen		Religious	Total
	Mutuel	Other			Mutuel	Other		
1825	0	5	3	8	0	0	1	1
1835	5	12	1	18	0	1	3	4
1845	0	19	4	23	0	2	6	8

ponents of secular education. With their continued partisanship and squabbling, extremists on both sides hampered educational progress. Some inspectors of the July Monarchy period, while clearly favoring successful normaliens, felt that both religious and secular schools had their place; religious orders were well suited to educate the urban popular classes, laymen to teach the wealthier urbanites and rural classes. The prime concern was that some sort of acceptable schooling be provided for all, and that the educational laws of the state be obeyed. Politics only intruded, made the educational task at hand more difficult. Inspector de Bayal summed up the moderate position in 1839:

> I am inclined to deplore simultaneously. . . both the intrigues of a few fanatics. . . and the calumnies of those who see a conspiracy against national ideas in the respect of any religious ideas. . .[41]

The problems created by the opposition between partisans of lay and clerical education in Vaucluse were much more seroius than those created by the presence of a Protestant population in the department. Post-Revolutionary laws generally provided for Protestant educational committees in communities dominated by that faith. Where there was a religious mixture, complications did arise, especially where communities with Protestant majorities had Catholic mayors, or where religious splits complicated local factionalism. In the predominantly Protestant community of Merindol, for

example, Protestant parents mounted a petition campaign during the 1820's in favor of a Protestant schoolteacher to replace the Catholic one, a favorite of the local administration.[42] These sorts of disagreements were rare however, since most of the communities in Vaucluse which had Protestant populations were overwhelmingly Protestant.

Such was not the case in Baden. There, communities were often split among adherents of two, three or even four or more faiths, and problems resulting from interconfessional competition for teaching posts and communal resources arose routinely. During the early phase of state reorganization, educators considered plans to unite educational institutions under secular authorities, allowing the churches to teach separately only the religious lessons. Such a plan, its proponents felt, would allow greater efficiency and should have presented no difficulties since "the ABC's, grammar and arithmetic do not have to be taught in a Catholic, Reformed or Lutheran style."[43] But while this solution may have appealed to the enlightened sectors of the bureaucracy, the final state-building compromise worked out by the Badenese Grand Duke Karl Friederich and his ministers left the Kirchensektionen responsible for the administration of the schools of their respective faiths, and every primary school had to be identified with one of the major religions. All children, including those of

mixed marriages and migrant parents, had to be assigned a religion in order to be incorporated into the school system.[44]

The separate administration and financing of religiously specific schools raised difficulties, particularly in small communities. Sometimes, authorities were reluctant to support schools felt to be uneconomic, despite parental desires to maintain a school of their faith. The Reformed community of Daisbach, for example, had trouble trying to keep a teacher of its own. Parents wanted one, but church officials felt that the expenditure for so few children was unwarranted. The same was true of the tiny Catholic community comprised of only five families.[45] The Protestant Union of 1820, which combined the resources of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, resolved some of the difficulties although not everyone was pleased with this move. As late as 1853, three Lutheran families of the town of Nussloch were refusing to send their children to the united Evangelical school, and were being fined for their refusal.[46]

Continual squabbles over the communal supply of firewood, the right to bell-ringing and other offices, over the communally-shared costs of separate schools aggravated interconfessional relationships and annoyed administrative officials and teachers. Many teachers wanted to end the confessional administration of schools,

and groups of them supported secularization of schooling in petition drives undertaken throughout the first half of the 19th century. By the late 1840's, communities were also beginning to request the union of separate schools into Communalschulen, secular schools modelled on the French primary schools. The Evangelical majority of Neidenstein submitted such a proposal in 1845, since they felt that it was absurd for so small a community to be supporting so many teachers; a number of communities did the same in 1848, although Catholic minorities tended to oppose such plans.[47]

The Jewish communities of north Baden presented school officials with special problems. Most of these communities were too small and too poor to finance schools. As part of the state's campaign for assimilation, however, all Jews were required either to open schools under state supervision for their children or else send them to the Christian schools. After the 1827 edict on Jewish education, private schools for Jewish children were no longer tolerated. By 1833, only four of the 10 sample communities in Baden having Jewish populations had opened Jewish schools; in the others, integration of their children into the Christian schools was the only option for Jewish parents. In many communities, Jews resisted the state's program for them, even where a teacher of their own faith was provided. Thus Kaufmann,

the Jewish teacher in Neidenstein, complained that:

> the community here is unspeakably opposed to accepting a public schoolteacher. Among many members of the community, the wish, arising from earlier habits and an unfettered will and so injurious to the child's own welfare, to interfere with me in my position is manifest.[48]

Problems raised by the religious administration of schools and the religious division of the population remained unresolved for as long as the state churches were responsible for schooling, that is, until the reforms of the 1860's and even later. Nonetheless, as undesirable as the system was in the eyes of progressive critics, it avoided the more serious problems encountered by officials in France as a result of the moderate advocacy of secular education. By settling with the churches and allowing them to retain control over the administration of schools as bureaucracies incorporated into the state apparatus, the Badenese state avoided creating a formidable competitor or opponent in the field of education. Furthermore, by relying on existing church bureaucracies for administration, and on church resources for support, the barrier to school finance arising from local indifference or hostiliy toward these institutions was sidestepped.

. . . Other Kinds of Localism

The entrenched elites of towns and villages who controlled local politics were often circumvented in Baden but were of great significance for policy implementation in Vaucluse. These were the sectors of the local population with whom state authorities had the most contact. Whatever their attitude toward the plans of the state schooling officials, they were still the most prosperous and well-educated local groups: their interest in opposing the plans of the state, while felt by authorities to be selfish, reactionary, or misguided, was at least comprehensible. Hostility from the popular classes was more difficult to understand. In fact, in many regions the people were literally incomprehensible, alien beings whose persistent localism and cultural particularism raised barriers which outsiders of all sorts could cross only with difficulty. "It is true that everything that bears the mark of progress is received with defiance, sometimes fought with ferocity. . ."[49] That was how one school inspector described the Vauclusan reaction to reform of all sorts. Vaucluse, as the northwestern boundary of Provence, was located in one of the most distinctive cultural and linguistic regions of France. Here, it was a variation of the so-called "language of the Troubadors," Provençal, that was the everyday tongue

of the people. Their refusal to speak French was seen as a constant manifestation of that particularism felt to be subversive to national sentiment, and as a symbol of the broader hostility toward all that was national, progressive, new.

Like the other dialects spoken in the Midi of France, those of Vaucluse were derived from a langue-docienne tongue whose roots were in Latin and whose structure and vocabulary distinguished it from the northern langues d'oïl. A Polish count travelling in Provence at the end of the 18th century though it sounded like a mixture of French and Italian.[50] In fact, by the time of his observation, the no longer written Provençal language was much closer to French than it had been during its medieval heyday. The Provençal patois, typically rich in concrete, everyday words was already proving deficient in abstract and general terms. As Pansier noted in discussing the works of an early 19th century patois poet, "when he had need of a word out of the ordinary, he borrowed from French."[51] Another historian of patois agreed that:

> from the technical point of view, patois was neither poor nor constraining. Wherever necessary, there were words in abundance, [but it was] poor in intellectual words, for instruments of reason, and analysis, poorly adapted to the life of studies as to the life of polite society. . .[52]

As people became more literate, more in touch with national culture, borrowing became more common to express

what patois could not. By the end of the 18th century, generations of borrowing had altered the medieval language and brought it closer to French.

Nonetheless, Vauclusans still had a lot of trouble with French, and their habit of speaking patois presented strangers with problems. In the middle of the 18th century, little French was spoken anywhere in the area. The Northerner de la Brosse resigned himself, upon arriving in Avignon at this time, to "neither understanding the people nor being understood by them.[53] The Gregoire report of 1790 indicated that in the southern half of the French nation French was rarely spoken except in the cities. Throughout the French Revolution, the problem of communication with non-French speaking citizens was to trouble various administrations. A program of translation of all decrees into the major dialects was undertaken but soon abandoned. Much of the important process of communication between Paris and the provinces depended upon local popular societies where bilingual natives could translate the official news. At the meeting of the Club Patriotique of Apt in 1791 it was decided that since the membership had difficulty pronouncing the words of the oath of allegiance, the secretary would recite it and the candidate merely reply, in French, "I do swear."[54] While the Revolution clearly added a large

number of French words to the patois vocabulary, many of its local activities were by necessity carried out in patois.

Under Napoleon's direction and motivated by his desire to unite all French citizens under one central administrative system, state interest in nationalizing language intensified. The major outcome of his efforts, however, seems to have been the production of a body of evidence attesting the vitality and variety of patois. A survey of 1806/07 indicates the extent of patois use at that time. One contributor noted that even in the Ile-de France, the most culturally French of the provinces, "patois was spoken everywhere in the countryside except where manufacturing industry had multiplied the relationships with urban people and caused them to mix with those of the countryside."[55] In the South at this time, patois were even more universally used. According to Pazzis, writing in 1808 about Vaucluse:

> Patois. . . is the language of the people in the village and in the countryside. French is little used even in the city by the common classes. People of the wealthy classes and those who have been educated would speak only French, but continual relations with workers, artisans and country people often necessitates speaking patois. Magistrates, especially criminal justices, are obliged to use it and even to understand all of its subtleties. Ministers of religion all too often believe themselves obliged to use patois.[56]

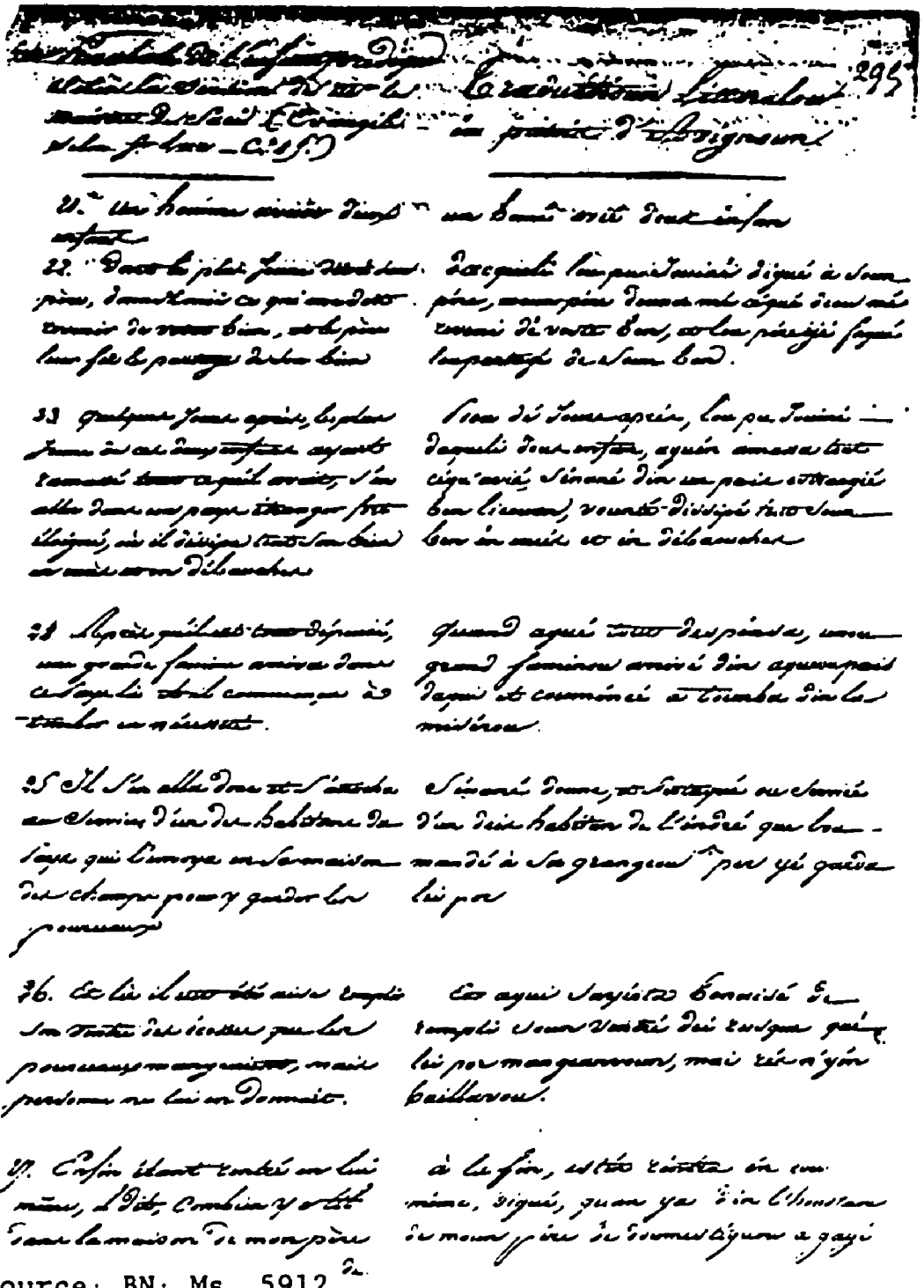
Surviving examples of patois as they were spoken in the early 19th century are available from a survey of 1812.

Not only were these patois still somewhat different from French but also quite varied within a region. Within Vaucluse, every pays, an area often as small as a market town and its hinterland, had its own patois. (See Figures 4 and 5) The Biblical passages translated into the patois of Avignon and Apt illustrate that even in these two cities, less than 50 kilometers apart on a major road, different dialects were spoken. While they were apparently mutually understandable, that of Avignon was undoubtedly more comprehensible to a French speaker than was the slightly more localized dialect of Apt.[57]

These patois persisted into the July Monarchy and beyond, although there is evidence of greater awareness of a trend toward "francification" and of a concerted efforts on the part of central government representatives to teach every French citizen to speak French. A schoolteacher from the village of Viens sent an elaborate plan to Paris in 1831 designed to improve rural education. He shared the government's distaste for patois and claimed that "if you questioned any one of these village schoolmasters and asked him if he had ever succeeded in getting any of his pupils to pronounce a single work of good French, if he were speaking in good faith he would have to answer no!"[58] The persistance of patois was of particular concern for school officials. Part of the urgency of their mission stemmed from the need for a

FIGURE 4

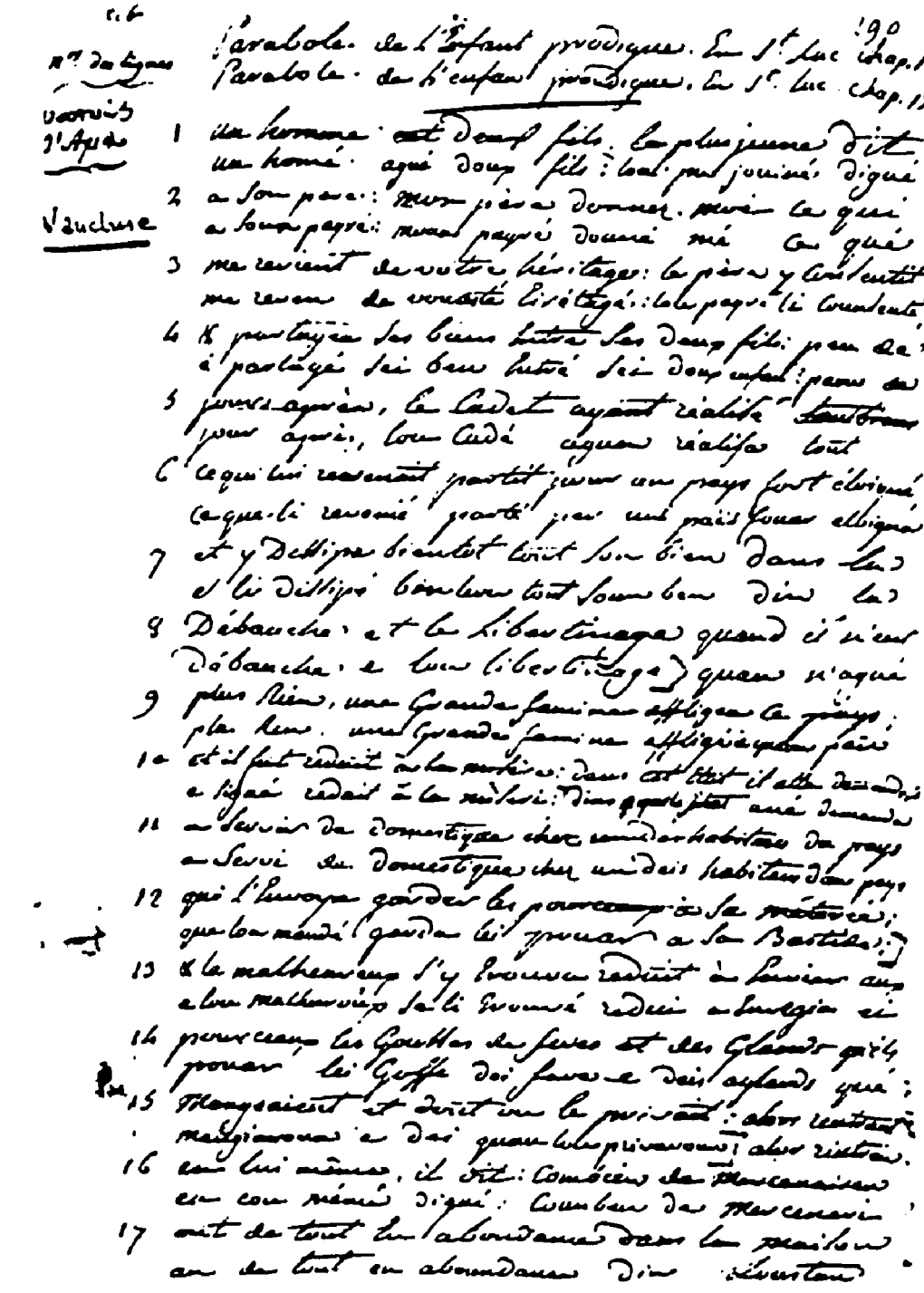
PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON IN THE PATOIS OF AVIGNON, 1812



Source: BN: Ms. 5912

FIGURE 5

PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON IN THE PATOIS OF APT, 1812



Source: BN: Ms. 5912.

national language and culture felt by central state authorities. Furthermore, before anything else could be taught in the schools, children had to be equipped with the linguistic skills necessary to respond to the new methods, teachers and publications, all of which depended upon a knowledge of French. While teaching had long been done in French or Latin, and textbooks were always in one of these languages, neither was the mother tongue of most Vauclusan pupils. Agricol Perdiguier remembered that his first lessons in the school in Morières were given in Latin, this as late as 1815. Later he received instruction in French, which was, he reports in an exaggereated manner, "like so much Hebrew" to him. In his village, a suburb of Avignon, "people spoke patois, not only in the streets and in the homes, but even in the school. We didn't know anything but that, we'd never heard anything but that and the teachers didn't demand anything more."[59]

Beginning with their earliest reports, inspectors made continual allusions to the problem of patois in the classroom and elsewhere. In 1837, the Vauclusan inspector noted that one teacher "concerned himself too little with the attempt to rid his pupils of their local accent, which produces a detestable effect on their reading."[60] In Goult in the same year, the inspector noted that the pupils read aloud "with a detestable accent." Unused to speaking French, the pupils had difficulties reading well enough in French to please the "foreign" inspector, although

as was noted earlier, their written work generally proved satisfactory, and the complaints of the inspectors may well have been exaggerated.

Even the older pupils of the normal school in Avignon, recruited to become the instituteurs of the future, had to have their linguistic bad habits eradicated. In 1839, the inspector reported that the normal school pupils "showed difficulty in pronouncing French well and in expressing their thought [in French]. . . [because of] the habit they have of speaking patois with their families." Even in 1853, the same problem was reported; during the first year of instruction at the normal school, the time was spent "correcting the vices of pronunciation and local accent which the young men generally bring to the school."[61]

Teachers attempted to exert some control over the linguistic habits of their pupils as long as they were in the classroom. The official rules which were to be posted in each schoolroom explicitly forbade the use of patois. Elaborate punishments were contrived for violators of the prohibition against patois speech. The most common form of punishment, which seems to have persisted at least until the end of the 19th century, was to make the offending child wear or carry a heavy log until he or she heard another child use a patois word. Then the punishment log would be passed on to the newest offender.

Outside of the classroom, such control was lost. Encouragement of French speaking was difficult since most children came from patois-speaking families. The Brothers of the Christian Schools who ran a free school in Avignon complained that they had a great deal of trouble teaching children to read well who "had the bad habit of speaking patois from the moment they left the classroom."[62] Teachers who attempted to assert their authority outside the school met with predictable resistance, as testified by an inspector in 1859:

> The idiom of the area, Provençal, is used exclusively in the rural communes, and it would be difficult to find the means of propagating the national language in the countryside, all the more because there are only a few people who know it, and these prefer to use the local dialect in order to conform. The schoolteacher who would attempt to force his pupils to speak French outside of the classroom would be termed an innovator and would fail in the face of systematic opposition of the population, who basically hold to their maternal tongue.[63]

The local people even had patois words for such linguistic innovators. Franchiman and franciot were two such epithets common in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. There was even a Provençal verb from, francimondega, meaning to act like a Northerner, like a Frenchman, to speak French.[64]

But to infer from this resistance that linguistic habits were immobile would undoubtedly be mistaken. Again, inspection reports offer evidence that speech

habits were changing. Another report from the late 1850's noted that:

> The French language is understood and spoken, when needed, with more or less difficulty all over. The isolated and mountainous regions of the arrondissement of Apt are less advanced in this regard than others. But if French is understood and spoken a little everywhere, Provençal alone is employed in the countryside except within the walls of the classroom . . . Perhaps it will take centuries more for the French language to become that of their thoughts.[65]

Unfortunately, the Badenese case is not documented in detail as rich as the French one. But the very lack of evidence of a serious attempt to replace dialect speech with a national tongue is, in itself, telling. Certainly there were local dialects in Baden, called Mundarten instead of patois. (Figure 6 illustrates several) Every region had (and has) its characteristic expressions and vocabulary. What seems to have been missing in Baden was the attempt to forcefully stamp out dialect speech. Bilingualism was accepted, perhaps even encouraged in some official circles. Children had long been expected to learn Hochdeutsch and speak it in school, but there is no evidence of attempts to discourage dialects. Awareness of local peculiarities, and willingness to tolerate them and take them into account in policy formulation, was a characteristic of Badenese administration apparently related to the type of political compromise that resulted in the creation of the Badenese state. Since the state was a creation of Napoleonic

FIGURE 6

EXAMPLES OF NORTH BADENESE DIALECT SPEECH, COLLECTED IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Odenwäldisch.

Dey Sappement, was meent er, denn ich g'siehe! Ich weiß noch gar nit, wie mer sie geschehe. Die Eisebahn iß gange, dey loßt sich verzehle. Dein iß e Heremert, es kann sich gar nit fehle. Wie ich de Zins em Herr Geheimrath gebracht, hett er g'fragt, ob ich de Eisebahn auch schon gesehe hett; hatt ateng ie an, 's wär schaad, wann ich's verlumme dereb. Ich denk: dem Weegk will ich mich nit verrrieße loße, nun geh' mer's manchmer Dhor, auch anzesch'n die Sache.

Ley Blitz, was denn ie das Gebäuer unnerfellt! Na, denk ich, du gehscht 'nain. Doch mer sich ganz verstehe. Glatt kummt ie Fenet her nun jacht mich fed enaus. Dem Herre, hier ich g'sehe, die loßt mer nix nun aus. Mit g'rinnes Bauremoll steh'n um'rad binne sprace. Ich guck mich um nun denk: du kummscht zu unnerich nix. Ich geh' de Bau rumm'r nun uff die unner Seit. Do daße ie. Uff emmol awer bereßt's: Es kummt! Horch, was war dey e Bäff! Horch, wie's schnauft nun brummt! Do sich's — verschrocke bin ich, se Weerbest als ie sasche; dann 's kummt im volle Lauf e großer schwarzer Gesche. Mit unnerich recht's g'maant, als wie e Unnervater: dann vorn' nun hinne haus speit's an, vom fert Fuer. Nun was mich hatt noch wunnert, 's gebt so flott, ganz ohne Heil und Odie, ohne Haar und Hert.

Pfälzisch.

(Auf dem Lande.)

Ne, Vetter Jerg, des Geld soll em nit rolle, mer soll a meiner Seel' nit kein Kreizche schaie, wann mer a noch emol e Zedel neu meen hat. Mer muß doch aus der Welt nix nadel um ganz bloß. Die, wu nerr e so des Geld zesamme schaare vor lachende Erwe, des sin halt laurer Narre. Awer uff Minnem muß mer nix, vor was se leehne. Do renn mer Alles an, im Große und im Kleene. Ihr denn doch za schuna g'hert von dem Hurell. Ne, des hab' ich jo mit eigne Auche g'schaut.

Ich sahl mar Grüdacht und froch noch dem Hurell. „Was, hebt's dann do nit vor mi? Mer meent, er leent nit bei.“ Was, Donnerwetter, ich war' gemeint, des war des Schloß, wu die Grafebersonen drin wohne. Drin sich je e Kelleh! Da kennt je unser Dorf mit sammt'em Darre worne. Doch weis sich nix vor uns, weis sich vor Angst und Zorne.

(In der Stadt.)

Hulda: Ein wahrer Wonnebene ist's heut Omend, der Himmel prangt im Glanz, den Schöpfer lobende. Schau wie erhellet is des Querschesimse: er leuchtet Licht hell gleicht einem Dimme in reine Hermelin und schöne Seiden. — Laura: Ch. Hulda. — „Querschesimse, Hochwohlan“, um deine Bildung ist mer's leid. Wie kannst du nur so nedarsichtig schwetzen! Ze Werke würden nur die Seele drehen, ü drum wer meinen Busen stimmeschnüre. Wer kann so se was vor mir buisteriere. Hulda: „Nicht buchstabiren“ heißt de weise Laur. Dein Querschesimse nennt's nur buchstabiren! — Hulda: Du tauschest mich, Geliebte, ich schwör's, es ist ein leichtes. Ku-u-reische — Querische. Be-e — be, e — emme — Dimme, Querschesimse. — Laura: Du kleine Schälkin bist mir so leb, du buchstabirst's, allein mar liest nit se. — Hulda: Ch Laura, leb, man saat doch nicht: „mar lästt“, mar lästt: „man sagt“. Du kleiner Sperlicht so spielst nun deutest mich stäfert liebles fortzitire. Leß uns zum edles Anderem widmen.

Source: A. Heunisch, Das Grossherzogthum Baden (Karlsruhe, 1857).

consolidation, but one with its absolutist and corporatist structures more or less intact, policy options were more influenced by the concerns of Stand, religion, region and corporation than by the more abstract claims of universal citizenship which underlay much of French policy after and even before the Revolution. For administrative purposes, the use of the German language was encouraged, but knowledge of it did not have the same implications for planners in Baden that use of the national tongue had for the French. The earliest school laws recognized and expected local variety. The school ordinance of the Reformed Kirchensektion of 1797 specified: "that given the great variety in our country with respect to speech, type of land and customs, since schoolteachers have to live on the same footing as their fellow citizens and need their undivided trust even more than other civil servants," no teacher be assigned to a post in a province other than that in which he was born.[66] The only direct evidence of official pressure to insist on the German language, or for that matter of resistance to the German language, encountered in the Badenese archives comes from a schoolteacher of the town of Neidenstein. He complained in 1833 that the father of one of his pupils was refusing to buy German schoolbooks. In making his complaint the teacher made reference to the wording of the 1832 edict encouraging efforts to teach

"political instruction. . . and the German language." This seems to have been a somewhat special case, however, since the father in question was a member of the recalcitrant Jewish community of Neidenstein, one of those resisting assimilation; he preferred instruction in Hebrew, not dialect, to German.[67] The forced assimilation of the Jews produced the only cases of cultural resistance to central planning. Perhaps a more generally repressive policy was unnecessary in light of the seemingly general predominance of bilingualism. In any case, the persistence of dialect speech does not seem to have been much of a hindrance to the spread of literacy in German, as later chapters will indicate.

The Need for Moral Reform

One belief shared by many conservative and liberal observers of popular manners was that popular morality was endangered by contemporary social change. To Badenese pastors and school inspectors, parental negligence of schooling was just one of the manifestations of the growing savagery of the poor and widespread popular immorality perceived in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to be a major social problem. Many advocated increased surveillance of youth outside of the school as well. Church and school inspections of the early 19th

century often noted the increased opportunity for moral dissolution offered by changing conditions and customs. The increasingly popular Sunday dances were high on the list of dangerous diversions. Most troubling to inspectors was the occasion for unsupervised sociability among young people offered by these dances.[68] A report from Handschuhsheim in 1840 is illustrative:

> from nine o'clock in the morning [on Sunday] from the end of the religious service throughout the whole day, left to themselves and their peers. . . young people will be led, one after another like sheep or deer, to moral corruption. . . . In so long an idle time, young people go, to the annoyance and shame of their parents, [to nearby village dances] wherein lies the origin of their corruption.[69]

The behavior of unsupervised adolescents in the cities, many of whom were rural migrants, was also seen as an affront to public morality. A report from the Amt Wiesloch indicated that:

> more attention should be paid to the servants, apprentices and journeymen who are keeping company during the hours of religious lessons on Sundays and holidays, [a practice] so contrary to established order. [This practice] should be curtailed through more stringent supervision. . . toleration of truancy from religious lessons of such persons should be lowered, the more wild they become. . .[70]

This inspector felt that the only solution was continued surveillance of young people, even after they left elementary school. Sunday schools and weekend and evening schools, designed primarily for adolescents who had finished elementary school but not yet married, could serve such a purpose.[71] Parents, it seemed, could no

longer be counted upon for the moral discipline of their children. Some parents kept their school-aged children out of school for work and after school leaving, many parents seemed to lose control over their children entirely and let them run wild.

The manners of peasants and their children were one focus of administrative attention, but urban classes were not overlooked. While the more prosperous and skilled classes of the cities had long been a responsive clientele for educational services of all sorts, the growing numbers of seemingly wild, unsettled and unskilled proletariat were a real menace to the social vision of the educators. The factory, with its ability to attract peasants from the countryside into menial labor in the city, was becoming the focal point of concern among the school authorities insofar as it affected the lives of working children, their schooling possibilities, and their moral future. Long before the factory was the place of employment of large numbers of people, the proletarian image it evoked for the future led concerned administrators to anticipate and attempt to avoid its presumed evil consequences. One Badenese deputy, in testimony before the Badenese Lower Chamber concerning institutions for wayward children in 1833 gave voice to the unease many were feeling:

> a class is growing among us which is truly unconcerned with all which we stand for here; of what consequence to them are all of these institutions we are demanding? They want to live; they want to be raised up to the level of humanity. . . it is not the growth of poverty we are seeing, but the complete de-civilizing (Verwilderung) of the poor. Contemporary conditions bring that in their wake. . .[72]

Such apprehension about the Verwilderung of the masses recurs in official discussions, in urban (and rural) inspection reports, in the writings of the advocates of infant schools, in the debate over the schooling of factory children. Many of the new educational institutions created in the late 18th, and especially in the early 19th centuries, were viewed as responses to the process of Verwilderung so threatening to the social order. Many of the adult poor were beyond salvation, but their children could be saved through socialization.

Infant schools were seen as public substitutes for the deficient mothering believed to be the lot of the poor. In both Baden and Vaucluse, proponents of infant schools saw such institutions as means of dealing with the moral inadequacies of the working poor that stemmed from the typical neglect of children in their early childhood. A recommendation by the Badenese Studies and School Commission of 1833 in favor of state support for the establishment of Kleinkinderschulen claimed that such institutions would care for children who would otherwise "be left alone in their ignorance, thoughtlessness and

weakness, so that the heart of these young children, so open at this age to external influences, responds to all vices and moral dissolution. . ."[73] While liberal advocates of infant schools often felt that the parents were not really to blame, it was nonetheless clear to them that the conditions under which urban working-class families lived were not conducive to the reproduction of morally responsible and intelligent human beings. A middle-class woman's organization at the town of Sinsheim, attempting to establish an infant's school there in 1853, wrote that:

> many children, before they are even of school age, must do without bodily and spiritual care, in part through the fault of loveless and irresponsible parents, in part because their swarming households and the work outside the home which hinders many mothers, through no fault of their own, from devoting the necessary time to their little children.[74]

Contemporary psychological theory buttressed concern about the ill effects of negligence during early childhood. Such effects had been demonstrated, for example, in the well known work of Britain's Lord Brougham, whose findings were cited by proponents of early childhood schooling on the continent as well. Brougham was the authority behind the Vauclusan Inspector Arnault's advocacy of <u>salles d'asile</u> for children

> neglected by working-class parents who don't know how to give [them] the appropriate care. In this class, in effect, one can't dream of developing the intelligence of the child and causing to blossom in his heart the sentiments which it is crucial to cultivate. The children enter school with their minds

> dulled and even corrupted by the vices of their early education. . .[75]

The Badenese Studies and School Commission agreed that neglect of early education could have lifelong consequences, claiming that:

> a large number of children, before they even start school, are so neglected and corrupted in the most basic foundations which are of impact on body, soul and mind for their whole lifetime, that even the best instruction in elementary school must remain without blessed fruit.[76]

Even with the moral perils of early childhood behind them, urban working-class children were still not safe once they had reached school age. For many parents in the cities, like the peasants, chose work over schooling for their children. The pastor of the town of Wieblingen, for example, reported in 1834 that:

> many parents of this community, following the example of several years of parents in nearby places, let their boys of under 14 years, who have not finished school, go to work as so-called masons' assistants in Heidelberg so that they regularly miss school and the law is evaded. . . they cannot be brought to renounce the earnings of their children; the ordinances and fines are without effect since they don't amount to a day's earnings.[77]

Not only were parents neglecting their sons' education, but were also subjecting them to an hour's journey twice a day, which the pastor felt was too difficult for 11 and 12 year-old boys. Confiscation of the wages of truant boys was seen to be the only way of combatting parental greed.[78]

While still few in number in the 1830's and 1840's, factories were seen as presenting a special threat to working-class morality. Parental and entrepreneurial exploitation of child labor in the factories presented state authorities with a new kind of problem. It was clear that the factory schedule could not bend to accomodate school attendance. All other types of work formerly performed by children had more flexible hours. If children were to be permitted to work in factories, then either they would have to remain uneducated, or else special arrangements would have to be made for their schooling. Debates on the subject of the factory child and his or her moral condition and educational needs began in both Baden and Vaucluse in the 1830's. For many, the factory was seen as the preeminent moral threat of the day. In Baden, an 1839 factory school ordinance asserted that measures had to be taken to prevent "the flourishing of the factory only through the moral and physical degeneration of the people" and "the storms. . . which in other states have broken out in the factories."[79] In France, the Dupin Commission, while applauding modern industry as "the triumph of enlightened thinking applied to the needs of material interests in an advanced society" nonetheless pointed out that the factory worker remained in a state of ignorance and went on to ask how that could be otherwise:

> In an industrial system where the division of labor, pushed to the extreme, leaves nothing more to the immense majority of workers than the automatic repetition of a single identical movement, than the unchanging attention to a single detail of manufacture.

It claimed that the first measure to be taken to combat the ensuing spiritual degeneration was "to reserve in childhood a sufficient time for education."[80]

In neither state was the option of child labor closed for parents and factory owners. As the following chapter will describe, institutional arrangements were made which allowed the persistence of child labor in the factories in combination with schooling. The state authorities did feel the need to oversee such labor, however, and to push parents and factory owners to do what was seen by school officials to be in the best interest of the child.[81] Again, parents were continually blamed for their shortsightedness and greed. In the mill town of L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue parents "preferred to employ their children [in the factories] to having them taught."[82] The prefect of Vaucluse reported in 1846 that there were some children working in factories in the department, some of whom were underage, but "if there were some who weren't receiving any education, the fault must be attributed uniquely to parental negligence."[83] A similar verdict was handed down 20 years later by a new prefect who maintained, of the lack of morality exhibited by

young girls working in factories in Vaucluse, that "it was themselves and their families who were alone responsible."[84]

The moral inadequacies of the urban poor and working classes were as striking and troublesome to school authorities as the shortsightedness of the peasantry. But they felt that the situation was far from hopeless. Liberal school administrators and schoolteachers operated under the assumption that, once the children were corralled into the classroom and exposed to correct influences there, future generations of parents and children could not but improve. Children were infinitely malleable, infinitely impressionable: the heresy of the enlightenment had become the commonplace behind liberal faith in the schools. The battle between the schoolmen and the lower-class families would have to be fought for a few generations but once won, would need to be fought no more. In the short run there was opposition. According to one Badenese schoolteacher:

> only in school, in childhood, can the love of activity, of industry be awakened, and impressed upon tender hearts so open to all good. A need only too apparent--but how can a conscientious teacher do his part where the arbitrariness of the parents constrains his efforts?[85]

But once enough parents could be convinced to or coerced into doing right by their children, and letting the potential effects of schooling work their way on young minds and hearts, the goals of the planners would be

accomplished. All that was needed according to Badenese teachers was that "the recognition of the usefulness and importance of public education as the condition of all spiritual and material well-being of society penetrated throughout all social classes."[86]

Administrators and teachers in Vaucluse shared the same faith in the ultimate triumph of education, and even saw some slow progress in this direction before mid-century. For example, the normalien Abeille had managed single-handedly to overcome parental apathy to schooling in the village of Saumanes, even had one of his students accepted as a pupil of the normal school in Avignon.[87] In Mirabeau, the school's effects on the manners of young girls was also noted; those who had attended the school "had an air of decency and propriety which contrasted with the other children of the area."[88] The faith of the schoolmen was no better expressed than by the Inspector who wrote in 1837:

> It is appropriate to have confidence in the march of time; we must have hope in the wisdom of a few men who in their relationship with the working classes will take care to enlighten them and push then in the right direction. Already in some communities where industry had introduced prosperity and where there are good instituteurs we see a large number of children going to school--they are even zealous and the majority stay there the whole year.[89]

The raw masses needed a lot of shaping before they would be refined into the kind of population desired by state administrators. But those administrators were hopeful

and the schools were the institutional focus of their reformist hopes.

CHAPTER THREE FOOTNOTES

[1]AN: F^{17} 9372.

[2]AN: F^{17} 9372.

[3]For a discussion of the literature concerning the early nature of Schulzwang, and the coercive element in Reformation era schools, see K. Hartmann et al., Schule und Staat (Frankfurt, 1974).

[4]GLA: 77/6100.

[5]GLA: 435/827.

[6]GLA: 435/320.

[7]GLA: 356/4653.

[8]GLA: 356/751.

[9]ADV: Rapport de 1836/37.

[10]ADV: T,I,P. 3.

[11]ADV: T,I.P. 3.

[12]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[13]AN: F^{17} 12203.

[14]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[15]AN: F^{17} 9335.

[16]ADV: T,I.P. 3 bis. ADV: Rapport de 1836/37.

[17]GLA: 77/6093.

[18]GLA: 77/6093.

[19]GLA: 77/7187.

[20]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[21]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[22]ADV: T,I.P. 3.

[23]ADV: T,I.P. 3.

[24]ADV: T,I.P. 3.

[25]ADV: T,I.P. 3.

[26]ADV: T,I.P. 3.

[27]ADV: T,I.P. 3bis.

[28]Rapport de 1837/38; see below, Chapter 6.

[29]AN: F^{17} 10179.

[30]ADV: T,I.P. 3.

[31]An account of such opposition in communities in the canton d'Apt is found in P. Simoni, "Un canton rural au XIXème siècle" (Thèse de doctorat de 3ème cycle, Aix, 1976).

[32]AN: F^{19} 6257.

[33]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[34]MP: A.I.P., 6. See below Chapter 4.

[35]AN: F^{17} 1366.

[36]AN: F^{17} 11772. For a description of enseignement mutuel, see below, Chapter 5.

[37]AN: F^{17} 10179.

[38]MC: Ms. 3003.

[39]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[40]AN: F^{17} 9824.

[41]AN: F^{17} 9824.

[42]AN: F^{17} 10374, 12508.

[43]GLA: 77/6104.

[44]GLA: 388/43, 229/16521. For a discussion of the various conflicts that surrounded the creation of the Badenese state, see R. Haebler, Ein Staat Wird Aufgebaut (Baden-Baden, 1948) and L. Gall, Der Liberalismus als Regierende Partei (Wiesbaden, 1968).

[45]GLA: 377/227.

[46]GLA: 356/1015.

[47]GLA: 231/1324.

[48]GLA: 377/7930.

[49]AN: F^{17} 9824.

[50]F. Benoit, ed., Voyage en Provence (Marseille, 1830).

[51]P. Pansier, Histoire de la langue provençal, Chapter 5.

[52]F. Brunot, Histoire de la langue française, vol. 7, p. 32.

[53]A. Brun, Recherches historiques, p. 17.

[54]F. Brunot, Vol. 9, p. 65.

[55]AN: F^{17} 1209, Seine Inferieure.

[56]M. Pazzis, Mémoire Statistique, p. 47.

[57]BN: Ms. 5912, fo. 290-296.

[58]AN: F^{17} 10179.

[59]A. Perdiguier, Mémoires d'un compagnon, p. 71.

[60]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[61]ADV: T.I.A, 84.

[62]ADV: Rapport de 1843/44.

[63]ADV: T.I.A., 101.

[64]Brun, p. 25ff.

[65]AN: F^{17} 9335.

[66]K. Brunner, Die Badische Schulordnungen (Berlin, 1902), p. 269.

[67]GLA: 377/7930.

[68]GLA: 435/829.

[69]GLA: 435/798.

[70]GLA: 388/74.

[71]See below, Chapter 4, for a description of these institutions.

[72]GLA: 231/1591.

[73]GLA: 231/1319.

[74]GLA: 235/16423.

[75]ADV: T,I.A., 102.

[76]GLA: 231/1319.

[77]GLA: 356/4653.

[78]Records of attempts by officials in Heidelberg to fine parents of working children and the owner of a cigar factory there, and confiscate wages in the 1850's are found in HStA 264.

[79]GLA: 233/32560.

[80]AN: F^{17} 4704.

[81]See below, Chapter 4.

[82]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[83]AN: F^{17} 4714.

[84]AN: F^{17} 4723.

[85]GLA: 377/7930.

[86]GLA: 235/29577.

[87]ADV: Rapport de 1846.

[88]ADV: Rapport de 1836.

[89]ADV: Rapport de 1836/37.

CHAPTER FOUR

TO EACH ACCORDING TO HIS POSSIBILITIES

What was it that the schools were supposed to accomplish? The development of schooling policy and the analysis of its implicit goals are among the better studied and better documented aspects of European educational history.[1] While the earliest public schools were by and large religious in definition of purpose and curricular orientation, primary schools often served secular interests as well. Secular concerns became more apparent however, as state interest in and control over schooling was intensified. At the end of the Ancien Regime, occasional expressions of obscurantist fear of popular education were still to be heard in administrative circles. The often cited disdain for peasant education expressed by Frederick the Great was certainly shared by less illustrious statesmen and local notables. In the 1780's, the intendant of Provence was among those most opposed to popular education. As he put is, "a peasant who knows how to read and write [will] leave agriculture to learn a trade or become a practicioner, which is a very great misfortune . . ."[2] This official antipathy toward popular education was reflected in local decisions,

like that of the municipal council of Apt to suppress the town's free Christian Brothers' school. The council justified its act by claiming that the school "tended to take a great number of workers away from agriculture" and maintained that in closing it it was "conforming to the wishes of the government and doing a great service to the country."[3]

The decision of the municipal council came, not coincidently, at a time when the Brothers were increasing their financial demands. While such local objections to public subsidy of popular education, often financial at base, continued to be a problem for state administrators well into the 19th century, most upper level administrators had rejected the obscurantist tradition in favor of a more enlightened view of schooling for the masses. Local councils could still cut off funds for schools, but no longer with the backing of state representative. By the turn of the 19th century, most state authorities in Western Europe were inclined to agree with the assertion of the Prussian educational reformer von Rochow that "the intelligence of a peasant is not a bar to his becoming a talented farmer, an industrious worker, a loyal servant and an obedient soldier . . ."[4] Not that peasants were to be equipped through education to leaves their calling, that was no one's intention. Popular education was to be encouraged, but an education specifically designed to meet

the special needs of the classes to whom it was offered, and those needs were predetermined by the social conditions established by birth and family position. The school system as reconstructed during the late 18th and 19th centuries in Baden and in France expanded to include a variety of centrally administered institutions, each with a form and curriculum designed to meet the needs, as estimated by school authorities, of specific sectors of the population. This final chapter on schooling as viewed from the administrative perspective will treat the most important educational institutions of this period, emphasizing their purposes as stated in official sources.

The Purposes of Primary Schooling

Ordinances establishing state policy with regard to primary education were clear about the state's intent. According to the Badenese Elementary School Edict of 1803, the schools were to teach:

> to the city dweller and the country man all the knowledge that it is necessary for him to know for his life's calling as a Christian and state citizen, without pushing him to a level of intellectual development where his occupation is neglected or becomes distasteful to him . . .[5]

The possibility of flight of peasants and others from the calling to which they were born was still feared in administrative circles, but it was no longer felt that a limited education would contribute to this danger. In

fact, the formation of good subjects and citizens began to necessitate such education. The increasingly bureaucratic form of state organization with its multiplication of certificates, obligations and controls, an active concern of the state for the orderly transmission of those skills deemed essential for a developing society, the increasing administrative concern with the participation of the citizenry in certain state functions also suggested to many the need for a population that was unified in its language, symbols, and loyalty to the state. The school was viewed as a logical place for the requisite political incorporation. In children with their "hearts so receptive to all good," bureaucratic hopes for the formation of future citizens were placed.[6] All that was needed was to supplement (or substitute) with civic indoctrination the religious instruction that was already occurring in village schools everywhere.

Badenese school ordinances continually reiterated the dual (political and religious) goals of elementary instruction. The 1797 ordinance of the Reformed Section specified that the elementary school's teaching plan should be oriented toward:

> the learning of Biblical history . . . guidance toward devout, not formulistic uplifting of the heart to God at the beginning and end of the day's occupation . . . With regard to civic life, [the lesson plan] should promote the learning of competent reading and writing of our country's language and of arithmetic . . . As for morality, it should be a prime concern in the organization of the plan, which

> should take as its objective the habituation to constant attentiveness, continual occupation and exact order.[7]

An 1832 law on public instruction stressed that teachers were to devote "special care and diligence to political instruction and in particular to the German language."[8] The general codification and reform of 1834 made state ends in encouraging primary schooling explicit:

> in the religious lessons, the essentials of civic virtue are also to be awakened, and the children are to be impressed with the duty of loyalty to the Grand Duke, love of fatherland, obedience to laws and ordinances, attentiveness to religious and secular authorities. . . and the duties toward their fellow citizens.[9]

While the specific political content of schooling was more subject to change in France, was in fact continually a matter of dispute, the conviction that some form of civic indoctrination was a necessary component of early childhood training was incorporated into all Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary educational policies. The Revolutionary assemblies produced a number of plans and while some denied the state a monopoly over primary education, all maintained that public schools in which children could be socialized to accept republican ideals were crucial to the interests of the state. Under the Bouquier Plan, which was actually implemented in much of France, anyone could teach whose civic spirit and good morals were certified by local officials, and as long as he or she taught nothing that was contrary to morality or

Republican ideas.[10] Although the political creed espoused was different, the same spirit motivated educational policy under the Restoration and July Monarchy governments. After the passage of the earliest Restoration ordinances concerning primary education, the Rector of Nimes wrote to the cantonal committees in his jurisdiction in 1816 that they were to oversee schoolteachers in their performance of the task of "[maintaining] order, religion and good manners and [encouraging] the fulfillment of all the duties of Christians and subjects." For local authorities in Vaucluse, as well as for many state officials, the schools were viewed as seedbeds of Legitimist sentiment.[11]

The July Revolution brought, of course, a change in the specific political content of primary schooling. Rejecting the narrow partisanship, as they saw it, of both the Revolution and the Restoration as counterproductive, the liberals of the July Monarchy educational bureaucracy espoused the view that schooling should be above partisan politics. They sought instead to achieve a compromise between the proponents of religious education, often affiliated with the politics of Legitimism, and the radical proponents of secular state schooling. Since the plans they developed were purportedly non-partisan, in the eventual best interests of the whole society, explicit political messages in the schoolroom

were to be avoided. Needless to say, however, those virtues considered to be essential for the formation of good French citizens were to be encouraged. Since these men seem to have placed their faith in the eventual convergence of opinion among right-thinking people, however, and since the politics of compromise allowed no other alternative, the July Monarchy educators continued the practice of voluntarism in education. Their ends would be accomplished in time, without resorting to the coercion attempted in other times and places. In his exposition before the Chamber of Deputies in 1833, Guizot stated simply and elegantly the practical aims of his new educational program:

> Through the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic, it provides for the most essential necessities of life; through that of the legal system of weights and measures and of the French language, it implants everywhere, increases and extends the spirit and unity of the French nationality; through moral and religious instruction it provides for another order of needs every bit as real . . . for dignity of human life and the protection of the social order.[12]

In a circular addressed to primary schoolteachers in 1833, which was intended to explain the new law to them and outline their particular duties in fulfillment of it, Guizot elaborated the state goals behind the new law regarding mass primary education:

> the law wants all Frenchmen to acquire, if possible, that knowledge which is indispensable for social life and without which the mind languishes . . . [but the law is designed] for the state itself as

> well, and in the public interest, since liberty is secure and routine only among a people who are enlightened enough to hear . . . the voice of reason. Universal primary education is thus one of the guarantees of order and social stability.[13]

In Guizot's version, the interests of the individual and those of the state were really one and the same: education simply created more of those types of enlightened individuals who could appreciate this convergence. Presumably with mass education, persistent misconception leading to conflict would diminish. But in the transition period, schooling was to play a crucial role. Teachers had to be careful to instill the right political appreciation and to avoid "opening the schools to the spirit of sect or party and nourishing the children on those religious or political doctrines which put them, so to speak, in revolt against authority . . ." Instead, teachers should restrict themselves to the development of "faith in Providence, the sanctity of duty, submission to paternal authority, respect for the law, for the Prince and for the rights of all."[14]

If, after passing through political histories that were completely different, the educational administrators in France and Baden had arrived by the 1830's at formulations of policy goals that were quite similar, political and structural differences still dictated alternatives methods of implementation. One of the most striking divergences was over the question of obligation. Baden,

like many other German states had a long tradition of Schulzwang, obligatory attendance at school of children within a certain age range. Some German princes had promulgated laws as early as the 16th century requiring parishes to open schools. In the Kurpfalz, and elsewhere in Germany, state laws requiring children to attend these schools were formulated in the 17th and 18th centuries. The multiplication of such ordinances during the latter half of the 18th century and the imposition of fines for non-compliance suggest that these laws were poorly enforced previously. A 1751 ordinance required Catholic parents to send their children to school until their first communion and to pay school tuition and wood money even when their children did not attend; in addition, truancy was made punishable by a fine of one to three Florins. The following year the Bishop of Worms who supervised some of the Catholic communities in the Kurpfalz published an ordinance requiring Catholic teachers to hold summer school sessions at which all pupils were to attend.[15] Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic inspectors complained of non-compliance with school laws during the next few decades, lending credence to one historian's claim that it was only with incorporation into the more efficient Badenese bureaucracy that these laws began to be enforced in some communities: "the takeover by Baden was a great blessing for education. Unexcused truancy was immediately

dealt with by punishment."[16] While the effectiveness of the Badenese administrative system was perhaps exaggerated here, it is nonetheless clear that the Schulzwang system was in operation in the communities under Badenese jurisdiction by the early decades of the 19th century. Every teacher was required to keep a register noting the excused and unexcused absences of each pupil. The school inspector took this list ot the mayor who with his police to back him up was responsible for enforcing fines to two to twelve Kreuzer for each day of unexcused absence, or four to twenty-four hours in jail for the parents of repeated offenders.[17] In many communities, including those in the Badenese sample, most parents were already sending their children to school for at least part of the year by the turn of the 19th century. Furthermore, publicly subsidized schools existed in every community and were inexpensive enough to be accessible to most families. Under these conditions, obligation laws could be more than a dead letter. Energetic enforcement of them could conceivably have made the difference between majority and virtually total enrollment. In fact, in the sample communities, primary school enrollments of essentially a hundred percent were apparently accomplished by the middle of the 19th century.[18]

For the Zwangsystem, with its claim of universal enrollment, to be enforced it was also necessary on

occasion to adjust educational institutions to meet different or emergency familial circumstances. No amount of fining or jailing could produce attendance at schools that were too costly, too distant or too much in conflict with familial demands on their children's time. The goal of universal attendance was accomplished not only through coercion, but also through a kind of institutional variability and flexibility with respect to cost, seasons and hours of school attendance. As will be described below, the realization of universal attendance meant the creation of new kinds of institutions to facilitate the incorporation into the school system of social groups with peculiar needs. But once such institutions were in existence, the coercive capacities of the school system were enhanced to make evasion of schooling more and more difficult. As demanded by pastors and teachers, the school-leaving certificate (Entlassungschein) was established in 1834. The certificate was granted when the pupil had demonstrated competence in the subjects taught in elementary schools, and was not automatic once the school-leaving age was reached. Some teachers were demanding that the school-leaving certificate be a requirement for employment. Such a requirement, they reasoned, was the only truly effective means of combatting truancy among the really recalcitrant. According to these teachers, many parents were paying fines and putting their children to

work; others were resigned even to jail sentences as a punishment for their children's truancy since "as long as [they] were in jail [they] would at least be fed, which was not always the case at home." Judicious use of the school-leaving certificate would force attendance. The certificate, the teachers felt, "must have the same value as the vaccination certificate; that is, without it no boy or girl can go into service, take up a handicraft, get a permit to migrate, become a citizen or a master craftsman. . . ."[19] Students who were truant more than a specified number of days during the course of their elementary schooling would be denied the certificate at school-leaving age. While it is clear that the school-leaving certificate did not become the passport to adult economic and political life the teachers wanted it to be, at least not by the middle of the 19th century, its establishment added one more deterrent for school truancy to the already impressive array of coercive measures.

In France, with the exception of a brief period during the Revolution, primary school attendance was voluntary until the last quarter of the 19th century. For many of the administrative, financial and political reasons discussed earlier, obligation was hardly a practical option. In all but the largest communities in Vaucluse, only a minority of children were attending

school at the turn of the 19th century.[20] Without adequate funds for school subsidy, without the personnel to enforce attendance locally, attempting to thrust schooling upon a reluctant and often hostile population would surely have met with failure. While universal attendance was still the goal, French administrators hoped to accomplish it through voluntary cooperation on the part of parents who would eventually be persuaded of the value of schooling. A Vauclusan inspector was especially sensitive to the virtues of a voluntary policy, especially in the South. He wrote:

> Some people subscribe to the principle that is is necessary to do good for a society despite itself, thinking that we should pass a law in France like those in force in some northern European states which oblige parents to send their children to school, under penalty of fines or imprisonment, until the age of thirteen or fourteen years. But would this measure, which has succeeded in a country where the people are accustomed to having respect for the law and for those who execute it to have the same success here? I don't think so, not as far as our populations of the Midi are concerned. . .[21]

The southern populations were, for better or worse, devoted to liberty, to local custom, to individual rights. As this official saw it, coercive measures would tend to backfire because they would be unenforceable. The net result would be a decrease of respect for the law and for state institutions. Universal primary schooling, however desirable, would have to be accomplished gradually, in the course of time, through the persuasive powers of its own demonstrated worth.

Bringing More Children into the Classroom, Bringing them in Earlier and Keeping them there Longer. . .

The theories of child psychology that were developed during the Enlightenment and which so appealed to educators in the late 18th and early 19th centuries stressed the innocence, openness and almost infinite malleability of the child's personality.[22] Bringing children into the controlled environment of the school could not but influence their subsequent character development. Teachers began to discover, however, that many children entered the primary school already "spoiled" by the home environment of their early years. Contemporary writings on early childhood suggested the extreme importance to future development of toddlers' experiences. Among the best known experts was Lord Brougham of England. A Vauclusan school inspector cited his work in an analysis of infant schools in the department:

> the age from two to six is perhaps the most important for the development of the intelligence because it is at this age that the child shows himself to be the most eager to learn, so that, according to Lord Brougham, the destiny of the whole life depends on how these years are occupied.[23]

For this reason the salles d'asiles were particularly crucial since in them "children contract early on the habits of order, obedience and work."

Institutions for the care of children too young to enter primary school, designed to counteract the

apparently evil consequences of undisciplined or negligent parental care, proliferated in the 1830's and 1840's. While they were often begun by organizations of middle-class women, state authorities were enthusiastic supporters of these efforts and often contributed subsidies to the cause. In 1833 the Badenese Studies and School Commission advocated regularized state support for these schools where otherwise neglected children "would be instructed under supervision in order and cleanliness and accustomed to moral ideas."[24] When the first infant school (Kleinkinderschule) was opened in Mannheim in 1836, its stated goals included:

1. Good supervision of young children.
2. The encouragement of schooling among their older siblings usually charged with the care and raising of the younger ones.
3. The encouragement of the child's free development and physical strength; the turning of their feelings in a moral, religious direction; guidance toward order, cleanliness, obedience and industriousness; a preparation for elementary school.[25]

With the provision of infant schools, parents were freed to work, older siblings were freed to attend elementary school and toddlers were given the kind of attention they needed.

The infant schools (salles d'asile) in Vaucluse had similar purposes according to those educators who advocated their establishment. They were particularly useful because in them:

> Little children so often and so dangerously left alone in the poor classes. . . [can] contract from their entrance into life the habits of order, discipline and steady occupation which are the beginnings of morality and at the same time receive their first lessons, some elementary notions which prepare them to follow more fruitfully the instructions which other institutions will offer later on.[26]

The Vauclusan infant schools were well attended, and many seemed to be succeeding in their defined tasks as well. According to the inspection report of 1856, the children attending the large infant school in Avignon were "submissive, silent and very well cared for." In Sorgues, the public infant school was in very good hands although in a less adequate private one "there was a lot of dissipation; the children don't pay attention." In L'Isle, "the children appeared docile and attentive. They [were] cared for with affection."[27] In general, the children of the asiles presented to inspectors a sharp contrast with those "abandoned to themselves" and subject to "that multitude of accidents that come so easily to plunge into mourning peaceable and happy households" and to "those habits of laziness and libertinism which will be impossible to extirpate later on."[28]

The infant schools made provision for those too young to enter the primary schools, but those beyond official school age, particularly adolescents, also were a focus of administrative concern. In Baden, as in much of Europe, the decades at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries were perceived as particularly

unruly ones by many members of the administrative classes. Even before the French Revolution, local and national officials, churchmen and other notables fretted about the breakdown of traditional order and familial authority as reflected in the seeming upsurge in crime, vagrancy, illegitimacy, and so forth.[29] As was discussed earlier, many church inspection reports were filled with complaints of youthful indiscipline and insubordination, of "single, young boys missing religious services."[30] Servants, apprentices, journeymen and soldiers were often cited offenders, that is, the large sectors of single adolescents who were living away from home, usually in the growing towns and cities. But even rural young people were not innocent; many were attending the all too plentiful Sunday dances and fairs in their own and neighboring communities.[31] Many of those who felt responsible for the maintenance of public morality thought something had to be done to combat youthful libertinism.

Since those at fault were generally beyond the school-leaving age, the elementary schools were of no use. A series of state ordinances passed during the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Baden had created Sunday and evening schools to supplement elementary instruction, and it was to these institutions that pastors and other state officials turned in their search for disciplinary methods. The earliest ordinances required attendance at Sunday

schools of all unmarried young people until age 20. The evening schools (Fortbildungschulen) were to meet during the wintertime and all boys not attending other educational institutions were supposed to enroll for at least three years after elementary school leaving.[32] During the early decades of the 19th century, attempts were made to increase attendance at these institutions, and to make evasion of them more difficult even for migrant populations. An ordinance passed in 1815 required "all unmarried soldiers and national guardsmen, no matter what their religion, . . . to attend Sunday lessons until their 20th year."[33] In order to keep tabs on migrant domestic servants, Badenese authorities required in 1824 that all servants leaving their place of birth for service "give, under penalty of law, a certificate to the pastor of their new residence" and that "not simply reaching the age of 20, but rather passing a test of basic knowledge of the most important religious truths . . . was necessary for exemption from attendance at religious lessons."[34] Another regulation, passed in 1832, reasserted the obligation of attendance at Sunday school, and stipulated that no one was to leave before age 19. In these cases, the school was seen not merely as a locus of moral instruction, but also as a control point, a place where footloose youthful migrants could be properly supervised by religious and secular authorities.[35]

While they, too, expressed disapproval of youthful dissipation, French authorities made no effort to force adolescents into institutions which would guide them into a more acceptable behavior. As with primary schools, attendance at the various adult evening classes available was strictly voluntary. Instituteurs were encouraged to offer evening courses to those too old for the primary schools. Towns were encouraged to establish courses to make post-primary instruction in basic subjects available. But officials hoped that adolescents would of their own accord attend these classes once their value had been demonstrated. According to one inspector, writing in 1838:

> Adult classes are multiplying these days now that each farmer is becoming in our area involved in industry as well. Young people reaching the age of eighteen or twenty years regret not knowing how to read and write and do arithmetic because they feel they are missing these abilities in the conduct of their affairs; those among them who have not yet contracted the bad habits of gaming and cafe fill their winter evenings educating themselves.[36]

Thus those too young and too old for the regular primary schools had schools created especially for them, but there were children actually of school age who for one reason or another were not considered capable of attending ordinary schools. Attempts to incorporate all children into the school system entailed the creation of special institutions, or special provision with existing institutions, for these children. Children of the poor

and children of the factories were two groups who received special attention. The school-aged children of indigent and poor parents were a problem for school authorities in Baden. By law, all children were required to attend school, but poorer parents were lax in sending their children to school and often sent them to work or beg instead. Smaller communities usually financed the tuition of the poor from charity funds, but attempted to enforce their attendance at the same schools with paying children. In the cities, where the poor were numerous, special arrangements for their schooling could be made. In Mannheim, city officials felt in 1810 that:

> The growing number of poor children of all religions whose parents derive sustenance from the city's poor fund demands the creation of an occupation for these children which will keep them from begging and idleness, and through the income they get from their work, make them useful to their parents and lighten the burden of poor relief. . . . the fact that the poor, whose children are most in need of instruction, are most negligent of schooling [suggests] the founding of a poor school. . . . where the necessary instruction can alternate with useful or paid labor. . . .[37]

The Police Poor School, as the institution was called, continued for subsequent decades to act as a combined workhouse and school for children of families on the public relief, as well as for neglected or delinquent children who were sent there for supervision.[38]

The poor school took care of the certified indigent children and even offered them food, clothing and

the opportunity to earn a pittance. But the much larger and less well-defined group of merely or occasionally poor--those not included on the police poor list but from families who were living on marginal incomes--presented authorities insisting on universal school attendance with a different kind of problem. Catholic officials in Mannheim were particularly concerned with the non-indigent poor since a disproportionately high number of Catholic residents in the city fell into this category. Poverty made regular school attendance difficult. Furthermore, poor children were viewed as a moral menace to the better off. In 1817, the Catholic School Conference of Mannheim wrote to the director of the Neckarkreis about a project to build what they called a Mittelschule--one between the regular elementary school and the school for the indigent. In the new institution, lessons in industrial skills would be combined with regular elementary instruction in religion, reading, writing and arithmetic. The motives for the establishment of the new school were clearly stated in the report:

> School age is the time when the tendency toward acquisition of good or bad habits and manners as observed in the environment is most intense; the moral behavior of the family, the example of parents and older siblings usually works to advance the moral education of the children, but this example is missing in families of the propertyless popular classes. Often it is the very example in the parental household that guides the morality of the children early on. The careful protection of children from evil and the observation of evil, all the domestic

> teachings of upright parents will be made fruitless when the better children observe the children who have educated themselves following the example of crude and immoral parents.[39]

These teachers and administrators felt that many parents of the comfortable classes were reluctant to send their children to the public schools because of the presence of poor children in them, and sent them instead to the crowd of small private schools competing with the public institutions. The Catholic deacon of Mannheim submitted a report in the same year, also calling for the establishment of a separate school for "those children who in many regards corrupt the better ones like a creeping poison," namely children of:

> 1. extremely poor, as well as extremely unfortunate parents;
> 2. those very needy parents who see the importance of education for their children, but whose poverty forces them to neglect their schooling the whole summer and a large part of the winter in order to earn their bread. . .[40]

The deacon felt that there were at least 200 such Catholic children in the city. If they were left in or brought into the regular elementary school they would corrupt the better children, have trouble keeping up with them, overcrowd the classes and have to give up working or begging to attend. A Catholic Free School was duly established where classes met three hours a day in winter and two hours a day in summer. There was no tuition charged. The free school thus solved a dual dilemma: poorer children could combine work that was needed by

their families with obligatory school attendance, and at the same time be kept isolated from their social and presumed moral betters. By 1831 the inspector was reporting that the institution had proven most beneficial:

> The poorer classes who formerly could in no way be constrained to uninterrupted school attendance, now attend for the most part regularly, and not only receive instruction sufficient for their future occupations, but also an appropriate religious and moral instruction.[41]

Another seemingly unreachable group had been brought into the comprehensive school system.

In Vaucluse there were no special schools for the poor although there were free classes in urban areas run by teaching orders, and mutuel schools designed for the efficient transmission of elementary skills to the children of the popular classes. The Brothers of the Christian Schools, discussed earlier, the Ursulines, Sisters of Saint Charles and other religious orders conducted many municipally and privately endowed classes that made schooling available to the urban poor throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Teaching large classes through the use of new methods of simultaneous instruction and strict discipline, these orders concentrated in the early years of their existence on the development in children of the reading skills necessary for religious life and on catechetical learning. This essentially reformist intention of the sponsors of such schools was shown by the municipal council of the city of Avignon on

the occasion of the opening of the Brothers' school in la Madeleine parish in 1756. The council explained its decision to subsidize the school in the following manner:

> in [the Madeleine] there are a lot or river sailors and haulers - people who are nearly always travelling and cannot teach their children, cannot even teach themselves. . . At the time of the last mission there were found in this parish boys already pretty advanced in age who were not going to communion and several of whom did not even know how to confess. The establishment of a third [city] school, in this parish, is the only means that can be employed to remedy this profound ignorance; inasmuch as the Brothers will teach the children about religion during the time they are teaching them how to read, these children having been imbued in their youth with the first principles of religion, will be able to teach themselves in adulthood by reading in pious books.[42]

After being dissolved during the Revolution, the Brothers and other teaching orders were reestablished in the early 19th century. Their subsidized schools in the towns and cities of Vaucluse seem often to have been teaching more than just the poor. Enrollment was broadened and the content of instruction was extended as well, often including subjects like grammar, history, geography and linear design in addition to the three R's and religion. State inspectors regretted the competition the Brothers offered to secular public schools, although many were willing to grant the usefulness of the Brothers' schools as long as they were "following the goals behind the order's foundation" and "consecrating themselves to the instruction of the poor classes who had the need to find for their

children the first moral and religious education which they were lacking."[43]

The anticlerical sectors of the administrative classes had different ideas, of course, and many preferred to see in muteul instruction the solution to the problem of providing primary instruction for the poor. The promoters of enseignement mutuel in France pointed to its advantages in terms of efficiency: one teacher, with the help of student monitors, could supervise the instruction of a large number of pupils. Instruction was also designed to proceed quickly through the elementary skills so that pupils could complete their elementary instruction earlier and proceed to work or to further education at a younger age. The mutuel schools themselves were supposed to have classes in grammar, analysis, design and music for the more advanced pupils. The type of elementary instruction offered in the mutuel schools was explicitly viewed as appropriate to new social and economic conditions. The various advantages over religious schools of the mutuel schools for the education of the popular classes, as proclaimed on a wall poster in the town of Bolleme in 1831 were:

> On the moral side, more rapid progress, an education more varied since it includes music and design and history in addition to the elements of primary instruction. Finally, principles in harmony with our new social position. It no longer suffices to know how to babble a few words in a lamentable tone or to trace a few lines. It is necessary that children who are entering this era of equality, of

> industry and of emulation be capable of gaining the knowledge extensive enough to get out of the rut in which they unavoidably find themselves with the old methods of instruction. . . The material betterment which will result for you from these innovations is equally precious, above all for those who are without fortune. Your children will not have to supply books or papers or pens. We require of them only good conduct and the desire to learn and become good citizens. . .[44]

The new institutions like the mutuel schools in Vaucluse and the free schools were designed to meet the challenge of universal education, to bring into the school system those classes who in the past had been left unschooled or whose education was restricted to the reading, catechism and simple industrial skills taught in the free classes and workhouses of the Ancien Regime. But a new class of poor children, those working in the factories, had to be dealt with differently.

While there were a great variety of opinions expressed about the child factory laborer, most commentators agreed that unregulated child labor in the factories represented an affront to the moral order and a denial by the state of its responsibilities toward children. Still, it was only the minority of policymakers and administrators who felt during the third or fourth decade of the 19th century that labor of children in the factories was something that could and should be prevented entirely. Often rural in origin and conservative in orientation, these statesmen were unwilling to accept the moral compromise they felt was inherent in the factory system.

One Badenese pastor, for example, reported in outrage that "children of ten years and even younger were already working in the factories" in his parish; for him factory schools offered no solution to the moral dangers such employment presented to children since "they weren't attended with the same regularity (as ordinary schools) and the children were too exhausted from their day's work to profit from their daily two hours of ooling." Furthermore, since factory children "b nged, for the most part, to poor parents, it was important for them to get somewhat more schooling since the public school had to take the place of domestic learning for them."[45] During an 1841 debate on child labor in the Lower Chamber of the Badenese legislature, one deputy stated a blanket refusal to accept the practice and its legitimization through state provision for schools in factories: "I am against factory schools," he said, "all the moreso because I am against any facilitation of [child] employment in the factories, something to which I'll never acquiesce. I'll never grant that children under fourteen years be sent to the factories. . ."[46] Another deputy opposed to child labor in the factories pointed out that there was a surprising inconsistency in the insistence, on the part of the very advocates of factory schools, upon school attendance by the children of the peasantry who:

> find their children most necessary for various kinds of work; it is simply that [these deputies] don't take any notice of that although the work these children do is just as necessary for their parents as the wages of the others from the factory. . . The factory owner can just as well regulate his hours [according to school hours] as the farmer must his . . .[47]

The more realistic and ultimately triumphant vision had little patience with this view. The fact was, children were employed in factories and factory owners were certainly not going to adjust their schedules to accomodate the schooling of these child employees. To say that children should not be in the factories, in this view, was to fail to come to grips with the state's responsibility to provide for their education.

In fact, many were prepared to make a much more positive assessment of the situation. Official administrative position in Baden during the 1830's and 1840's suggested that while the excesses of profit-hungry Fabrikanten had to be curbed, the employment of children in the factories had its advantages as well. An ordinance issued in 1838 maintained that:

> It is a great boon for the inhabitants of poorer areas when even the children can already bring in some income. Just as great is the advantage to the factory owners, since the wage of a child, even in relationship to what he does, is always less than that of an adult and because there are many jobs a child can do just as well and just as quickly as an adult.[48]

Proponents of the government's perspective were quick to point out that this child labor was only to be permitted

where it is not harmful to the best interests of the child. The effects of factory labor were different in the various industries, but they claimed:

> There are many branches of industry where a child can be used with profit and certainly without causing any disadvantage to his moral or physical development . . . [In many factory jobs] children have very easy work to do, where they can develop much better than if they were set to gather or steal wood by their parents, or used for hard labor like those of the peasant. . .[49]

A similar opinion was espoused by the Dupin Commission of France in the 1840's. Writing in response to a proposed law that would raise the age of entry into the factories from eight to 10, the commission maintained that:

> The admission of children into the factories from the age of eight years is a means of surveillance for the parents, a beginning of apprenticeship for the children, a resource for the family; the habits of order, discipline and work must be acquired early. . . To those who want to delay by two years the age of admission of children into the factories, we ask who will guarantee that these two years left to the child outside the surveillance of his parents will profit his elementary and religious instruction. Who, on the contrary, sees not the occasion for demoralization and vagabondage or apprenticeship in vice: the school of the streets is the worst school of all. It teaches idleness and disorder. It is not there that good workers are prepared. The child entering the workshop at eight years, accustomed to work, habituated to obedience and possessing the first elements of instruction arrives at age ten more capable of resisting fatigue, more agile and more educated than the child of the same age reared in idleness.[50]

In an attempt to curb abuses of child employees and ensure their schooling, a series of child labor laws was passed in both France and Baden in the 1830's and 1840's which regulated the age of admission of children to

factories and the number of hours of work; they also stipulated that schools and released time for classes were to be supplied for child employees. But enforcement was difficult since neither parents nor factory owners could be counted upon to comply with the regulations. In some localities in Baden fines were applied to parents and owners for evasion of the laws, but local officials were often slow to act and were generally unwilling to act against owners.[51] With their design to complement the factory work schedule, however, the factory schools in theory at least provided for yet another sector of the population felt to be in need of schooling.

School administrators met the constraints of the rigid factory schedule by effectively lowering the target amount of schooling expected of factory children. The factory laws generally stipulated one or two hours of daily schooling as the maximum that could be combined with a work day. A simple comparison with the number of hours expected of children enrolled in other types of institutions illustrates the cutback in hours which the factory schools represented, and also shows the relative variability in this regard of the various Badenese institutions, in comparison with the French.

In Ancien Regime Vaucluse, many schools met only in the wintertime at hours agreed upon by the teacher and the community. There is little surviving evidence on

these arrangements, but what there is suggests that three hours in the morning and three in the afternoon was a common winter schoolday. With centralization of school regulation, the school day was made uniformly this long, although there was arrondissement level discretion concerning the timing of vacations and the spacing of hours throughout the day. An act of the Royal Council of Public Instruction set hours for classes at 8-11 A.M. and 1-4 P.M. These same hours appeared in the regulations in Apt a couple of years later in 1834. Even the mutuel schools and the Brothers' schools, designed to appeal to the poorer classes, kept to a six hour a day schedule. Schools were to be kept open for all but one month a year. The only concession to child labor demands was the stipulation that schools be closed for one week at the period of the vendanges. Summer hours were no shorter. In fact, the committee of the arrondissement of Apt actually increased summerschool hours in 1847. Henceforward, school hours were from 8-11 A.M. and 1-4 P.M. only from October to March; from April to August, they were from 7-11 A.M. and 1-5 P.M.[52] While this may have been more convenient for parents with young children, it undoubtedly made summer attendance more difficult for older ones.

In Baden, early evidence indicates a variety of schedules were followed. In the mid-18th century, schools in urban areas like Mannheim and Schriesheim

were open from 8-11 A.M. and 1-4 P.M. and remained open throughout the year.[53] In many rural communities, the school year lasted only five months, traditionally from St. Martin's Day to St. George's Day (November 11 to April 23). Where summer school was held, sessions were shorter. The school in Daisbach, for example, met from 8-11 A.M. and 2-3 P.M. in winter, and from noon to 1 P.M. for older children and 1-2 P.M. for younger ones in summer. The 1803 state ordinance stipulated that all communities were to hold summer sessions, but that the school day should be over early enough for the older children, "so that a good day's time still remains for them to help their parents."[54]

The special schools had hours determined according to the schedules of the families for whom they were designed. The Kleinkinderschulen, like the salles d'asile had hours that were long so that working parents could keep their children in them throughout the work day. Thus the Kleinkinderschule in Mannheim was open from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M. in summer and from 8 A.M. to nightfall in winter. The Fortbildungschulen which met on winter evenings and Sunday schools were designed to complement the work hours of their adolescent clientele. The poor school of Mannheim kept long hours, since year round supervised work in the institution was combined with instruction. In 1835, children were kept from 8 A.M. to

nightfall in winter and from 7 A.M. to 6 or 7 P.M. in summer. Elementary instruction took place between noon and 1 P.M. and again from 4 P.M. to 5 P.M. The Catholic Free School, at the time of its opening, taught boys from 8-10 A.M. and 1-2 P.M. in winter, from 8-9 A.M. and 1-2 P.M. in summer. Girls were taught from 10-12 A.M. and from 2-3 P.M. in winter and from 9-10 A.M. and 2-3 P.M. in summer. These hours were established because "boys usually [worked] in the construction industry: these [were] their free hours."[55] By the middle of the 19th century, school officials of the city of Mannheim had established a highly rationalized and class-oriented system of elementary education, which provided in different institutions not only the subjects of instruction but also the amount of school hours deemed appropriate for the specific social groups who formed each school's clientele. Built into the system was the assumption that parents from different classes made different demands on their children's time, and that different classes placed different values on schooling. It was imperative to school administrators that every child be schooled, but the amount and kind of schooling depended on the social condition of the child's family. (See Table 11) It was, ironically, the more explicit recognition of social class distinctions built into the Badenese school system, and the institutional variability which followed, that

TABLE 11

TIME SCHEDULES OF MANNHEIM PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1849

School	Number of Hours Weekly	
Freischule (the free school for the poor)		
Grade 1	15	
Grade 2	15	
Grade 3	17	
Einfache Volkschule (the ordinary primary school)		
Grade 1	30	
	Boys	Girls
Grade 2	20	19
Grade 3	25	22
Erweiterte Volkschule (the advanced primary school)		
Grade 1	20	20
Grade 2	23	20
Grade 3	24	20
Grade 4	26	22
Grade 5	30	26

allowed the obligation of universal school attendance to be enforced in what was obviously a highly stratified society. The more universalistic French system, with fewer variants on the basic primary school, was less successful in reaching families with unusual constraints on their time or finances.

Vocational Schooling

It was in the realm of vocational education that states attempted to deal most directly with needs arising from the early industrial economy. In Baden, the creation of such vocational institutions as the Gewerbeschulen and the Industrieschulen followed logically from neo-mercantilist interest in increasing productivity in the context of a mercantile capitalist economy.[56] The first vocational institutions to be created in large numbers in north Baden were the Industrieschulen, which began to appear in the late 18th century. Their purpose, as explained in the first article of a provincial ordinance of 1807, was straightforward: "the goal of the industry schools is basically the habituation of children to work, the support of poor parents, and the advancement of industriousness."[57] These schools, intended primarily for girls, were to meet during hours that were drawn from those of elementary instruction, usually for two one-

and-a-half hour sessions each week. They were also supposed to meet during the time of the year when the children were most likely to be idle, hence, "the time of the opening of such schools [was] established after the end of the fieldwork, thus in the month of November, and [they were to be] continued until March, when fieldwork again reaches an active pace."[58] The schools were intended primarily to teach rural girls various needle skills (spinning, knitting and sewing) and every girl who had reached her eighth birthday was required to attend. Boys were to be excused where they could be usefully employed throughout the year, but the ordinance further stipulated that:

> Where agriculture does not provide employment the whole year, which is the case in many mountainous regions, or where herding is still practiced so that the children who are cattleherds pass their time in idleness and provocation which can easily endanger their morality, there boys should be required to learn knitting. . .[59]

Teachers were to be selected from among the most skilled women of the village and were to be reimbursed by fees or subsidy from the community. Those girls who were being adequately taught at home could be freed from the obligation to attend the school, but reports about the quantity and quality of the needlework they did at home were to be submitted each month to the Church Synod. That such schools were operating in many communities in North Baden in the first decade of the 19th century is

apparent from existing inspection reports. Ten girls of the village of Heddesheim, for example, produced during one month at the Näh-und-Strickschule six shirts, three pairs of gloves and four pairs of stockings; the 76 boys and girls at the school in Schriesheim produced 73 pairs of stockings, 16 pairs of gloves plus an assortment of vests and so on.[60]

The industry schools were designed to increase the skill level and productivity of workers employed in putting-out industries and domestic labor in the villages and towns of Baden. In addition, authorities hoped that these schools would help to accustom children to continual occupation, and to the idea of work for work's sake.[61] But Badenese authorities began to see a need to establish institutions to supplement the training of urban industrial workers as well. Gewerbeschulen, or apprentice schools, had existed in some towns since the late 18th century, but began to appear in large numbers in the 1830's. The Gewerbeschule commisioner Buhl reported in 1831 that "in the last century, education has suffered a setback as a result of the decay and degeneration of the guilds. . . since the invention of the spinning machine and the steam engine. . . a great revolution in industry has been occurring. . . industry has become a science."[62] To teach the science of industry to future industrial workers, apprentice schools were to be

encouraged in major towns and cities. Teaching such subjects as design, arithmetic, chemistry, geometry. accounting and so forth, these schools were intended to supplement the practical instruction in a single craft that the apprentice was receiving from his master. With the exception of a few trades for which such skills were deemed unnecessary, all apprentices were required to attend Gewerbeschulen for three years if the town in which they were apprenticed had established one. School hours were set so as to accomodate the apprentice's work schedule: classes usually met for one hour on weekday evenings and on Sundays and afternoons off. Since attendance was mandatory, school registers were to be kept for inspection in which a record of the attendance, discipline and capacity of each pupil was to be kept.[63] This control procedure served the dual function of marking the pupils schooling progress and keeping tabs on apprentices, often adolescents away from home and from parental supervision. Enforcement of such control measures meant that the Gewerbeschulen became, potentially at least, devices through which state authorities could intervene in the regulation of access to industrial careers. This potential became more obvious as successive regulations tightened the transition process from school child to apprectice to master. In 1839, after Gewerbeschule inspectors were met with the complaint that

apprentices were entering the school without sufficient elementary skills, state authorities reminded local guild officials that they were forbidden to accept as apprentices boys who did not have an Entlassungschein from elementary school. On hearing the complaint that apprentices and journeymen at the apprentice school in Mannheim were disorderly and inattentive in class, the city police established a rule that lack of attention and misbehavior would be punished the same as truancy.[64] Since truancy from the school delayed the time at which Ledigsprechung from apprenticeship, or advancement to journeyman status, could be granted, and imposed fines on the guilty apprentice, these schools presented apprentices and their masters with significant interference in the apprenticeship process. Of course the state could only enforce these controls over apprenticeship with at least some cooperation from guild officials. The Gewerbeschulen were, in fact, partially subsidized through contributions from guild associations and guild officials sat on their governing boards. But it is clear that masters in many crafts were unwilling to grant to state authorities the degree of control over the apprentice's time and over admission to the craft implied in the apprentice school regulations. During the 1830's and 1840's the resistance by masters to the claims of the trade school directors was continuous. Such resistance placed limits on the

extent of control over the education of apprentices exercised by school officials, but the Gewerbeschulen nonetheless gave the state one of its first inroads into the regulation of industrial training.

In France, vocational training for artisans wanting to supplement their on-the-job learning was available in the Écoles des Arts et Métiers located in Paris and a few provincial centers. Schools sponsored by the national government were established in a few cities, but for the most part it was municipal governments that were left with the responsibility for sponsoring apprentice schools and other vocational training institutions. By the early 1830's, the city of Avignon was sponsoring free public courses in painting and design, linear design, chemistry and mathematics which were given in the evening to accommodate the largely worker and apprentice student body. In addition, workers' organizations themselves sponsored many classes in cities throughout France. Perdiguier, for example, reports that at the mère of the Devoir de la liberté in Avignon during the early 1820's, there was a regular evening class in linear design taught by one of the compagnons. French artisans were inhibited in organizational efforts as a result of the laws outlawing guilds, but the myriad of unofficial organizations into which they were grouped clearly performed educational functions. Direct challenges by state authorities to the

artisanal control over the transmission of skills occurred only later in the century. The very invisibility of artisanal organizations probably saved them from earlier state regulation.[65]

The Specialization of Secondary Education

In both France and Germany, state organizations became involved early in the field of secondary education, and were particularly interested in the creation of alternatives to or supplements for traditional Latin education. In the middle of the 18th century, the Latin schools which were founded during and after the Renaissance period were still the dominant institutions of post-primary schooling in Europe. To be sure, there had been some innovations. In France, orders like the Oratorians and the Brothers of the Christian Schools placed more emphasis in their curricula upon the learning of French and subjects like mathematics and modern languages which were considered more practical than Latin and Greek. Special institutions designed to meet the educational needs of certain classes were established under state and private sponsorship.[66] State governments were particularly involved in the creation of institutions for the education of groups who were deemed essential to the prosperity and smooth operation of the state, particularly

for administrative and technical personnel. In the German cities, numerous schools for the education of the commercial classes were also successfully undertaken during the latter decades of the 18th century. But education in the classics still dominated the curriculum in the most typical secondary institutions. Despite the spate of criticisms of Latin education that had been appearing since the 17th century, despite the decline in enrollments experienced by many collèges and gymnasia during the 18th century, classical schools continued to be more common than any other type of secondary school.[67] State attempts to rationalize schooling and bring institutions into a comprehensive system under state direction thus involved an examination of the role of classical and other forms of secondary schooling in the overall scheme.

Many state administrators still considered Latin education as an appropriate preparation for academic and professional careers, and as a good basic training for well-rounded human beings capable of thinking clearly and behaving well no matter what their calling.[68] This abstract value attributed to Latin schooling was often emphasized and lauded precisely because it was not "practical," not narrowly concerned with the mundane demands of a career. Thus the Rector of the Academy of Nimes wrote to Paris in 1817 that the role of the Royal Collèges was "less a matter of teaching such and such a thing than

of making [the pupils] capable of teaching themselves on leaving the collège. The study of the classical languages and the familiarity, contracted early in life, with the classical authors is the surest means of succeeding at this development of all the moral faculties."[69] While the balance between the classics and the sciences was a subject of continual debate, few administrators denied that both were necessary for the education of the professional and administrative classes. While the number of class hours devoted to classical studies rose and fell with political fortunes, and changes in administrative personnel, they were always a substantial part of the curriculum of lycées and collèges.

The same was true in the Gelehrtenschulen (institutions of academic secondary education) in Baden. Latin and Greek studies comprised close to half of the total class hours in Lyceums and Gymnasia. This training was designed to:

> Lay claim to the noblest capabilities of the elected youth. . . and with the blessing of a rich education, apply them directly or indirectly in life's various callings, so that as judges or lawyers, as teachers or preachers of the Word, as higher state officials or, what is more, as noble educated human beings even without public function, they will invest in the narrow or broad spheres of their activity the capital of knowledge, wisdom and professional loyalty for the profit of all those around them. . .[70]

The type of training which the Latin schools offered was consciously designed for a small elite. Throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries, administra-

tors were concerned about the problem of overeducation or the inappropriate use of classical institutions by groups who were not really destined for the careers for which such training was appropriate. Sometimes local officials or directors of individual institutions made decisions to limit enrollments, but control over the number of pupils admitted to classical institutions could only be effectively regulated where state mechanisms for control were imposed. During the early decades of the 19th century, local observers were still pointing to the abuse of classical institutions. M. Pazzis remarked in his statistical observations about Vaucluse that most pupils in the numerous collèges and pensions of the department abandoned their studies after only two or three years. The Rector of the Academy of Nimes noted that in 1817 the number of collèges was too large, especially in the Department of Vaucluse.[71] The principal of the Lyceum of Mannheim was distressed in the early 1820's about the large number of poor pupils asking for dispensation from Schulgeld.[72]

One solution seen by state authorities for the problem of overenrollment in classical institutions was the creation of alternative institutions for those classes who desired and could afford secondary schooling, but whose social position made classical training inappropriate. Experimental alternatives had existed for

decades: most noteworthy were the Bürgerschulen, Realschulen and Handelschulen in German cities. The education offered in these institutions varied according to local economic needs, but emphasized modern languages, commercial subjects, and applied mathematics and sciences. Brought under state regulation under the name of Höhere Bürgerschulen in Baden, these schools flourished during the 1830's and thereafter. In the middle of the 19th century, the director of the Höhere Bürgerschule in Heidelberg summed up the institution's goals in his annual report:

> That former third estate has split itself into three further groups: the educated and official class; the upper industrial and commercial class; and the working and serving class. For the education of the first, there are the institutions of higher learning which have been established for the most part for centuries - Gymnasia, Lyceum and University; for the lower popular classes, who used to be deprived of all education in the old days, the state in alliance with the church had made provision through the foundation of the Volkschulen; but for the middle classes, these institutions offer either too much or too little . . .[73]

It was with the apparent needs of these classes in mind that the Höhere Bürgerschulen were created. Those in north Baden taught religion, German, French, optional courses in Latin, arithmetic, geometry, geography, natural science, technology, mechanics, history, drawing. Teaching emphasis was toward applied knowledge in various industrial sectors. Some pupils entered the Höhere Bürgerschulen on leaving primary schools, at age 14, that

is, "those boys who [were] not compelled to take up a practical occupation already at this age, but rather [had] the good fortune to devote themselves to the gathering of useful knowledge for a longer time, to the age of 16 to 20 years."[74] Boys were also allowed to enter much younger, however, since all that was required for entry was the ability to read and write. The early grades of the Höhere Bürgerschule could even serve as a preparation for entry into the Gelehrtenschulen although their main goal was the education of boys who were not destined for academic studies. Still, the Höhere Bürgerschule was not viewed as a Berufschule, a vocational school, but was to offer a more general education. In contrast with the Volkschule which taught "only what no adult should be without and what was enough for the great majority of future state citizens," but "left dissatisfied the needs of those who could devote more time to education and who would choose a bourgeois occupation which demanded a high level of spiritual development and a more encompassing knowledge," the Höhere Bürgerschule was created to meet demand for advanced schooling, without forcing too many families to resort to the costly and inappropraite classical alternative.[75]

That French educational administrators saw analogous institutions as the solution to misguided classical training in France is no coincidence. The French were

familiar with the Höhere Bürgerschule, perhaps most directly because of the well-publicized mission of Victor Cousin to Germany and his subsequent report to the French minister of education about his findings there.[76] Badenese mistrust of inappropriate higher education was shared by French educators. One claimed that:

> The education given to a child is often irrelevant to his destined career and. . . the family, unable to have him apply it in other than its own occupation finds itself deluged by filial scorn. . . Don't put the child destined for industrial work with young men destined for letters, academies, law, administration, medicine and so forth, under penalty of creating, instead of an intelligent successor, a censor who will smile with pity at your language, who will disdain your occupation, your surroundings. . . The higher education which the young master has received, the education side-by-side with the son of a dignatary, by giving him the made hope of becoming an orator, lawyer or doctor, sidetracks him from the true path he was supposed to follow. . .[77]

It was to prevent such inappropriate mingling of young men of great and more moderate expectations in the classroom that institutions like écoles des arts et métiers and écoles primaires supérieures were established. In presenting his motives for the establishment of the écoles primaires supérieures to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1833, Guizot appealed to the same concerns:

> It is necessary to make it possible for a large sector of our compatriots to arrive at a certain level of intellectual development without imposing on them the necessity of resorting to secondary instruction which is so expensive and, I do not fear to say it because I am speaking before statesmen who understand my meaning, so expensive and at the same time so dangerous. In effect, for the few fortunate talents which scientific and classical training

> develops and usefully transplants from their prior condition, how many mediocrities contract [through schooling] tastes and habits which are incompatible with the modest condition to which they must return . . . and emerge ungrateful, unhappy and discontented beings.[78]

As proposed by Guizot, *écoles primaires supérieures* were to be founded in every community of more than 2000 people to provide a limited post-primary education. While the local governments who were to finance such schools were often reluctant to found them,[79] state administrators in Vaucluse greeted the program with enthusiasm. On the opening of the *école primaire supérieure* in Avignon, the Prefect of Vaucluse commented that "those aspects of positive knowledge so commonplace, practical and profitable at every instant of life and in all careers are finally made available to those who could not achieve this knowledge before." The mathematics, and elementary notions of the physical sciences taught at the school would "explain to many minds still too inclined to the marvelous the principle phenomena of nature; education, descending from the elite of the working populations into all the classes, will destroy dangerous practices and be of great utility to those who possess it."[80] Local administrators of state policy also felt that these schools were particularly appropriate for Vaucluse. In reference to the town of Apt, the Rector of the Academy of Nimes wrote in Paris in 1843 that:

> Many fathers of families in this area, without aspiring to push their children toward the liberal professions, are wealthy enough to maintain them above the level of the working class and to bequeath to them a small commercial or industrial enterprise which involves extensive commercial dealings. They are thus not looking for classical instruction for their children, but only some positive knowledge of both general applicability and immediate use to their material interests.[81]

Neither the Höhere Bürgerschule nor the école primaire supérieure were envisioned by their founders as popular institutions. The instruction they imparted was limited, but even that instruction was originally designated for certain elite groups. Schulgeld for the Höhere Bürgerschulen in Heidelberg and Mannheim was first set at a prohibitive 30 Florins a year. In the late 1830's Schulgeld was lowered to 16 Florins since so few students were attending. In a gesture toward the classes without property, tuition was lowered in Heidelberg to 10 Florins in 1849, and there is evidence of broadened recruitment in the later century. But in the first half of the 19th century it is clear that the goal of these institutions was to channel students away from classical education rather than to encourage extensive education of non-elite groups. As for the écoles primaires supérieures, their rather modest goals were spelled out from the beginning. An administrative circular of 1833 warned that:

> It would be a grave peril to respond casually to those unlimited desires, those vague fantasies sometimes expressed by men, otherwise well-intended, to introduce into these schools all sorts of studies.

> Not only that these plans, which is not reposing on any practical and clear necessity, nearly always end in failure which discredits public education in general, but they show a still more fatal failure in rendering superficial and confused and inefficacious that more modest education for which the population has a real need. . .[82]

Again, this population was a restricted one. As Guizot noted in 1833, "since the <u>école primaire supérieure</u> is destined for a rather comfortable class, it is unnecessary for it ever to be free of charge."[83]

By the middle of the 19th century, the state-organized school systems in Baden and France were filling out--extending to cover earlier and later years of learning, offering more alternatives to more people. (See Figures 7 and 8) As designed by state authorities, each new institution was to attract a specific clientele and attempts were made to assure that only the desired groups entered each institution. The highly bureaucratized structure of the Badenese system made central enforcement of control more effective. In France, the dependence on local governments and local notables to enforce and finance state policy meant that the outcomes of local power struggles often influenced the enforcment of state educational policy. On occasion, municipal councils and local supervisory committees redirected curriculum and recruitment to local institutions.[84] But in theory at least, central reorganization of school systems was generally designed to sharpen rather than blur the

FIGURE 7

PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN BADEN AND VAUCLUSE, c. 1750

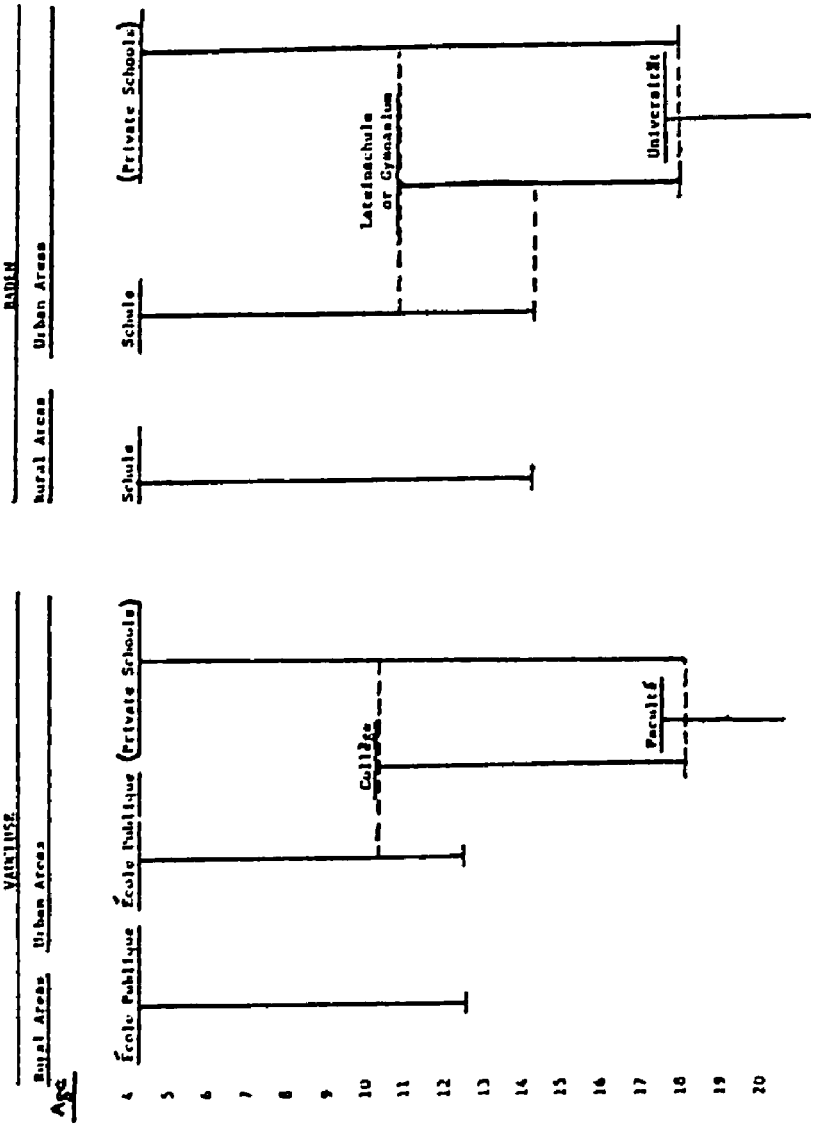
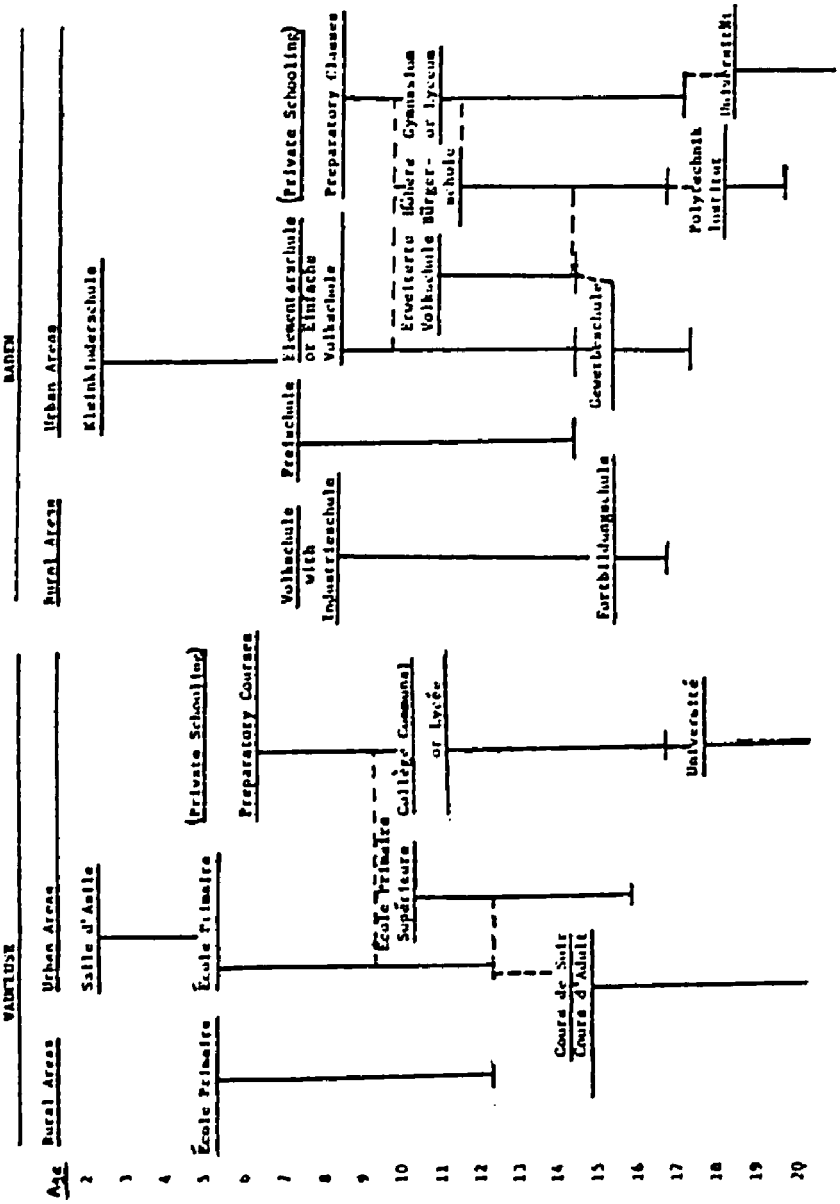


FIGURE 8

PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN BADEN AND VAUCLUSE, c. 1850



social distinctions created by economic and occupational stratification.

Her Possibilities?

The type of educational facilities provided for girls also followed logically from the concern with matching educational preparation to presumed occupational future. From their very inception, schools for girls in both France and Germany were designed to prepare them for future domestic roles. Schooling was in no way supposed to challenge those roles or suggest alternative possibilities. Women were working, of course, but with the exception of the women in the new mills and those in the older occupations like peddling and prostitution, most women contributed to the family economy through housework and domestic industries of various sorts.[85] Married women were expected to combine productive and reproductive activities in a manner that profoundly distinguished their life courses from those of men. Practical considerations stemming from these arrangements suggested to school authorities that boys and girls be educated differently, in much the same manner that children of peasants, artisans and professionals demanded different kinds of schooling.

Still, the new conceptions of childhood that underlay the schooling philosophy had obvious implications about the role of mothering, and about the kind of female education required to produce future wives and mothers who would fill their domestic roles properly. Writing in 1802, a Heidelberg school official complained about the negligence of girls' education in that city. To him, such negligence was intolerable given that:

> Mothers have the decisive influence over the education of their children; upon their early habituation to order or disorder, to industriousness or laziness, to thrift or waste, to moderation in pleasure or to excess, in a word, to all moral or political virtues or vices; therefore upon the national character and the national well-being.[86]

To rectify the deficient schooling being offered to Catholic girls in the citeis of Mannheim and Heidelberg, Lehrinstituts under the direction of the educational bureaucracies were established to replace the schools of the Augustinians in which Catholic girls had formerly been taught. These new schools were to teach girls "all the abilities necessary for a good housekeeper, no matter what her class."[87] Outside of the large cities, most elementary schools in Baden were coeducational. Boys and girls thus followed many classes together, but with the reorganization taking place in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, special divisions and classes for girls were created to meet their special educational needs. The industry schools mentioned earlier withdrew girls

during hours of elementary instruction from the Volkschulen and put them in special classes to learn spinning, sewing and knitting while boys continued with elementary lessons or learned additional arithmetic, history or geography. Where there were separate schools for boys and girls beginning at age nine, boys' and girls' schools had slightly different curricula and hours of class.

In Vaucluse, as in much of France, schools were sexually segregated nearly everywhere. Religious orders dominated in girls' schooling, especially in urban areas. During the late Ancien Regime a large number of teaching orders--the Ursulines, Benedictines, the Sisters of Ste. Eutrope--taught classes of girls in which the emphasis was on reading and needle skills. In the town of Caumont, an order was charged in 1762 with teaching girls there "doctrine, piety, reading, writing, sewing and unravelling silk." The Filles of Ste. Eutrope learned prayers, Latin, French and needlework. The Ursulines, in their school for girls from the popular classes of Avignon, taught catechism, reading, writing and needlework to their most zealous students; many others were simply prepared for their first communion.[88]

While during the Revolution, the boldest plans called for equal education of boys and girls, the actual programs enforced generally maintained sexual separation

and even reimbursed teaching at a lower rate for female than for male pupils. By the early decades of the 19th century, the teaching orders had regained their dominance in the field of girls' schooling in Vaucluse. Teaching was still restricted to reading, a little writing and needlework, and little was done by central authorities to alter the situation. Administrators stressed the need for female schooling, and criticized Vauclusans, especially peasants, for not being solicitious enough about their daughters' schooling. One inspector was sorry that "girls' schools [encountered] many obstacles," since in his opinion, "they should multiply more rapidly than boys' schools because of the great influence they have on the future of the country whose prosperity is founded upon good morality." National policy nonetheless decided that "it is impossible to impose a special school for girls on all communes, but each commune should be encouraged to establish one according to its resources."[89] In the meantime, coeducation was officially discouraged. Since girls were not expected to become active citizens or active participants in the economy to the same extent as boys, their education was a low priority to administrators. Schooling for girls could be left indefinitely in private, generally religious, hands.

Private schooling was also the only option for parents who wanted secondary education for their

daughters. In both Baden and Vaucluse there were a number of institutions offering more advanced education than was available in the elementary schools, but these institutions were costly. In Avignon, for example, at the pension of Mlles. Dusseriez and Rovin, girls had access to "the best professors of the city." In many bourgs, the subsidized religious orders who taught the poor for free also held special classes, for which tuition was charged, for the daughters of the better off. In Le Thor, for example, the poor girls were taught for a few months a year to read and do needlework; the wealthy paid two to four francs a month for lessons in "reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, history, geography and fancy needlework."[90] In Baden, both Mannheim and Heidelberg had private Tochterschulen for post-primary education of the daughters of the comfortable classes. But no public subsidy for institutions of female secondary education appeared before the third quarter of the 19th century. Females, even of the wealthy classes, were to be prepared largely for domestic roles, and that preparation could be adequately transmitted in small private lessons or at home.

Maintenance of the existing sexual division was as much a tenet of educational policymakers as was maintenance of the social order. Because of the constraints upon their future possibilities seen as inherent in their

sex, women were treated in a special manner by educational planners. The emerging school system, with its increasingly specialized institutions and aims, channelled children early in life into the sexual and social niches they were expected to occupy as adults. The institutional specialization had progressed somewhat further in Baden than in France, allowing, ironically, the incorporation into the school system of a broader range of social groups, but school policy emerged in both societies from a milieu intensely aware of the realities of social stratification, and committed to the preservation of the social order.

CHAPTER FOUR FOOTNOTES

[1]Some recent works of relevance in the area of policy analysis are E. Altvater and F. Huisken, eds., Materialien zurpolitischan Ökonomie des Ausbildungssektors (Erlangen, 1971); C. Kaestle, "Between the Scylla of Brutal Ignorance and the Charybdis of a Literary Education: Elite Attitudes toward Mass Schooling," in L. Stone, ed., Schooling and Society (Baltimore, 1976); R. Johnson "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," Past and Present 49 (1970), 96-119; H. König, Zur Geschichte der Nationalerziehung (Berlin, 1960); K. Hartmann et al., eds., Schule und Staat im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (Frankfurt a.M., 1974).

[2]F. Pontell, Histoire de l'enseignement en France (Paris, 1966), p. 38.

[3]MP: AEP #6.

[4]F. von Rochow, Geschichte Meiner Schule, p. 6.

[5]GLA: 313/3471.

[6]GLA: 377/7930.

[7]K. Brunner, Die Badische Schulordnungen (Berlin, 1902), p. 269ff.

[8]GLA: 377/7930.

[9]J. Wehrer, Das Volkschulwesens (Carlsruhe, 1837).

[10]For a full description of the various educational plans proposed during the early years of the Revolution, see H. C. Barnard, Education and the French Revolution (Cambridge, 1969).

[11]ADV: T,I.P., 1; AN: F^{17}10179.

[12]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[13]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[14]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[15]GLA: 77/6100.

[16]H. Derwein, p. 140.

[17]J. Wehrer, Ordinance of May 13, 1803.

[18]See below, Chapter 6.

[19]GLA: 231.1322.

[20]See below, Chapter 4.

[21]ADV: T,I.A., 102. In their study of obligatory schooling laws in the United States, W. Landes and L. Solomon show that few states passed laws before the majority of their residents were already complying with the minimum educational stipulations set by them. The laws themselves are shown to have little independent effect on schooling patterns. The high cost of attempting to enforce them where the majority of the population was not already complying voluntarily, argue Solomon and Landes, would have made such laws impractical in minority attendance situations. "Compulsory Schooling Legislation: An Economic Analysis," Journal of Economic History, 32 (1972), 54-91.

[22]For a discussion of the reevaluation of the child's personality apparent in Enlightenment thought, see, for example, G. Snyders, La pédagogie en France aux et XVIIIe siècles (Paris, 1965).

[23]ADV: T,I.A., 102.

[24]GLA: 231/1319.

[25]GLA: 362/1599.

[26]AN: $F^{17}10031$.

[27]ADV: T,I.A., 207.

[28]ADV: T,I.A., 102.

[29]For reference to the seeming moral upheaval observed during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, see E. Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family (New York, 1975); W. Roessler, DieEnstehung des Modernen Erziehungswesens in Deutschland (Stuttgart, 1961). The latter study also cites evidence about some observers who saw moral improvement at this same time.

[30]GLA: 229.113589.

[31]GLA: 435/798, 435/829.

[32]GLA: 313/3482.

[33]GLA: 388/74.

[34]GLA: 388/74.

[35]GLA: 388/74.

[36]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[37]GLA: 235/22776.

[38]GLA: 362/22776; 362/1596.

[39]GLA: 235/22715.

[40]GLA: 235/22715.

[41]GLA: 235/22716.

[42]ADV: J, Liasse 3.

[43]ADV: Rapport de 1836/37.

[44]ADV: T,I.P.,3.

[45]GLA: 235/1334.

[46]GLA: 235/1344.

[47]GLA: 235/1344.

[48]GLA: 235/32520.

[49]GLA: 235/1344.

[50]AN: $F^{12}4704$.

[51]HStA: 264; see also W. Trapp, "Liberal Volkschulpolitik in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Janrhunderts. . . ," (Unpublished Arbeits papier, Konstanz, 1974), who argues that factory school legislation remained essentially unenforced during at least the first two decades of its existence since factory owners were dependent upon child labor at this time and state officials were unwilling to jeopardize their ventures.

[52]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[53]GLA: 213/2645, 229/94906.

[54]GLA: 435/320; Brunner, p. 301.

[55]GLA: 235/22715.

[56]For a more detailed discussion of the relationship, see E. Altvater, "Industrie-und Fabrikschulen in FrühKapitalismus," in E. Altvater and F. Huisken, eds., pp. 91-100 and H. Zander et al., "Zur Methoden problematik in der Analyse der Volkschulentwicklung," in K. Hartmann et al., eds., pp. 254-291.

[57]GLA: 235/16138.

[58]GLA: 235/16138.

[59]GLA: 235/16138.

[60]GLA: 313/3484.

[61]H. Zander et al., p. 287ff.

[62]GLA: 231/1327.

[63]GLA: 362/1616; 377/8190; HStA: 273/1.

[64]GLA: 362/1616.

[65]A Perdiguier, Mémoires d'un Compagnon (Moulines, 1914). The richness of artisanal organizational life in southern France at this time is described in: W. Sewell, Jr., "Social Change and the Rise of Working Class Politics," Past and Present, 65 (1974), 75-109; R. Aminzade, "Class Struggles, Political Conflicts and Social Change, Toulouse, France, 1830-1872" (Ph.D. Thesis, Sociology, University of Mich., 1977). The question of artisanal control over the transfer of skills is a central issue in such studies as J. Scott, The Glassworkers of Carmaux (Cambridge, Mass., 1974) and Michael P. Hanagan, "Artisans and Industrial Workers: Work Structure and Strike Militancy in Three French Towns" (Ph.D. Thesis, History, Univ. of Michigan, 1976).

[66]See W. J. Battersby, History of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools (London, 1960); P. Lallemand, Histoire de l'éducation dans l'ancien Oratoire de France (Paris, 1888); F. Ponteil, pp. 37ff.

[67]A more detailed discussion of 18th century trends in higher education in Germany can be found in my paper "The Educational Crisis of Eighteenth Century Germany" (Unpublished, 1971).

[68]For a discussion of the Latin controversy in France in the 1830's, see L. Trenard, "L'enseignement secondaire sous la Monarchie de Juillet," Revue d'historie moderne et contemporaine 12 (1965), 81-134.

[69]AN: $F^{17}10374$.

[70]J. Behaghel, Geschichte und Statistik des Lyceums zu Mannheim, 1807-1857 (Mannheim, 1857).

[71]M. Pazzis, p. 219; AN: $F^{17}10374$.

[72]GLA: 362/1591.

[73]GLA: 356/696.

[74]GLA: 435/1464.

[75]GLA: 435/1464.

[76]V. Cousin, État de l'instruction primaire (Paris, 1833).

[77]AN: $F^{12}4830$.

[78]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[79]The opposition to écoles primaires supérieures of some members of Avignon's municipal council is discussed in AN: $F^{17}9824$.

[80]AN: $F^{17}10180$.

[81]AN: $F^{17}9824$.

[82]ADV: T,I.P., 3bis.

[83]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[84]See below, Conclusion.

[85]For a discussion of changes in women's roles, see L. Tilly and J. Scott, Women, Work and Family (tentative title, forthcoming, 1977).

[86]Cited in H. Heyd, Geschichte der Entwicklung des Volkschulwesens im Grossherzogtum Baden (Buhl, 1900).

[87]GLA: 235/22714.

[88]MP: A.E.P.M 6; ADV: H.

[89]ADV: T,I.P.,3bis; I.A., 102.

[90]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

SCHOOLING THE MASSES: A COMPARATIVE SOCIAL HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1750 - 1850

(Volume 2)

by
Mary Jo Maynes

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History)
in The University of Michigan
1977

Doctoral Committee:

Professor David Bien, Co-Chairman
Professor Charles Tilly, Co-Chairman
Professor Raymond Grew
Associate Professor Louise Tilly

PART TWO

ANOTHER VIEW OF SCHOOLING

"Cet enfant pauvre, vous lui offrez bien l'instruction, mais avant il lui faut du pain. . ."

"The poor child, it's well indeed that you offer him education, but first of all he needs bread. . ."

M.LePelletier, "Plan d'education nationale," presented to the Convention in June, 1793.

CHAPTER FIVE

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE MASSES

The preceding chapters have explored the various policies pursued by state educational officials and the evidence about local interpretation and administration of these policies in regions of France and Baden. They have reviewed the problems school administrators faced in their attempts to transform existing educational facilities into the kind of centralized state school system they felt was necessary to meet the needs of industrializing societies. Finally, these chapters followed the historical evolution of educational institutions which occurred in two localities between the late 18th and mid 19th centuries. In transforming some schools and establishing new ones, writing laws and formulating policy, school officials created massive records of the reasoning behind, intentions of and justifications for these institutions and these policies. It was largely upon such records that the prceding analysis was based. In contrast, the three chapters of Part II will center on an analysis of the behavioral evidence about schooling practice. The people who are of concern here are those masses who seemed to administrative elites to be so raw and unruly, so in need of schooling of one kind or

another. About the ideas, goals and intentions of these people, there is little on record. Such evidence as exists is in many instances the product of clashes between administrators and the populations in their jurisdiction: petitions expressing grievances about the operation of the school system, local complaints about the enforcement of new policy or the infringement of old rights. These sources often contain clues to the workings of popular strategies and to the components of popular mentalities. But the record of behavior, varying by time and place, remains the most systematic evidence about the popular demand for schooling and response to social change.

Collecting historical evidence about popular behavior is, of course, not a simple task. For the period under consideration here, evidence about schooling patterns is incomplete, its reliability uncertain. The collectors of information about schooling were usually precisely the same administrative classes whose vested interest in or, in some cases, hostility toward popular education has already been discussed, and whose lack of familiarity with or appreciation of the conditions in which families of the popular classes lived often distorted their understanding and interpretation of events. Furthermore, concepts like "school attendance," "school-aged population" and so forth, are themselves creations

of this period and the categories typically used to describe schooling patterns are themselves variable over time and place. Still, the careful analysis of behavioral evidence, informed by an awareness of how it was produced and its contextual meaning, can yield an indirect account, otherwise unavailable, of the role of schooling in the lives of ordinary people, and of the broader social meaning of the institutions which were of so much concern to administrative elites.[1]

ENROLLMENTS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

In the year 1728, the Reformed schoolmaster teaching in the suburbs of Heidelberg, one Johann Daniel Hautz, began his semi-annual report with a poem he had written for the occasion:

> Praise God! It is behind me now,
> Another whole semester.
> Now, to my superiors,
> I owe accounting clear
> Of what I've done in all this time,
> Whether I have done my best.
> Dear God, since I've done all I could
> With your grace bless me now.[2]

Hautz then went on to list the names of the 75 boys and 47 girls who were enrolled in his class, along with their age, the length of time they had been enrolled, their grades (a simple "good," "average," or "unsatisfactory") in diligence and obedience, and the point in the psalter or catechism to which they had memorized. While Hautz'

register is not unique, such systematic records of schoolchildren and their accomplishments are all too rare. In fact, prior to the 19th century it is impossible to reconstruct for most communities even such simple information as the number of children enrolled in school, let alone the type and amount of instruction they were receiving.[3] It is ascertainable that most communities in the regions studied had schools in the late Ancien Regime.[4] Table 12 reviews information about the existence of primary schools in the sample communities between 1780 and 1840. While it is obvious that facilities for instruction, particularly public facilities, were disrupted in the wake of the Revolution in the Vauclusan communities, most of the communities in the areas studied were supplied with elementary schools of some sort throughout most of the century under consideration.

The number of children enrolled in these schools was not reported systematically before the beginning of the 19th century. Scattered enrollment figures are available earlier than that as a result of the financial reports of teachers in some of the Badenese communities; in reporting the income they derived from tuition fees, they often indicated the numbers of pupils enrolled. Later Badenese enrollment figures result from attempts to enforce Schulzwang: teachers were required to construct lists of all the school-aged children in their communi-

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF SAMPLE COMMUNITIES HAVING ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS BADEN AND VAUCLUSE, 1780-1840

Size of Community	Baden Publicly Subsidized Schools Only c. 1780	(n)	c. 1810	(n)	c. 1840	(n)
<2000	12	14	16	16	14	14
>2000	2	2	3	3	6	6
Total	14	16	19	19	20	20

	Vaucluse Public c. 1780	(n)	Public c. 1810	(n)	Private or Public c. 1810	(n)	Public c. 1840	(n)
<2000	15	16	1	13	8	13	13	13
>2000	2	2	3	4	6	6	7	7
Total	17	18	4	17	14	19	20	20

ties, adding to it each year the surviving children listed in the baptismal registers six years earlier. Records of enrollment and attendance were also to be kept. Accordingly, in 1813, the schoolteacher of Mühlhausen reported that "the new school list shows that the number of schoolchildren this coming winter will be 147 individuals."[5] Enrollment figures for schools in Vaucluse during the Ancien Regime are rare. Since teachers began to be paid on a per-student basis for a brief period during the Revolution, enrollment figures become available then. Later enrollment records are a by-product of central administrative concerns about raising enrollments and about teachers' income. Table 13 indicates total elementary school enrollments reported in the sample communities for which information was available between 1800 and 1840. While the earliest figures for the Vauclusan communities no doubt underestimate the true numbers of children in school, especially in urban areas where many private schools were probably evading inspection, it is nonetheless clear that per-capita enrollments were significantly higher in north Baden than they were in Vaucluse. In the Badenese sample communities, enrollments in small communities approached 15 percent of the total population, a level at which they were to remain throughout the early 19th century. In Vaucluse, early century returns from local officials

TABLE 13

PER CAPITA ENROLLMENTS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1840

Baden

Size of Community	c. 1800 Enrollments	Population Base	(n)[a]	Per Capita Enrollment	c. 1840 Enrollments	Population Base	(n)	Per Capita Enrollment
<2000	1148	8211	19	.14	1212	8312	13	.15
>2000	2587	27452	9	.09	4811	49707	10	.10
Total	3735	35663	28	.10	6023	58019	23	.10

Vaucluse

Size of Community	c. 1800 Enrollments	Population Base	(n)	Per Capita Enrollment	c. 1840 Enrollments	Population Base	(n)	Per Capita Enrollment
<2000	276	5540	11	.05	376	7972	13	.05
>2000	1535	42000	6	.04	4621	53957	7	.09
Total	1811	47540	17	.04	4997	61929	20	.08

[a]The unit here in the Badenese sample is religious communities, rather than political communities, since information on enrollments and population was usually collected at this level.

suggest enrollments of around only four percent of the population, but complete and consistent reporting began only in the 1830's when state inspectors actually visited schools. Although Badenese attendance levels remained higher than those in Vaucluse, by the 1840's the difference had diminished.

Although enrollment breakdowns by sex of the children are not always available, the evidence that remains suggests that the proportion of girls to boys enrolled was low at first but was increasing in both areas during the early 19th century. In fact, Badenese evidence suggests that sex discrimination in school enrollment practices had virtually disappeared by the middle of the 19th century. (See Table 14) In Vaucluse, where co-education was discouraged and where enrollment was voluntary, girls were still significantly less likely than boys to be enrolled in primary schools, even in the middle of the 19th century. The tendency to enroll boys more readily than girls was particularly apparent in smaller communities, and was most marked where there were no separate school facilities for girls. (Refer to Table 15)

Simple enrollment figures, or even measures of per-capita enrollments, are unsatisfactory indications of levels of schooling since they do not take into account the variation over time and place in the actual school-

TABLE 14

ENROLLMENTS BY SEX IN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES FOR WHICH SUCH INFORMATION WAS AVAILABLE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1800-1850

	Baden			
Community	Date	Boys Enrolled	Girls Enrolled	Girls/Boys
N. Badenese Lutheran Communities	1802	131	117	.89
Daisbach	1809	29	31	1.07
Waldangel-loch	1809/10	70	55	.79
Mannheim (Reformed)	1811	174	113	.65
Heidelberg (Reformed)	1821	41	59	1.44
Mannheim (Lutheran)	1824	177	172	.97
Mulhausen	1837	91	79	.87
Schriesheim	1844	99	100	1.01
Walldorf (Jewish)	1844	15	13	.87
Mannheim (Catholic)	1849	407	416	1.02
Mannheim (Poor School)	1849	41	81	1.98

	Vaucluse			
Community	Date	Boys Enrolled	Girls Enrolled	Girls/Boys
Apt, 1803	1803	97	35	.36
Avignon	1803	637	365	.57
Bastide des Jourdans	1803	15	15	1.00
Cabrieres d'Aigues	1803	20	0	--
Cucuron	1803	40	20	.50

TABLE 14 (Continued)

Community	Vaucluse Date	Boys Enrolled	Girls Enrolled	Girls/Boys
L'Isle sur la Sorgue	1803	100	50	.50

Size of Community	Total Sample Date	Boys Enrolled	Girls Enrolled	Girls/Boys
<2000	1836/37	275	101	.37
>2000	1836/37	2621	2060	.79
Total		2896	2161	.75

TABLE 15

COEDUCATION AND SEX RATIOS OF ENROLLED PUPILS, SOUTHERN VAUCLUSAN COMMUNITIES 1836/37

Size and Facilities of Community	Boys Enrolled	Girls Enrolled	Girls/Boys
<2000 Without separate girls' school	669	115	.17
<2000 With separate girls' school	688	452	.66
>2000 With separate girls' school	3521	2561	.73
Total	4878	3148	.65

aged population. Since fertility and mortality levels, and migration patterns as well, affect the age and sex structure of the population in a given locality, these population characteristics also affect the proportion of the entire population which is within a school-age range, and ultimately the numbers of children enrolled in school. It is necessary, then, to explore patterns of school attendance in relationship to a defined "school-aged" population.

In Baden, the concept of a school-aged population was legally well established by the end of the 18th century. While the earliest Schulzwang edicts were often vague on the subject of age and merely specified that children were required to attend school until their first communion or confirmation, later laws were more specific. The Landschulordnung of Baden-Baden, passed in 1770, required parents to send their children to school "as soon as they have reached their sixth year. . . until the completion of their 13th year."[6] The Badenese Trivial-schulordnung of 1803 specified seven to 13 for girls and seven to 14 for boys as the "defined school age."[7] Still, the earliest reports of Shulfhähige Kinder (literally, children capable of schooling) reveal that local authorities were not always clear about the meaning of the population at risk. For example, the Lutheran tables of 1802, compiled after visitations of north Badenese

parishes, show that officials sometimes reported 100 percent school attendance while simultaneously returning numbers of boys and girls that yield improbable sex ratios. Table 16 illustrates this tendency to underestimate at least the number of girls in the school-aged population, a tendency also apparent 20 years later in smaller communities in Vaucluse. In Vaucluse, consistent misreporting of school-aged populations, termed population susceptible in the earliest reports, was also a problem. Not only was there an obvious tendency to underreport girls, but the underlying misinterpretation of the concept susceptible often yielded figures that were dubious even for boys. In asking for the population susceptible, Restoration officials were soliciting information about the number of children within an appropriate but unspecified school-age range; local reporters, on the other hand, often seems to have interpreted this to mean those children whose families were likely to be interested in schooling and capable of sending their children to school. Some evidence from early Restoration reports is instructive. In 1821, local officials were asked to make close estimates of school-aged populations in August and in October. National estimates were made in the same year. In August, at the height of the agricultural work season, local officials in the 12 Vauclusan sample communities for which reports were found estimated

TABLE 16

UNDERESTIMATION OF SCHOOL-AGED POPULATION IN EARLY RECORDS

Communities	Badenese Lutheran Communities, 1802: School Attendance/ "Schulfähige Kinder" 6-9 yrs.	9-15 yrs.	Girls Attending/Boys Attending School
Reporting 100% attendance	1.00	1.00	.66
Reporting 100% attendance	.91	.78	1.11
Total	.95	.90	.83

Size of Community	Vauclusan Sample Communities, 1823: School Attendance/ "Population Susceptible"	Girls/Boys in "Population Susceptible"
<500	.36	.62
500-2000	.42	.71
2000-10000	.53	.77
10000+	.78	1.00
Total	.55	.77

a total population susceptible of 2017 children; in October of the same year, local estimates totalled 2964 children, while the national estimate amounted to 4067 children of school age.[8] The seasonal demand for labor, and probably other constraints as well, affected the population "susceptible" to schooling as far as local officials were concerned. To overcome these local reporting difficulties, central authorities made rough estimates of school-aged population by taking a percentage of the total population; later estimates were derived from reports of the annual number of births in each commune. It was only in the mid 1830's that new attempts were made to collect direct information about the numbers of children within a defined age range, usually either five to 12 or six to 13.

For purposes of historical analysis, the early 19th century figures are of little use; other estimates of school-aged population had to be constructed from sources independent of the local estimates. For many Badenese communities, police estimates of the numbers of children between the ages of seven and 14 were available for the first decade of the 19th century as a result of a census taken in 1807;[9] for the remaining sample communities, and for those in the Vauclusan sample, estimates of the school-aged population were made from the birth and death registers of each community.[10] From these

estimated school-aged populations, the approximate proportion of school-aged children in each community enrolled in school around 1800 were derived. The estimation method was also used for Baden for later periods as well since school enrollments, but not base populations, were routinely reported. In Vaucluse, local returns apparently based on census figures included by the 1830's estimates of both the numbers of children enrolled in school, and those not in school but of school age. While these returns are not always credible, it is clear that most local officials had by then a sense of what was being asked for. Table 17 summarizes estimates of the proportion of school-aged children attending school in the sample communities in Baden and Vaucluse in the early 19th century based on these sources. While these figures should be interpreted cautiously since their precision, particularly for the earlier period, is dubious, observation of the striking contrasts is nonetheless in order. School enrollments were increasing in both areas, but were significantly higher in Baden than in Vaucluse throughout. School enrollments in the north Badenese sample communities exceeded 80 percent in all size categories and approached 100 percent of school-aged children by the middle of the 19th century.[11] Within the Badenese sample, the most obvious increase was in the largest communities--Mannheim and Heidelberg. While part of the

TABLE 17

MEAN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1840 (UNWEIGHTED MEAN OF COMMUNITIES IN EACH CATEGORY)

Size of Community	Percent School-aged Children Enrolled c. 1800[a]					
	Total Sample	(n)	Vaucluse	(n)	Baden	(n)
<500	40	9	16	5	70	4
500-2000	57	19	22	9	89	10
2000-10000	32	6	18	5	100	1
10000+	52	3	29	1	64	2
Size of Community	Percent School-aged Children Enrolled c. 1840					
	Total Sample	(n)	Vaucluse	(n)	Baden	(n)
<500	70	10	28	5	100[b]	5
500-2000	62	16	37	8	86	8
2000-10000	61	9	48	6	88	3
10000+	92	3	64	1	100[b]	2

[a]For a complete description of method of estimation, see Appendix.

[b]Because of method of estimation, actual total was slightly more than 100%.

explanation may be that school attendance in the countless small private schools likely to evade official notice was reduced as public schooling and school inspection improved,[12] it is also likely that families in growing urban areas were more successfully evading enforcement of traditional Schulzwang controls until they were applied with increasing rigor in the early decades of the 19th century. In Vaucluse, where attendance was voluntary and much lower, more systematic variation according to size of community was observed.[13] But in Vauclusan communities of all sizes, school enrollments were increasing dramatically in the early decades of the 19th century, particularly between 1820 and 1840 or so.

Duration and Regularity of Attendance

The above estimates refer to school enrollments. Registers and inspection reports indicated the number of pupils who enrolled in school and for whom tuition was paid, but they tell very little about actual attendance at classes. From the scattered evidence on the subject, it is clear that the length of time spent in school was generally short, and attendance during those years, irregular. The catalog of Johann Hautz cited earlier shows that of Hautz' oldest pupils, few had been in school more than four years; not one had been enrolled

for as long as six years. While the enforcement of mandatory attendance laws in Baden pushed the duration of enrollment close to the legal minimum of seven or eight years by the middle of the 19th century, it is apparent that a significant number of Badenese pupils were still leaving elementary school before the legal school-leaving age of 13 or 14 years.[14] In Vaucluse, the duration of school attendance seems to have been shorter. Again evidence is scarce, but even official policy regarded 13 or even 12 years as the appropriate age for school leaving. Pupils apparently started school early, where they could. Teachers in the sample communities reported in 1833 that five was the most common age of entrance into primary school. At the same time, more than half of the teachers reported that the average duration of schooling was five years or less.[15] During those years when children were attending school, their attendance was irregular. First and most obviously, school attendance was highly seasonal, especially in rural communities. Many communities were not even holding school sessions in the summertime at the end of the Ancien Regime. In Vaucluse, teachers were often hired seasonally and even in Baden, resident teachers apparently felt little need to hold classes during the seasons of agricultural labor. A survey of Lutheran schools taken in 1802 indicates that five of 13 towns and villages reporting on the subject

had no summer school.[16] Badenese laws emphasized the need for continual yearround schooling, but enforcement of attendance was difficult. While truancy in Baden was declining over the course of the 19th century, rates for the early part of the century was generally quite high. (See Table 18) In Vaucluse, the policy of voluntary enrollments allowed seasonal variation in enrollment which is apparent from the time of the earliest records (Table 19). The evidence shows that enrollment was more highly seasonal in rural than in urban areas, more so in the more agricultural arrondissement of Apt, and more markedly among girls, but that attendance was apparently becoming more regular toward the middle of the 19th century. Thus while surviving evidence is not completely dependable, it is still clear that change was taking place. While enrollments rates remained higher in Baden than in Vaucluse, school enrollments in both regions were increasing dramatically during the first half of the 19th century; attendance was becoming more regular as well. Furthermore, in Vaucluse, where community level rates of enrollment exhibited wider variance, this variation was systematic: both enrollment and regularity of attendance increased with size of community.

TABLE 18

TRUANCY RATES IN SEVERAL BADENESE COMMUNITIES, 1809-1899

Community	Date	Annual Number of Unexcused Absences per 100 pupils	
		Boys	Girls
Waldangelloch	1809/10	4000	3400
Sinsheim	1812		350
Mannheim	1811	4000	
Mannheim	1849	1500	1400
Mannheim	1896/97	35	18

Source: GLA: 229/109025, 377/966, 213/2570, 235/22776; MStA: Volkschule "Ersatz."

TABLE 19

RATIO OF SUMMER TO WINTER SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY SIZE AND LOCATION OF COMMUNITY, ARRONDISSEMENTS OF AVIGNON AND APT, 1822-1837

Size of Community	1822-1823 Boys	1822-1823 Girls	1836-1837 Boys	1836-1837 Girls
<500	.41	.27	.66	.51
500-2000	.49	.30	.70	.64
2000-10000	.54	.51	.85	.79
10000+	.79	.76	1.00	1.00

Community	1822-1823 Boys	1822-1823 Girls	1836-1837 Boys	1836-1837 Girls
Arrondissement of Avignon	.66	.69	.89	.92
Arrondissement of Apt	.47	.32	.79	.72

In the Classroom

What did early modern children experience during the time they spent in the classroom? While detailed descriptions of actual learning conditions are difficult to find, some aspects of school life are clear. First, classes were immense by more recent standards, and were actually increasing in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as a result of population growth and rising enrollments. In 1755, the Catholic pastor of the city of Mannheim estimated that there were over 1,000 Catholic children in the city, of which at least 400 were between the ages of five and 12. At this time, there were only two public elementary schoolteachers for them.[17] The Catholic teachers later complained that their classes were overcrowded, which made good teaching difficult; they felt that "if the children are to be taught well and in an orderly manner, there should be no more than 60, and at most 70 children in any one school and before one teacher."[18] By their calculations, the Catholic community of Mannheim needed six teachers. In 1800 the resignation of one of Mannheim's Lutheran teachers left the remaining two with more than 100 pupils each. In 1811, the Reformed teacher in the elementary school taught 111 boys and girls. In the early 1840's, teachers in Mannheim still had huge classes; one assistant

teacher had a class of 120 while another had 142 pupils despite the 1836 law that had established 120 as the legal maximum for one teacher.[19] The city of Mannheim represented somewhat of an extreme case; classes there were becoming overcrowded both because of population growth and because authorities were insisting upon more regular enrollment and attendance. But the same pattern was apparent in many other communities. In the town of Schriesheim, the Reformed girls' school teacher had 120 pupils in his class in 1818, 150 by 1822, 190 by 1831 and was finally granted an assistant a few years later.[20] In the Heidelberg suburb of Handschuhsheim, the single Reformed teacher saw his class expand from 140 pupils in 1808 to 200 by 1820 and only at the time of the Evangelical Union was he given an assistant.[21] By 1836, the two Evangelical teachers had 280 pupils between them, the single Catholic teacher had 123 pupils. Ironically, representatives of the community complained that under the new law they would have to support five teachers, a number altogether too large for so small a community![22]

Even classes in some rural areas were overcrowded. Classes in the villages of Daisbach, Ehrstadt, Sandhofen and Wieblingen grew to over 100 pupils during the early 19th century as population growth and Schulzwang enforcement effects were unmatched by any significant expansion in the teaching corps. The pupil-teacher ratio in the

Badenese sample communities increased from a substantial 70 in 1800 to nearly 100 pupils per teacher in 1836. In Vaucluse, classes were smaller on the average: there were only around 25 pupils per teacher in 1800, but the ratio had risen to around 70 by 1836. In both regions, the largest classes in 1836 included 150 or more pupils.

Measures were taken to ameliorate overcrowding. Some communities banned five or even six-year-olds and younger children from the public classroom. Many larger communities in Baden instituted split shifts and reorganized classes to allow more time to be devoted to older pupils taking more advanced subjects and to allow more efficient teaching. In Mannheim, Heidelberg and Schriesheim, for example, late 18th and early 19th century reorganization created the so-called Elementarschulen for six-to-nine year olds learning the ABC's and catechism, and the Knaben and Madchenschulen for ten to 14 year olds learning Bible reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography.[23] Communities which were too small for more than one teacher, or where simple regrouping could not solve overcrowding, had to institute split shifts. The Catholic teacher in Mühlhausen had 147 pupils in 1813. He noted that even if he allowed but one minute of reading per pupil, the reading lesson would take a full two-and-one-half hours, leaving little time for more advanced work. He wanted to begin a double shift, teaching more

advanced subjects to older pupils in the morning and teaching spelling and reading in the afternoon.[24] In Heidelberg, where the Reformed elementary school had grown to over 100 pupils by 1815 and which, local authorities noted, "would be even more numerous if [we] had not had to prevent earlier school entrance," the children were divided into two shifts meeting for three hours a day each.[25]

The subdivision of classes into groups of children homogeneous with respect to skill level was also felt to facilitate teaching. This practice of subdivision had been in use in the more progressive classrooms in Baden since the early 18th century and was specified in teaching manuals and lesson plans. Hautz's list, dating from 1728, was grouped into five sections of pupils in different phases of instruction. (Refer to Table 20) By the early 19th century, virtually all Badenese schools had at least three Abteilungen which, though they often met simultaneously in the same room, were pursuing different studies. With greater regularity of attendance and rationalization of the school system, age ranges within these sections narrowed as well and the children grouped before one teacher for a given lesson were becoming more like a modern "graded" group.

The tendency to group children more homogeneously according to the subjects they were learning and their

TABLE 20

CLASS ORGANIZATION HEIDELBERG REFORMED SCHOOL, 1729

"Ordnung"	Number of Pupils	Age Range of Pupils	Length of Time Enrolled	Subjects
V	14	4 1/2-7	1/4-1/2 yr.	ABC's.
IV	23	5 1/2-9	3/4-1 3/4 yr.	Spelling.
III	20	6 1/2-11 1/2	1-4 1/2 yr.	Reading in Psalter.
II	28	5 1/2-14 1/2	2-5 yr.	Memorizing, reading in New Testament, most also writing.
I	38	9-14	1/2-5 3/4 yr.	Reading Old and New Testament, and letters, writing.

Source: GLA: 204/1819.

skill level was paralleled by the simultaneous trend toward social homogenization as well. The schools, particularly in cities which could afford many teachers, were becoming specialized and children were increasingly likely to meet only their social equals in the classroom. In Mannheim and Heidelberg, where there were Einfach and Ervwiterte Volkschulen, families chose the type of instruction they wanted according to their ambitions and, or course, their ability to pay. The simple elementary school offered the three R's, and not much more, in crowded classrooms; the advanced school taught subjects like French and drawing in addition to the regular elementary subjects in smaller classes. In 1840, there were 109 Catholic children in the single class of Mannheim's Free School; 323 children were enrolled in the three classes of the ordinary Volkschule (costing two Florins tuition) and there were 468 children in the 10 classes of the Erweiterte Volkschule costing eight Florins a year. In the wealthier Evangelical community of Mannheim, nearly 600 children were attending the more expensive Erweiterte Volkschule, while only 303 attended the simple Volkschule.[26]

In Vaucluse, subdivision within the public elementary school according to either age or skill does not seem to have been as commonly practiced, although the 1830 regulations did specify that each class was to be

divided into three groups according to age and subjects taught. Most teachers seem to have taught students of all ages and skill levels in one class. In the cities, of course, parents who wanted more for their children than a simple elementary education in an overcrowded classroom could send their sons to the publicly subsidized elementary or preparatory classes attached to the communal collèges. Thus in Apt, about half of the collège pupils during the 1840's and 1850's were enrolled in the primary classes of the institution; in the collège of Pertuis, elementary pupils actually outnumbered those in secondary classes. For the daughters of comfortable families, subsidized female teaching orders in the larger towns and cities often ran special classes in elementary and advanced subjects which cost several francs a month, as well as the larger free classes for the poor. Thus while not explicitly structured to create socially homogeneous classrooms, the French public school system in effect allowed communities to create public facilities for those wealthier families who wanted more than the routine public elementary education for their children.

The increasing enrollments of children of the popular classes thus led authorities to subdivide pupils into groups homogeneous with respect to age, level of skill, social origin and destination. The move of the children of the popular classes into the elementary

schools also led many parents to search for alternatives to common primary instruction, alternatives which would avoid the problem of undesirable contact with the poor who were entering public schools. Increasing enrollments also spurred the diffusion of new teaching methods as well, most of which were designed to maximize the efficiency of instruction in a situation where the ratio of pupils to teachers was high. Indeed, the teaching orders that had specialized during the Ancien Regime in the teaching of large classes or poor children had already gone a long way in the field of pedagogical innovation. The Brothers of the Christian Schools had perfected the best known and most imitated method of teaching and disciplining large numbers of children. Their "simultaneous" method was a novelty in the late 18th century, when most teachers still employed the individual method whereby pupils were taught, one-by-one, the subjects agreed upon with their parents, at a rate which depended on the subjects learned. In contrast, the simultaneous method involved teaching large numbers of pupils at the same time; everyone's attention had to be focussed upon the lesson or recitation in progress, and a strict discipline had to be maintained to keep the lessons proceeding smoothly. The Brothers relied upon an elaborate system of signals to maintain this discipline:

> two taps of the signal obliges the pupil to begin again the word he has pronounced incorrectly and

> which he may say better the second time; if he doesn't after one or two tries, [the teacher] should then strike a single time with the signal so that the other children look up, and make a sign to one of them to who is doing the same lesson to read the word the other mispronounced.[27]

Through the signals, direct conversation between teacher and pupils or among pupils was reduced to a minimum; the children were regimented through their day in the school in a strict schedule punctuated by taps and angles of the signal rod. Many aspects of the simultaneous method were adopted by later secular reformers; the use of signals, for example, is advocated by the French state classroom regulations of 1835.

A second methodological innovation accompanying the increasing enrollments of the early 19th century was the use of the monitorial system first developed in England. The monitorial system was also developed to teach efficiently large classes of children. One teacher would train student monitors, who would in turn teach their fellow students. Designed to maximize the pupil-teacher ratio and speed up the process of learning elementary skills, the methode mutuelle, as it was known in France, was adopted in many Vauclusan communities. The school day in these classes was, like that in the simultaneous classes, highly disciplined and strictly organized in order to allow a multitude of children to be taught by one teacher. Many teachers who adopted the

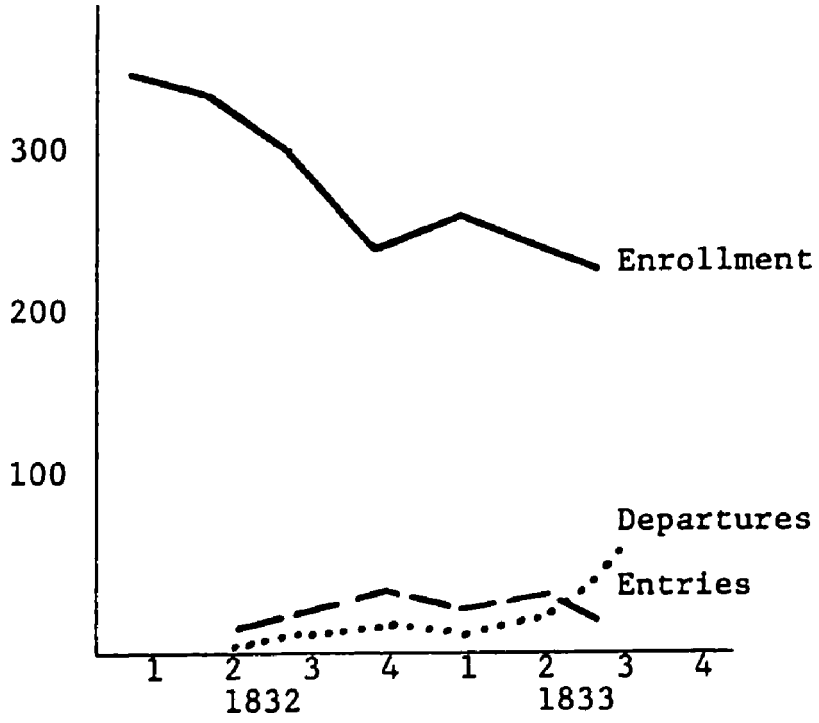
mutuel method even sought to apply it to advanced subjects as well as the three R's. A. Pascal, who opened a mutuel school in Avignon reported in 1831 that:

> the school in Avignon has grown since its opening last February to nearly 200 pupils; the classes are in continual activity; they are learning to read books and manuscripts, writing, arithmetic, French grammar, analysis, linear design, catechism, prayers and Christian doctrine. More than 70 of those who entered two months ago without knowing anything are beginning to read phrases and write under dictation.[28]

Despite the enthusiasm reflected in high enrollments that marked the early years of the mutuel schools, they began losing enrollments in many Vauclusan communities almost immediately. (See Figure 9). The reasons for their decline are numerous: the Church opposed them because of their secular origin and emphasis and association with Republicanism, and organized a campaign against them. Many could not survive without charging tuition fees and thus had difficulty competing with the free schools of the Frères. Finally, it is possible that they failed to live up to their promise of rapid learning and advancement through education though this is difficult to determine. In any event, by the late 1830's most of their students were once again enrolled with the Frères or in other public schools and the mutuels of Vaucluse were for the most part closed. Still, the methodological concerns they raised and the particular teaching problems they addressed were real; the mutuel method does seem to have

FIGURE 9

ENROLLMENT IN MUTUEL SCHOOLS IN THREE SAMPLE COMMUNITIES IN VAUCLUSE, BY QUARTER, 1832-1833



had some effect upon teaching methods in other schools and even the Frères were apparently adopting some of their teaching techniques.[29] Thus while enrollments were rising and classrooms becoming more crowded than ever before, certain pedagogical innovations may have alleviated somewhat the problems arising from growing pupil-teacher ratios. The new forms of classroom discipline, which no doubt drew upon, as many have suggested, the factory or workhouse for its organizational inspiration, was strict. Still, harsh discipline in the classroom was certainly nothing new. Reforming educators of the late 18th and early 19th century were even making efforts to control the use of corporal punishment so common to earlier disciplinary practice. But the style of discipline was new: simultaneous response to pre-established signals became the rule of classroom conduct. The increasing class sizes, the crowded conditions encouraged more and more teachers to switch to regimentation in order to maintain a modicum of control over their classes. Whatever the intent of their institution the new methods of teaching were creating, for a growing proportion of pupils, an environment governed by rhythms and rules which were imposed from above and intractable.

While the methods were new, the subjects of instruction were little affected by schooling reorganization. Evidence about the kinds of subjects being taught

is plentiful in teaching reports and inspectors' reports. The 1803 Trivialschulordnung of Baden specified that:

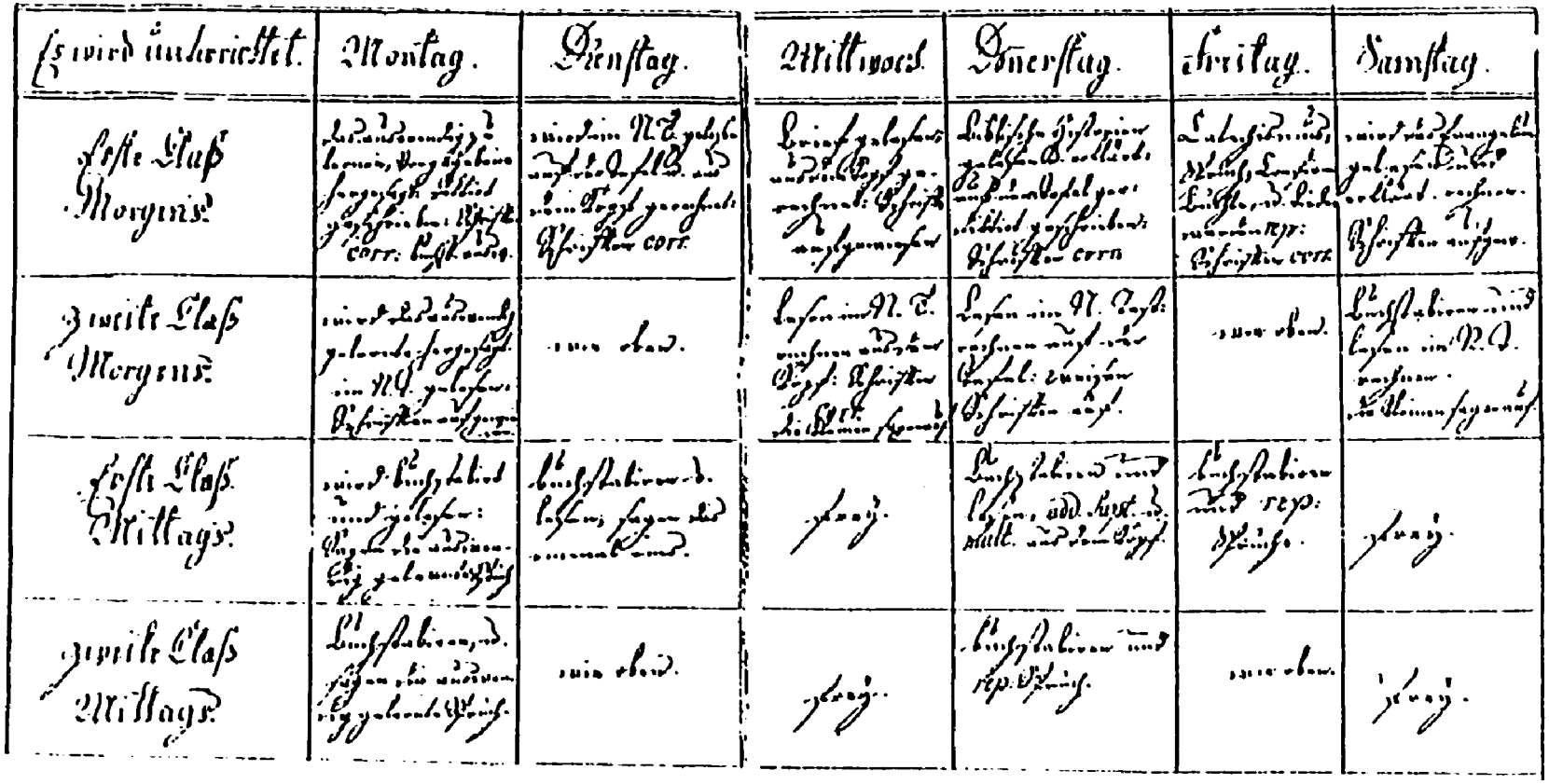
> subjects of instruction in [elementary] schools must be a) spelling, b) reading, c) writing the German language, d) arithmetic, e) singing, f) Bible history, g) material of religious instruction.[30]

Surviving lesson plans suggest that these subjects were in fact taught in most Badenese schools, with pupils progressing from spelling and syllabizing into reading and then writing. Committing to memory of sections of the catechism and of the Old and New Testament was also an important part of schooling. Detailed reports even indicate the weekly teaching schedule and the number of hours devoted to each subject. (Refer to Table 20 and Figure 10)

In Vaucluse, instruction traditionally proceeded from reading to writing, to arithmetic with the amount of tuition charged increasing as the pupil advanced from one subject to the next. The reform laws of the 1830's attempted to establish a uniform progression in these three subjects and added grammar, history and geography to the roster. Instruction in reading was to begin with the alphabet and proceed to the pronunciation of syllables, to reading whole words. Instruction in writing began on slate or blackboard and then progressed to paper, different styles, and so forth.[31] While all of these subjects were actually taught in the better schools, many teachers in Vaucluse were limiting instruction, even in

FIGURE 10

LESSON PLAN OF THE REFORMED SCHOOL OF
WALDANGELLOCH, 1811



Source: GLA: 229/109025.

the 1840's, to the basics of reading and writing; few were teaching history and geography.[32]

Enrollments, class size, subjects of study--on these topics there is information to be found which rounds out the picture of classroom experience undergone by early modern children. On the question of what effect that experience had, of what skill level the majority of pupils achieved and of what difference schooling made in their subsequent lives, less is known. In Baden, where promotion to the upper grades was supposed to be contingent upon a measured level of accomplishment (often nothing more than the commitment to memory of a specified number of questions and answers in the catechism or verses in the Bible) rather than the attainment of a certain age, it is likely that most children in the advanced gardes had acquired at least minimal literacy skills.[33] Of course, not all schoolchildren reached the upper grades. In fact, in nearly all the Badenese sample communities for which there is surviving evidence on the subject, enrollments per class dropped off sharply in the upper grades; pupils in those grades in which the ability to read and write was assumed were always a small minority of all enrolled pupils.[34]

In Vaucluse, where elementary schools were largely ungraded, it is difficult to ascertain what levels of accomplishment were represented by the average pupil.

Inspection reports yield some information on performance expectations and general accomplishments. The more detailed reports submitted in the early 1830's about the mutuel schools tell a little more: they indicate that between a half and a third of the pupils in these classes could read fluently and write on paper. However, the total number of enrolled pupils possessing these skills changed little during the first two years of the schools' existence in three Vauclusan towns, suggesting that either pupils had entered with these skills or most left soon after attaining them. Indeed, the turnover rate was quite rapid; in any one quarter about 10 to 20 percent of the student body left the schools. (See Figure 9) While some left after completing their elementary education, there is rarely any evidence about the skills with which they left.[35]

Since primary schools were oriented toward basic literacy skills, an examination of literacy trends in the two areas studied will shed some light on the relationship between schooling and skill acquisition.

Literacy and Schooling

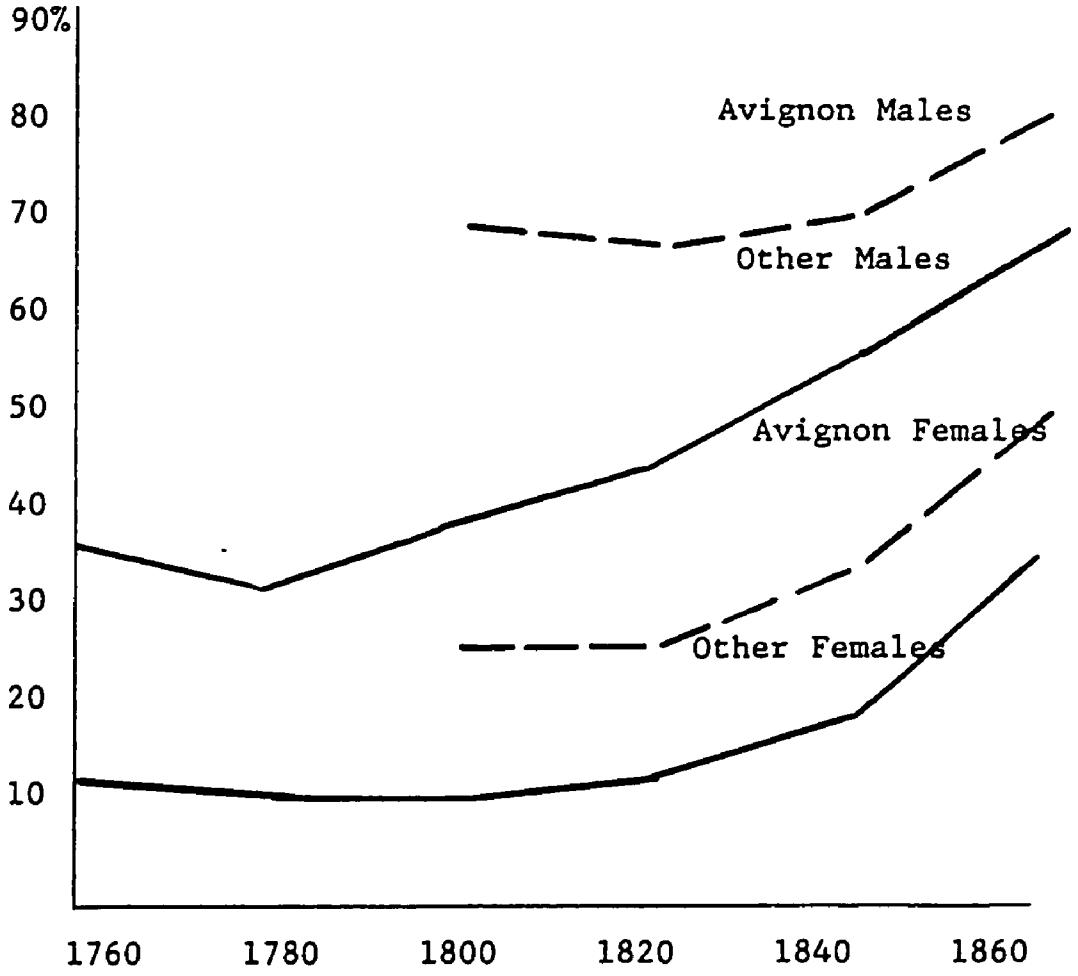
As mentioned earlier, the school inspector in the city of Mannheim reported in 1818 that there were young adults in the city who couldn't even read and so remained

in a subhuman state. While his observation may be taken as evidence that literacy was not universal in Mannheim at this time, it also reveals something deeper--the assumption that literacy was a precondition for civilization. While the inspector's opinions were undoubtedly not shared by all Badenese, one nonetheless had the impression that literacy was taken for granted as part of the accomplishment of the average citizen. A similar comment from a French school inspector, particularly from one familiar with the ways of the Midi, would be surprising. The school inspectors who visited Vaucluse a few decades later commonly regretted the extent of illiteracy, but did not equate it, at least not in their written reports, with savagery. Indeed, this could hardly be accepted in a situation where literate people were still the minority. After his tour of 1834, the Vauclusan inspector applauded the efforts of the cure of Lagarde d'Apt who had opened an unofficial school in his village "which counted only three citizens who could read and write." He also noted that in the village of Lioux, still without a school, "only two of the municipal councillors know how to sign their names."[36] Even citizens of enough stature to be elected to rural town councils were sometimes illiterate in Vaucluse.

The written word surely held a different status in the two cultures: a more detailed look at evidence on

FIGURE 11

PROPORTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS SIGNING MARRIAGE ACT IN AVIGNON, 1800-1860 AND SMALLER SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1760-1860



the extent of literacy shows that underlying levels of literacy were quite different. While direct evidence on literacy in this period is rare, for France, at least, the signed marriage register provides a dependable index of comparative levels of and trends in literacy.[37] Figure 11 charts literacy trends in the Vauclusan sample communities between 1760 and 1860. In these communities, literacy followed the typical southeastern pattern of wide divergence between male and female levels.[38] Overall rates for both sexes were low during the 18th century and seem to have been dropping slightly in the last decades of the Ancien Regime. Male rates began a steady climb just before the Revolution; the slower female increase began around 1800 and accelerated during the 1830's. While brides continued to be less literate than their grooms throughout the period, there is a trend perceptible by the middle of the 19th century for women to begin to catch up with men. The Vauclusan literacy pattern thus follows that typical of southern French departments as outlined by Maggiolo and later observers.[39] Literacy in Vaucluse, as in most of the Midi, was low even by French standards, although it was rising steadily beginning in the late Ancien Regime.

For Baden, comparable series indicators of literacy levels are lacking. All vital event registration was done by church officials who did not require con-

tracting parties to sign their certificates. There is no single systematic source of information about the extent of literacy for all communities comparable to the French acte de mariage. Inferences about the extent of literacy must be drawn from scattered sources. For example, the 1780 Bürgerlist from the town of Schriesheim indicated that only 37 of the town's male citizens were incapable of signing their names; that is, a literacy rate on the order of 80 percent is suggested. The commentator noted that most of the Bürgers' wives were illiterate.[40] Two types of documents were signed consistently: special marriage contracts required on the occasion of marriages between spouses of different faiths, the purpose of which was to provide for the religious education of subsequent children, and acts of paternity acknowledgment in cases of illegitimate births. From these documents, more clues can be assembled. Later 18th century marriage contracts from the village of Dasibach yield results similar to those cited above for Schriesheim: close to 90 percent of the bridegrooms signed the documents while fewer than 40 percent of the brides were capable of so doing.[41] The acts of paternity acknowledgment, stemming mainly from the period following the imposition of marriage restrictions in the early 19th century, also imply that male literacy was extremely high at this time. For example, in the village of Sandhofen, a suburb of Mannheim, there

were 31 baptisms in the Evangelical church of illegitimate infants born between 1821 and 1824. Twenty-seven of these were acknowledged by their fathers, of whom 23 were capable of signing the act of Vaterschafterkenntnis. By 1840-1844, only seven of 37 illegitimate children were acknowledged, but all of the unmarried fathers could sign their names. These high literacy rates for fathers of illegitimate children are interesting because they indicate that even the poorest classes of men--those too poor to meet the minimum income requirements specified by law as a prerequisite for marriage--were literate. The acts often included specific information about the occupations of the fathers. A special supplement to the Catholic brith registry for the city of Mannheim contained a list of Vaterschafterkenntnisse for the years 1840-1843. The 22 fathers were generally unskilled industrial workers or artisans; a few were day laborers. Only one of these men had to mark a witnessed "X" because he was unable to write his name.[42] The next available literacy evidence for Baden comes from a peculiar source--the Badenese prison inspector, who reported that between 1830 and 1847 about 85 percent of the inmates of Baden's prisons were capable of reading and writing. The same source indicated in 1853 that 91 percent of male inmates were fully literate, as were an astounding 98 percent of female inmates.[43] Finally, systematic signing of marriage

registers began during the early 1870's, when civil registration was instituted. At this time, literacy in the city of Mannheim had reached 100 percent among both men and women.[44]

Evidence about literacy suggests, then, that general literacy patterns in the two regions mirrored the school attendance patterns outlined above. While literacy levels in Vaucluse were rising dramatically in the first half of the 19th century, they still lagged far behind those of northern Baden. To simply attribute literacy differences to differences in schooling levels would not be entirely valid, however. Prior to the era of institutionalization of learning, a process largely accomplished in the first half of the 19th century in much of Western Europe, the acquisition of literacy skills could and did take place in a variety of settings, including but not restricted to the classroom. Children often learned to read from family members, neighbors, friends. Bible-reading cultures in particular produced numerous individuals whose reading skills were learned and practiced in informal contexts. J. A. Muller, for example, a northern Badenese peasant-turned-prophet reports in his memoires that "already by age 13 I had read the Bible completely. . . on winter evenings and Sundays, we read two chapters aloud in the family, taking turns. . ."[45] The fallacy of the modern assumption that childhood

learning takes place primarily in the classroom has been pointed by by several early modern historians.[46] Still, there was a clear process of institutionalization of learning taking place between the late 18th and early 19th centuries; the school, under the direction of the state, was acquiring a monopoly over the transmission of literacy.

More detailed evidence about the changing relationship between schooling and literacy comes from the Vauclusan sample communities. As Figures 12a-h suggest, the relationship between school attendance and literacy varied according to community size. Since literacy was measured at the time of marriage, these figures all chart proportions of school-aged children enrolled in school against literacy 15 years later. The closest fit between the two characterizes communities of between 500 and 2000 residents, that is, communities which were continually furnished with public school facilities and where these schools were likely to be the primary means of learning to read and write. In smaller communities, where public subsidies for schooling were less regular, male literacy rates continued to climb despite the post-Revolutionary disruption of schooling; schooling and literacy levels do begin to merge toward the middle of the 19th century. In these villages, alternative sources of literacy acquisition--curé's lessons, veillées, and so forth--supplemented

FIGURE 12a

LITERACY TRENDS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860 (<500)

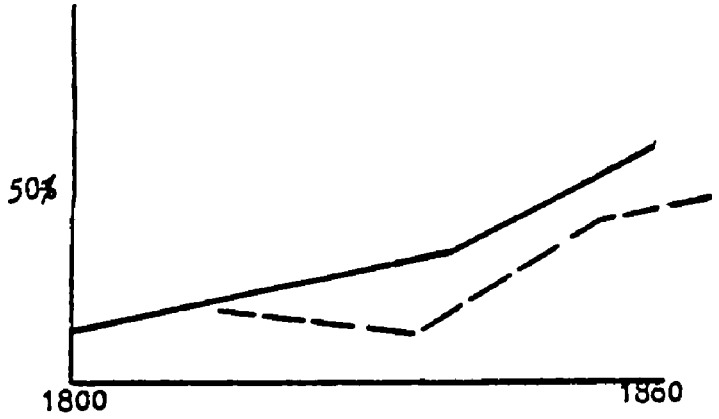
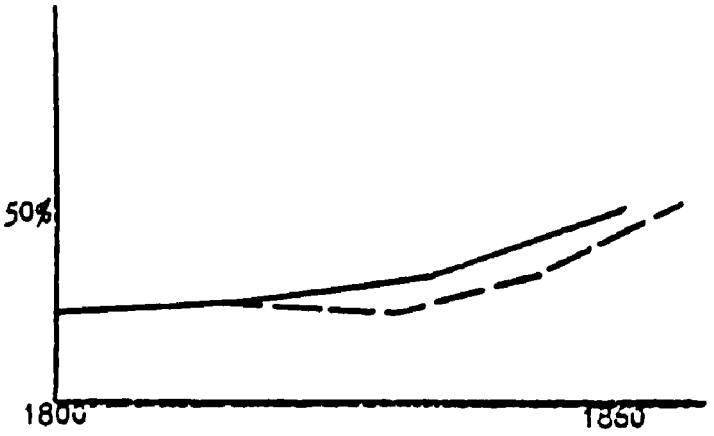


FIGURE 12b

LITERACY TRENDS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860 (500-2000)



Key: _____Literacy

----------school attendance 15 years earlier

FIGURE 12c

LITERACY TRENDS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860 (2000-10000)

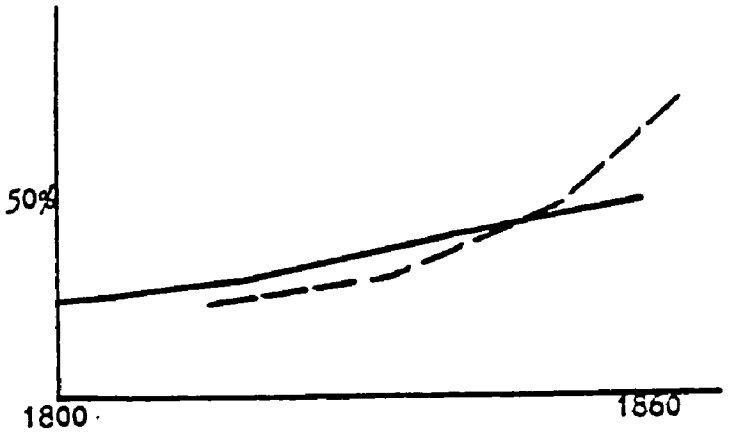


FIGURE 12d

LITERACY TRENDS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860 (AVIGNON)

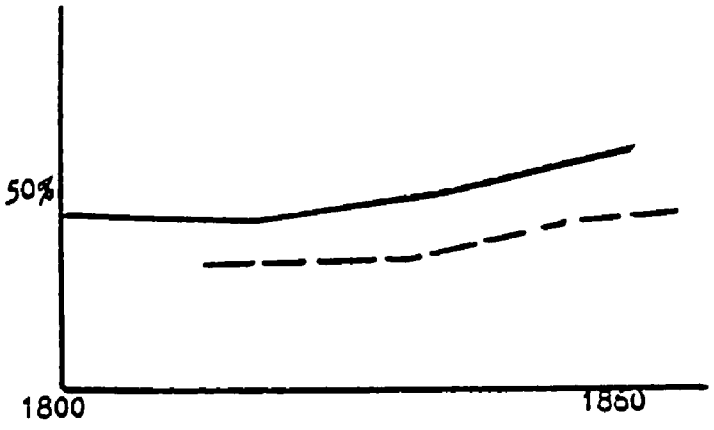


FIGURE 12e

LITERACY TRENDS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860 (<500, BY SEX)

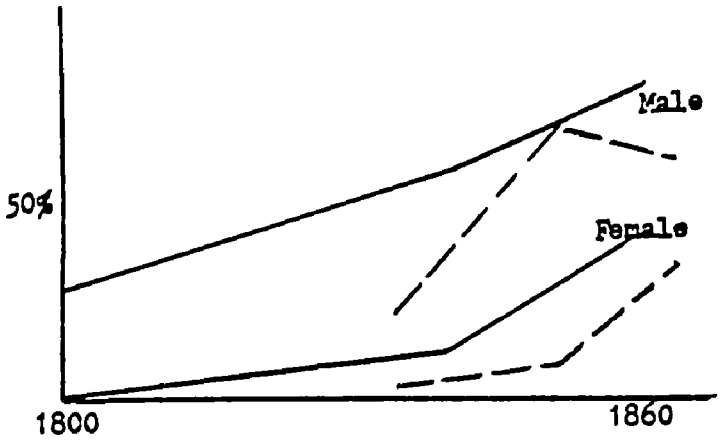


FIGURE 12f

LITERACY TRENDS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860 (500-2000, BY SEX)

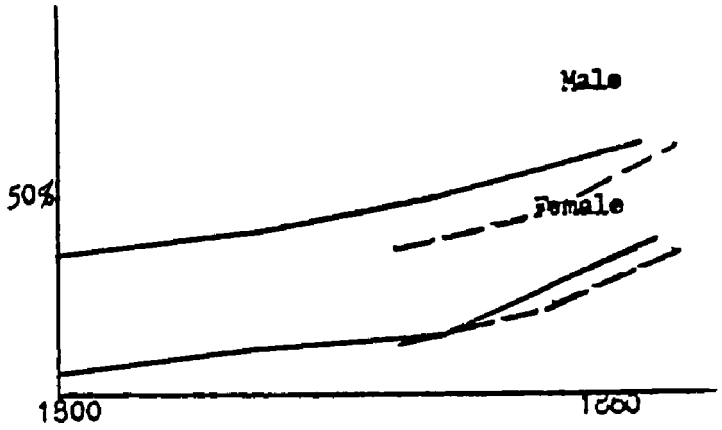


FIGURE 12g

LITERACY TRENDS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860 (2000-10000, BY SEX)

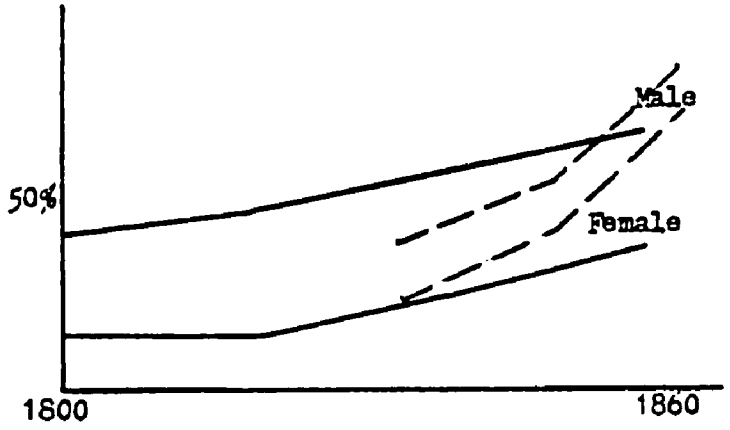
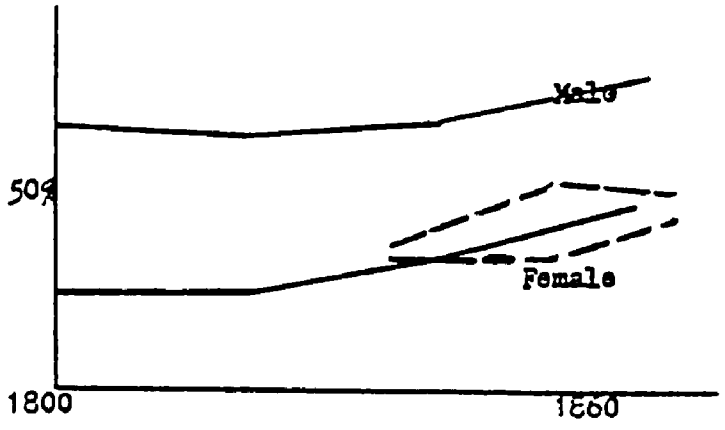


FIGURE 12h

LITERACY TRENDS AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860 (AVIGNON, BY SEX)



schooling when needed. Female literacy in communities of all sizes was more closely linked with school attendance, since girls apparently had fewer options available to them for learning to read and write than did boys. Not only were their mothers generally illiterate, but on-the-job possibilities and such institutions as evening schools and compagnonnages were generally denied them. In the city of Avignon and, to a lesser extent, in the towns of 2000 to 10,000 residents, men were generally more literate at the time of their marriage than earlier school attendance levels would predict. There are two factors which may have been contributing to this disparity. First, school attendance in urban areas are based only on winter enrollments, the greater amount of schooling received, on the average, by the child enrolled in school in an urban area is not taken into account. Second, as was mentioned above, urban areas provided a multitude of institutions in which literacy skills were acquired and many young men undoubtedly became literate between the end of school age and the time of their marriage.

There is further evidence of a growing association between levels of schooling and levels of literacy. Within the entire sample of Vauclusan communities, school attendance, although not significantly related to community levels of literacy in 1800, becomes a good pre-

dictor of literacy by 1840. (See Table 21) While early modern people had many options available to them for the acquisition of the skills of reading and writing, by the middle of the 19th century, schooling was apparently becoming the normal route to literacy and literacy was becoming an average, an expected accomplishment.

Just what children did after leaving primary school, and just what difference schooling and the skills acquired through it may have made for subsequent careers is a crucial question.[47] Certainly the proponents of schooling in France liked to point to examples of pupils who made good because of their learning. Vauclusan inspectors congratulated with pride rural schoolmasters like Abeil of Saumanes who managed to send pupils on to the école normale in Avignon, or to an école des arts et metiers. The director of the mutuel school in Avignon claimed that in the very first year of its existence "several pupils received offers of employment in offices, and two [were] hired."[48]

It does seem in some cases, primary schools in Vaucluse acted as a kind of employment referral service for their prize pupils. Some graduates even went on to higher education. One inspector noted that pupils were so well prepared in the Brothers' school in Avignon that "each year, a number of pupils leave who, by reason of their knowledge, can devote themselves to advanced

TABLE 21

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND LITERACY IN VAUCLUSE, SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1840

Rank-Order Correlations Between Proportion of School-aged Children Attending School and:	Community Level Literacy			
	Male		Female	
	1800	1840	1800	1840
	.18	.48*	.20	.60**

* = .05 level of significance.
** = .01 level of significance.

studies."[49] The only systematic records kept of pupils' destination upon school leaving suggest, however, that higher education or white collar employment was the lot of only a small minority. Between 1831 and 1833, instructors in the mutuel schools were instructed to keep a record of the number of pupils leaving each quarter, and to cite their motives for leaving school. Table 22 summarizes the teachers' responses in 32 of these surviving reports. Only one teacher reported a student leaving to take a job in a commercial establishment. The rest, for the most part, left simply "to work," to "help their parents" or "to work in the fields." Only three of the 32 reports mentioned pupils leaving to attend collèges, while three reported losing pupils to the Frères. Apprenticeship, migration, illness and death claimed the rest. While an assessment of the true impact of schooling on career during the early industrial period must await a close analysis of collective biography, it seems likely that for many with elementary school training, career options were still quite restricted.[50] If this was the case in Vaucluse, where school attendance was low, it was not doubt more true in Baden. Since educational accomplishments are potentially determinant of career choice only where there are broad differences in these accomplishments among individuals, the virtually universal school enrollment pattern in Baden must have made the

TABLE 22

DESTINIES OF PUPILS LEAVING THE MUTUEL SCHOOLS IN SEVERAL VAUCLUSAN COMMUNITIES, 1830-1833

Reason for Leaving	Number of Reports Mentioning This Reason (Total of 32 Reports
Work:	
Unspecified	10
Agricultural	8
White Collar	1
"To Help Parents"	2
Total:	21
Education:	
Collège	3
Elementary	5
Apprenticeship	4
Total	12
Other:	
Sickness or Death	6
Moved	4
Expelled	2
Total	13

Source: ADV: T, I.P., 3.

independent career value of primary schooling minimal. The relationship between schooling and occupation will be discussed more fully in subsequent chapters; it suffices to point out here that while schooling was becoming more closely associated with the attainment of literacy, and while more children were receiving elementary schooling, it was not necessarily the case that such schooling opened new career horizons.

Post-Primary Schooling

For those beyond the primary school age or skill level, now educational institutions were multipling. Evening courses for adults who felt that they had had insufficient schooling as children were numerous in Vaucluse. Established earliest in the cities, where they were extremely popular, they were soon being opened in villages as well. By the 1840's, teachers in at least half of the sample communities in Vaucluse were holding evening classes at least during the wintertime. In the villages, these schools enrolled from a handful to a few dozen adults; in cities the numbers inscribed could be huge, as in Avignon where nearly 700 pupils were enrolled in evening courses in the late 1830's.[51] While no direct evidence about the age of these pupils was available, enrollment lists for the two adult classes in the

Vauclusan town of Carpentras indicate that about three-quarters of the nearly 250 evening pupils were between the ages of 15 and 24.[52] In other words, evening schools probably enrolled a substantial proportion (perhaps 15%) of the young adult males in these urban areas.[53] Furthermore, cities also provided other kinds of educational facilities for those sectors of the urban population capable of and interested in taking advantage of them. The city of Avignon, for example, had established a number of free evening courses. In the classes of design and painting in 1834, there were 259 pupils; 64 more, mostly "in mechanical trades" were enrolled in the class in linear design; the chemistry course attracted 50 pupils from the artisanal and manufacturing classes; finally, there were over 40 pupils in the mathematics class whose alumni included "gifted mechanics, joiners and masons able to direct large enterprises."[54]

In Baden such skills were taught to the industrial classes in the Gewerbeschulen opened in most large towns and cities during the 1830's. Because of the requirement that all apprentices attend these schools under penalty of fine, a large proportion of the student body was comprised of this captive audience which grew larger as enforcement of attendance laws was tightened. In Heidelberg, attendance rose from 84 in 1833 to over 250 by 1837. In the mid-1830's authorities in Mannheim claimed

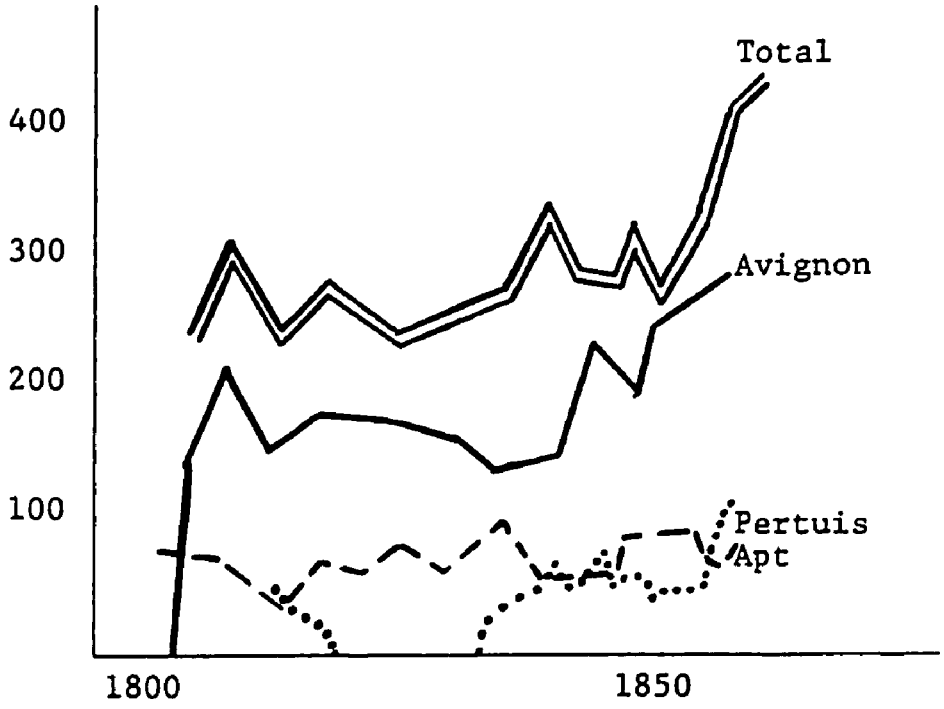
that between 100 and 130 apprentices were attending the Gewerbeschule there, but that many others were remaining truant. By 1844, enrollment had risen to nearly 250 apprentices; in addition, 78 journeymen were enrolled voluntarily.[55] As in the elementary schools, enrollment diminished steadily with each successive year of study, despite the law requiring a minimum of three years enrollment.[56]

The fact that some journeymen were enrolled voluntarily suggests that the skills being taught in the Gewerbeschulen were of considerable value to some members of the Badenese industrial class. Nonetheless, the attempts of authorities to force all apprentices to attend the schools produced continual clashes with both apprentices and their masters.[57] While vocational schools represented a means of acquisition of valued skills, they were a potential means of regulation of access to artisanal trades as well.[58] Still, the popularity of these schools, like that of adult primary and vocational courses in Vaucluse, is evidence of increasing artisanal interest in schooling.

The upsurge in primary, vocational and evening school enrollments was not paralleled by a rise in enrollments in the traditional institutions of higher education. As Figures 13 and 14 illustrate, total enrollments in the collèges and lyceums of Baden and Vaucluse fluctuated

FIGURE 13

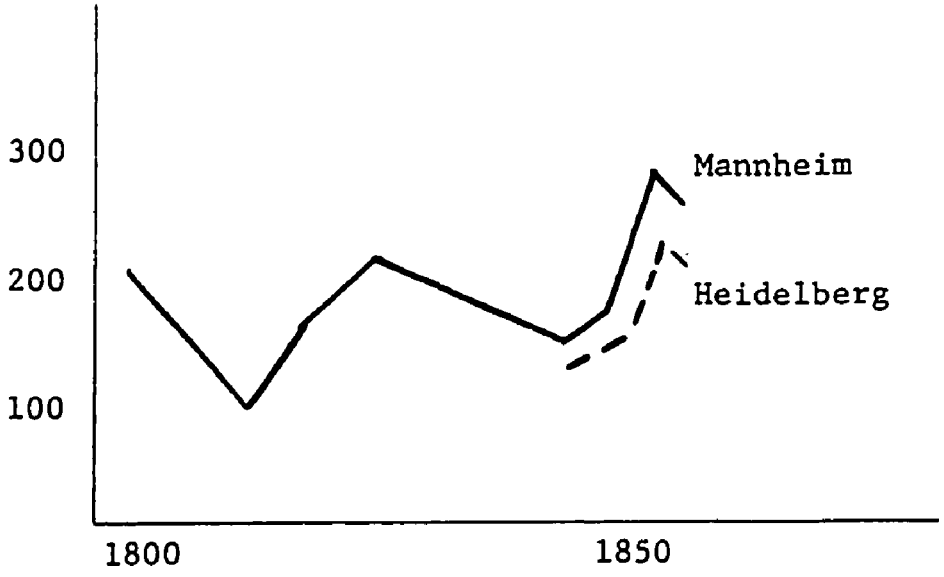
ENROLLMENTS IN COLLÈGES IN THE ARRONDISSEMENTS OF AVIGNON AND APT



Source: ADV: T, Collèges; A. M. Bastit, "Personnel et élèves. . ." (Master's Thesis, Aix, 1973).

FIGURE 14

ENROLLMENTS IN LYZEUMS OF MANNHEIM AND HEIDELBERG



Source: MStA: KFG, 40/1971; HStA: 274/1.

around fairly constant means throughout most of the early 19th century. While series of enrollment figures for earlier periods are difficult to find, scattered reports suggest that many classical institutions had significantly higher enrollments during the Ancien Regime than in the 19th century.[59] The new Badenese institutions of secondary education--the Höhere Bürgerschulen--did seem to meet with immediate success. Sons of shopkeepers, skilled craftsmen, professionals and industrialists enrolled in large numbers from the time of their opening in major cities.[60] The analogous écoles primaires superieures of Vaucluse, however, met with less success, apparently as a result of the better possibilities for appropriate education available to the petit bourgeois classes elsewhere, especially in communal collèges.[61] Despite the fact that the collèges were supposedly designed to teach classical subjects to those preparing for administrative and professional careers, it is clear that many communal collèges taught other subjects, to other kinds of people, if the municipal councils who financed them so desired. Where the clientele of the collège was dominated by local day pupils, as in the collège of Pertuis, it was even more likely to be the case that local interests would be reflected in the curriculum as well. At the collège of Pertuis, the curriculum was gradually tailored during the 1830's and 1840's to the

needs of a largely commercial and artisanal population. Pupils in the French and commercial courses outnumbered those in Latin.[62] In the early 1850's, the municipal council even specified that free attendance be granted to 50 local sons; by 1860, half of the booming number of day pupils had been admitted free.

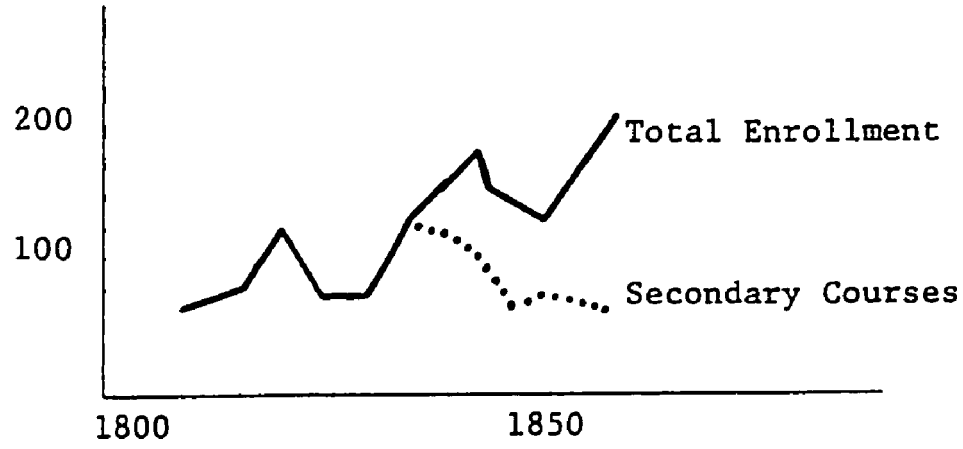
Enrollment patterns suggest, in fact, that administrative fears of overeducation were not well-grounded. Enrollments in classical secondary education remained low, despite rising popularity of primary education. Around the middle of the 19th century, roughly three percent or less of the Vauclusan male population between the ages of 10 and 16 was enrolled in classical institutions of secondary education. In Baden the proportion was closer to five percent, slightly higher when the non-classical forms of fulltime secondary schooling (the Höhere Bürgerschulen) are included.[63] In neither area were per-capita enrollments in the classical institutions as high at this time as they had been during late 16th and early 17th century boom periods. Per-capita enrollments were, on the contrary, stagnating or even decreasing since enrollments remained steady while the base population in both regions rose. Increases in enrollments at fulltime secondary institutions were apparent at mid-century in all of the towns studied, primarily as a result of the opening of the Höhere Bürgerschulen in

Baden, and of the increased attendance of day pupils the communal collèges of Vaucluse, but until mid-century, enrollments, particularly in classical institutions, remained low.

Furthermore, enrollments figures actually exaggerate the level of secondary education since many pupils enrolled in the secondary schools were really taking elementary courses, and since attendance by no means implied that completion of the course of studies would ensue. The practice of attaching elementary or preparatory classes to secondary schools was common. For example, the 1843 report on secondary schooling in France indicated that among the 30,000 or so pupils in secondary schools, more than 15,000 were enrolled in primary, preparatory, or elementary classes of some sort--that is, were not in secondary education at all. Close to 10,000 were still in the early grades of Latin grammar, while just over 6,000 were in the advanced classes. These national trends are also apparent in Vaucluse: in the collège of Apt, 41 pupils were enrolled in Latin secondary courses and 47 in math, while 47 were taking elementary subjects; in the collège of Pertuis, the elementary pupils outnumbered the secondary pupils. As Figure 15 suggests, much of the mid-century rise in enrollment at these collèges can be attributed to the increasing practice of sending boys to the collège for their elementary

FIGURE 15

ENROLLMENT IN SECONDARY COURSES AND TOTAL ENROLLMENTS AT THE COLLÈGES OF APT AND PERTUIS, 1800-1860



Source: ADV: T, Collèges

schooling,[64] as an alternative to the public elementary school.

As in the elementary and vocational schools, enrollments in secondary schools tended to decrease as the grade level advanced. It was common for pupils to attend secondary school for only a few years, and many did not complete their studies. During the Ancien Regime, as the work of Julia and Firjhoff has shown, pupils at French collèges entered and left the schools at various grade levels: the majority of pupils completed three or four years or less of the typical eight year course.[65] Table 23 illustrates the dimunition of class sizes with each successive year of study in secondary institutions during the early 19th century. Some further indication of the rarity of completion of studies is indicated in the scattered figures on the numbers taking the French baccalaureat and the Badenese Abitur-secondary school-leaving exams. In mid 19th century France, the number taking the exam was about a tenth of enrolled pupils; only about a half passed. Mid-century lists of Abitur-Abituriende in Mannheim suggest that about a third of all pupils actually ended up receiving their school-leaving degree.[66] Those who finished were the elite of an elite.

Despite administrative fears, the most popular secondary courses were those new ones tailored to the concrete needs of particular local social classes--to

TABLE 23

ENROLLMENTS BY GRADE IN SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS, BADEN AND VAUCLUSE, 1800-1860 (ALL ORDERED FROM LEAST TO MOST ADVANCED GRADE)

Lyceum of Mannheim, 1818		Lyceum of Avignon, 1820	
Grade 1	27	Grade 8	17
2	27	7	18
3	24	6	38
4	21	5	24
5	10	4	14
6	14	3	16
		2	16
		Rhetoric	16
		Philosophy	5

	Höhere Bürgerschulen		
Heidelberg		Mannheim	
1837	1855/56	1854	
Grade 1 - 35	64	Grades 1-3	149
2 - 41	59	4-6	52
3 - 47	68		
4 - 24	38		
5 - 10	21		
6---	14		

Communal Collèges, 1843	Apt	Pertuis
Primary and Preparatory	33	32
Elementary (8-7)	14	6
Grammar (6-4)	21	15
Superior (3-1)	20	6

Sources: ADV; T, Collèges; MStA: KFG, 40/1971; GLA: 356/696, 362/1616.

commercial and shopowning craftsmen. As appropriate secondary schooling became available, parents began to take advantage of it, but secondary education remained the prerogative of the minority, the comfortable classes. The boom apparent in primary schooling was scarcely echoed at higher levels of schooling.

CHAPTER FIVE FOOTNOTES

[1]For a description of the sources of evidence about schooling patterns used in Part II, see Appendix.

[2]GLS: 204/1819.

[3]For a good discussion of the interpretation of historical evidence about schooling and skills, see D. and L. Resnick, "The Nature of Literacy: An Historical Exploration," multilithed (Stanford, 1977).

[4]See above, Chapter 2.

[5]GLA: 235/23025.

[6]K. Brunner, Die Badische Schulordnungen (Berlin, 1902), p. 212.

[7]K. Brunner, p. 301.

[8]ADV: T, I.P., 1; AN:F[17]10382.

[9]GLA: 313/2809.

[10]See Appendix for the method of estimation.

[11]Comparable figures for the Western districts of Prussia in 1828 show that 70-80% of school-aged boys and 65-70% of school-aged girls were enrolled in the Rhineland districts, Konigreich Preussen, Die Volks-und Mittelschulen (Berlin, 1893), p. 37.

[12]Local officials in Mannheim estimates in 1806 that only about 240 of 600 school-aged Reformed children were in public schools; by 1824, about 850 of nearly 1000 were in public schools, while 120 were in "Wart-und Nebenschulen" GLA: 63/38, 435/1463.

[13]For a discussion of the flaws in estimation which probably varied according to community size, see Chapter 7 and Appendix.

[14]Again, the evidence is too sparse to make a really strong argument, but for those schools for which age data on pupils has survived, enrollments are nearly always smaller among older pupils than younger. Since the probability of surviving beyond school-leaving age for children who had reached five was probably on the order of 95%, mortality alone would account for very little of this drop-off. The following table charts age information for schools in the sample.

Community	Year	Enrollment by Age or Age Group										
Heidelberg	1729	<7 17			7-10 45			11-14 25				
21 Lutheran Communities	1802			6-9 91%			10-15 78%					
Mannheim	1811	9 58	10 57	11 47	12 51	13 32	14 7	15 0				
Waldangel-loch	1810	<7 12	7 15	8 19	9 16	10 15	11 14	12 20	13 12	14 0	15 0	
Mannheim	1849	<7 6	7 13	8 10	9 13	10 12	11 13	12 18	13 15	14 4	15 0	16 1

Note not only the drop-off in enrollment of older pupils, but the frequency of presence of children younger than the entry age of seven.

Source: GLA: 77/9839, 204/1819, 213/2570, 229/109025, 235/22776.

[15]AN: F[17]155. The breakdown was as follows:

Community Size	Number of Teachers Reporting Average Entry Age of:					
	4	5	6	7	8	(n)
<2000	0	7	1	0	1	9
>2000	4	12	2	2	0	20
Total	4	19	3	2	1	29

Community Size	Number of Teachers Reporting Mean Length of Stay of:			
	4 years	4-5 years	6 years +	(n)
<2000	1	4	5	10
>2000	7	5	8	20
Total	8	9	13	30

While the numbers are small, the pattern of early entrance is clear; moreover, there is a slight tendency for urban teachers to report short average stays more often than rural teachers.

[16]GLA: 77/9839.

[17]GLA: 213/2625.

[18]GLA: 213/2626.

[19]GLA: 213/2570

[20]GLA: 235/26381

[21]GLA: 235/2173.

[22]GLA: 229/38388.

[23]GLA: 204/1787.

[24]GLA: 235/23025.

[25]GLA: 235/21685.

[26]GLA: 362/1595.

[27]ADV: H, Frères, 1.

[28]ADV: T, I.P., 3.

[29]G. Duveau has even suggested that the structure of teaching in the mutuel school, which allowed certain pupils to assume leadership roles in the classroom, allowed for development of leadership skills later valuable for the self-organization of the working class. Les instituteurs (Paris, 1957).

[30]K. Brunner, p. 302.

[31]ADV: T, I.P. 3bis.

[32]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[33]For a more complete discussion of the meaning of literacy, and the meaning of the ability to sign, which is the commonly used historical index of literacy, see F. Furet and V. Sachs, "La croissance de l'alphabetisation," Annales: E.S.C. (1974), pp. 714-737; D. and L. Resnick, "The Nature of Literacy: An Historical Exploration," Multilithed (Stanford, 1977).

[34]With few exceptions, enrollment registers indicate a diminution of pupils with succeeding grades. The following table summarizes surviving figures for the sample communities in Baden. Grades beyond reading and writing indicated where known.

Community	Year	Grade, Ordnung etc. (Lowest to Highest)	Number of pupils
Heidelberg	1729	5	13
		4	33
		3	20
		2	28
		1 (all read and write)	38
Waldangel-loch	1810/11	2	70
		1	55
		Sunday	20
Mannheim	1811		
Elementary		2	52
		1	39
Advanced		3-2	95
		1 (all read and write)	81
Mannheim	1840		
Einfach		1	110
		2	120
		3	93
Erweiterte		2	100
		3	118
		4	91
		5	95
Daisbach	1847	1	42
		2	33
		3	29
		4	24
Mannheim	1849		
Police School		1	51
		2	40
		3	31

Community	Year	Grade, Ordnung etc. (Lowest to Highest)	Number of pupils
Mannheim	1849 (cont.)		
Free School		1	49
		2	33
		3	25
Einfache Volkschule		1	133
		2	90
		3	100
Erweiterte Volkschule		1	171
		2	130
		3	124
		4	110
		5	98

[35]ADV: T, I.P., 3.

[36]GLA: 235/22715; ADV: T, I.P., 3bis, Rapport de 1837/38.

[37]See note 33, above.

[38]For description of literacy patterns in other areas of southeastern France, see M. Vovelle, "Y-a-til eu une revolution culturelle. . . ?" Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, 23 (1975), pp. 89-141, and J. Sanchez, "La culture populaire au XVIIIe Siècle" (Mémoire de Maitrise, 1973).

[39]L. Maggiolo, "Statistique de l'enseignement primaire (Paris, 1880). M. Fleury and L. Valarmy, "Le progrès de l'instruction élémentaire," Population 12 (1957), 71-92.

[40]H. Brunn, 1200 Jahre Schriesheim, p. 254.

[41]GLA: 229/16521.

[42]MStA: Kirchenbücher.

[43]A. Neunisch, Das Grossherzogthum Baden, p. 542.

[44]Marriage registers are closed by law in Germany to all but direct descendants of contracting parties. Herr Amtsvorstand Mergenthal, present register of the city of Mannheim, was kind enough to allow me to peer over his shoulder as he perused the marriage acts of the

early 1870's. As he had assured me was the case, illiteracy was virtually unheard of by this period. Even parents of the brides and grooms were typically capable of signing the register. In fact, claims Herr Mergenthaler, the only unsigned acts he has encountered in his time at the Standesamt have been those of foreigners.

[45]GLA: 65/1612.

[46]M. Vovelle, in the article cited earlier, claims that the highest male literacy rates in Ancien Regime Haute Provence were found in those very mountain regions where school facilities were most scarce; the urbanized plain, with numerous schools, had lower literacy rates. Vovelle accounts for this anomaly in terms of alternative learning situations, particularly the practice of reading and teaching reading during the communal gatherings of long winter evenings--the veillées, which were especially common in isolated mountain hamlets. The motive to learn to read in these mountainous areas was associated with the practice of seasonal migration; many young men went down into the valleys to teach during the offseason.

[47]Some apsects of this historical relationship are explored in M. Sanderson, "Literacy and Social Mobility in the Industrial Revolution in England," Past and Present, 56 (1972), pp. 75-104; T. Laqueur, "Literacy and Social Mobility in the Industrial Revolution in England," Past and Present, 64 (1974), pp. 96-107; C. Tilly, "Population and Pedagogy," History of Education Quarterly, 13 (1973), pp. 113-129.

[48]ADV: T, I.P., 3; Rapport de 1837/38.

[49]ADV: Rapport de 1842/43.

[50]This kind of analysis can only be done when, for example, educational histories are included in census information, or from surveys of graduates. See, for example, J. Schaffer, "Occupational Expectations of Young Women in 19th Century Paris," (Third Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, 1976).

[51]ADV: T, Rapport de 1837/38.

[52]ADV: T, Fonds 3, Salles d'Asiles, etc.

[53]Males aged 15-24 comprised about nine percent of the Vauclusan population in 1851; in the city of Avignon, the proportion was certainly somewhat larger,

between 10 and 15%, because of migration patterns. On the assumption that the age distribution of pupils in evening classes was similar to that of Carpentras, adult enrollments totalled between 10 and 15% of all young adult males. If enrollments in the public chemistry, mathematics, and design courses are added, the total would approach 20 to 25% of young men in the city.

[54]ADV: T, I.P., 3.

[55]HStA: 273/1.

[56]GLA: 362/1616. The distribution of pupils in the Gewerbeschule in Mannheim in 1844, according to their duration of enrollment was:

Number of Years	Number of Pupils
≤1	266
2	30
3	21
4	5
5	1

[57]For example, the directors of the Mannheim Gewerbeschule complained to the Bezirksamt in 1841 that there were apprentices who were not enrolled in the school and whose masters were refusing to comply with the law or pay fines. Many enrolled apprentices were frequently absent, particularly those in construction trades. (GLA: 362/1616). Similar complaints came from the Gewerbeschule in Sinsheim in 1846; the directors demanded that the Bezirksamt authorities discipline uncooperative apprentices and masters. (GLA: 377/8190).

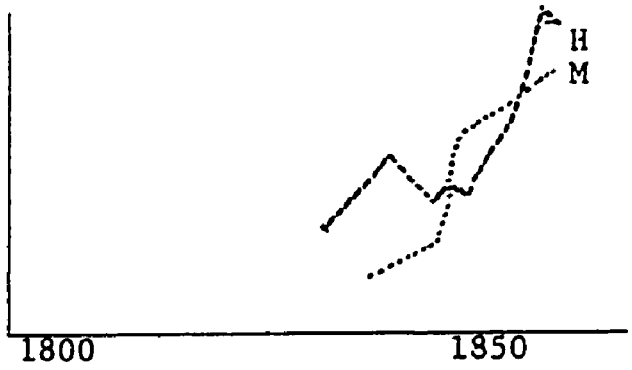
[58]This potential became obvious when, for example, a guild wished to grant Ledigsprechung, or advancement to journeyman status, to an apprentice who had failed to attend or graduate from a Gewerbeschule, or when Gewerbeschule authorities claimed that masters should not take as apprentices boys who were not well enough educated to take Gewerbeschule courses. (GLA: 377/8190). While the challenges artisans faced as a result of industrial reorganization were more threatening, the early state attempts to intervene in industrial education also presented a potential threat to workers' control over the transmission of skills and, hence, over access to their trade.

[59]The Jesuit college in Avignon, for example, had an enrollment of more than 500 between 1550 and 1760; the high point was around 1500 pupils near the end of the

16th century, and records indicate that about half of the pupils were local day students. In other words, the relatively high enrollments in this one school are not to be explained simply in terms of the fewer number of educational establishments available. A significantly higher proportion of the city's youth must have been enrolled than in later periods. Similarly, in Heidelberg, enrollment in the Catholic Latin school in the early 18th century was about three times higher than the enrollment of Catholics in the Lyceum in the middle of the 19th century. J. Girard, "L'ancienne eglise du collège des Jesuits. . ." Mémoires de l'Academie de Vaucluse, Series 2, 33 (1933), 81-110; F. Frey, Aus der Geschichte des Erziehungswesens in Heidelberg (Heidelberg, 1954). An account of the general decline of enrollments in classical institutions after 16th and 17th century expansion periods is included in my paper "The Educational Crisis of Eighteenth Century Germany," (Unpublished, 1971).

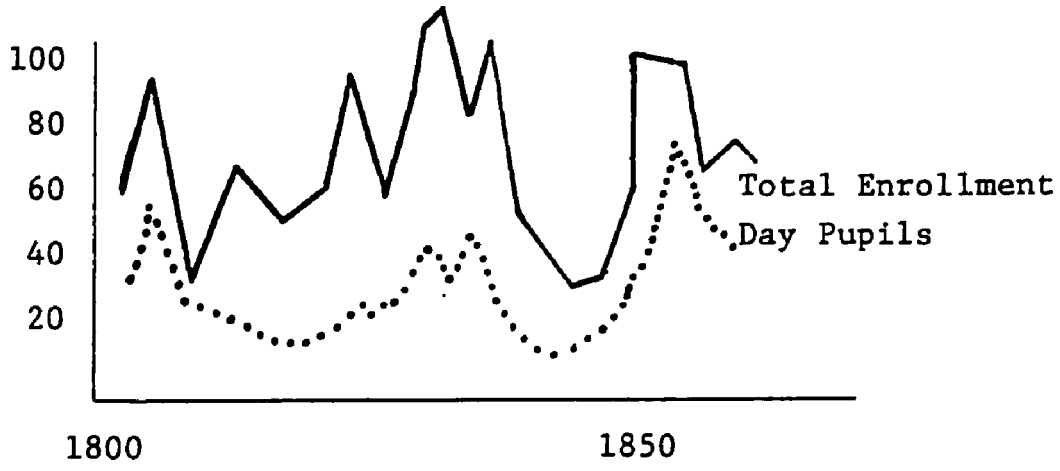
[60]GLA: 435/1464.

Enrollments in the Höhere Bürgerschulen in Mannheim and Heidelberg

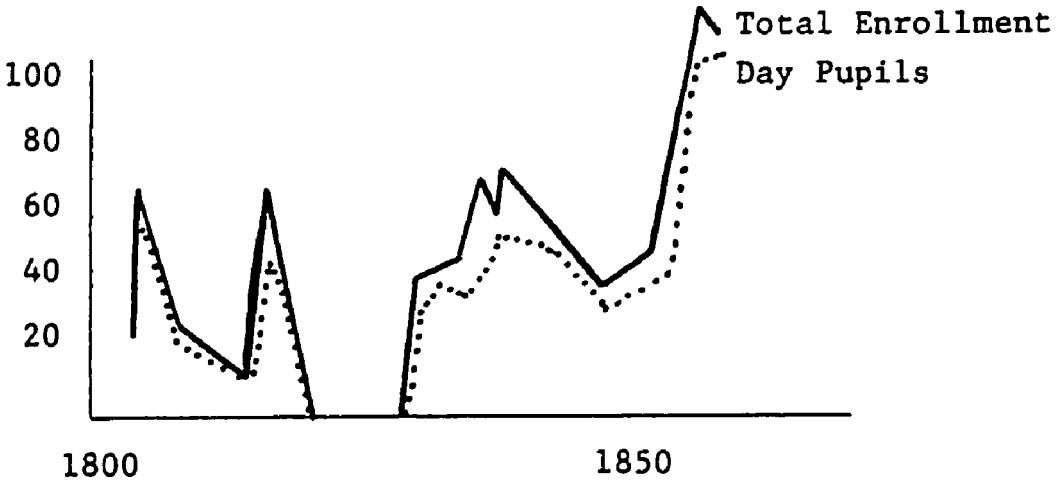


[61]AN: F[17]9377. See above, Chapter 3.

[62]ADV: T, Collèges, 6. The following graphs chart the total enrollments and the enrollment of day pupils in the Collèges of Apt and Pertuis. It is clear that the collège of Apt had a large clientele of foreign boarding pupils, at least until the middle of the 19th century, while the collège of Pertuis was attended largely by local day students.



Collège d'Apt



Collège de Pertuis

[63]The years 10 through 16 were chosen since most boys enrolled in secondary schools in this age group. If the years eight through 18, those chosen by the French government in official statistics are used instead, the differences between Vaucluse and Baden seem to disappear, largely as a result of the fact that the bulk of eight and nine years olds in Baden were in primary schools. In France, these boys would often be enrolled in primary grades in collèges and be counted on occasion as secondary school pupils despite the fact that they were taking elementary subjects. A further complication is introduced by the effect of average length of stay. Short duration of stay would mean that, while few boys completed secondary schooling, a lot had at least some advanced schooling. Julia and Frijhoff estimate that entries into secondary institutions could represent up to 20% of any given urban male cohort in the cities they studied. If three to five percent of boys aged 10 through 16 were enrolled in any one year, with the proportion decreasing with age, it is quite probable that the proportion of boys who received at least some secondary schooling was somewhat higher, probably in the neighborhood of 10% and higher if only the urban population is included.

[64]ADV: T, Collèges, 1-6; France. Ministere de l'Instruction Publique, Rapport au roi (Paris, 1843).

[65]D. Julia and W. Frijhoff, p. 63 ff.

[66]MStA: KFG, 40/1971. J. B. Behaghel, Geschichte und Statistik des Lyceums zu Mannheim (Mannheim, 1857).

CHAPTER SIX

A REASONABLE POLICY: FROM EACH ACCORDING TO OUR NEEDS

In early modern Europe, the decision to educate a child was ultimately a familial one. It was more obviously so in France where there was no general compulsory schooling law before the last quarter of the 19th century, but even in the German states, where such laws had been on the books in some places as early as the 16th century and where the claims of church and state impinged much more upon the family's prerogatives, parental compliance was by no means automatic. New laws, sometimes meddlesome bureaucracies, changing social and economic conditions created the context in which educational decisions were made, but the family was the ultimate arbiter where the behavior of its children was concerned. The evidence suggests that a kind of family calculus concerning the costs and benefits of schooling was in operation: children were more likely to be sent to school when their labor time could best be spared, when the necessary costs could be met and when investment in schooling was most likely to be crucial to their future. Decisions about schooling, like so many other

decisions, were made from the perspective of a family economy that saw the prosperity of the family group as its ultimate goal.[1] Trends in schooling can only be understood through reference to the family and its economy.

The idea that a sort of cost-benefit analysis can help to account for schooling decisions is not a new one. Economists have often explained modern trends in education by means of investment models. Their models have also been applied to historical data.[2] It is clear that incentives to schooling are not and never were purely economic. Families were influenced by a variety of factors in making educational decisions. Many such factors have been suggested in preceding chapters. For example, schooling often had religious or political importance. Such long-established community norms as the perceived value of book-learning or the appropriateness of coeducation also affected decisions. Considerations like these were clearly significant and the cumulated effects of diverse cultural and political histories account to a large extent for the pronounced differences in schooling that characterized the two regions studies. Nonetheless, the present chapter will treat schooling primarily as a family investment and attempt to explore schooling decisions as responses to different conditions. For the questions of most concern here are best answered

through reference to influences that were variable over time. Why did some parents value schooling for their children while others were indifferent or hostile to it? Who were the people who were most likely to take advantage of school facilities? How might changes in both the educational system and in the groups involved with it produce the previously described trends in schooling? An investment type model helps to specify factors of significance in family decision making regarding schooling, and to suggest answers to these questions about historical trends in schooling.

In analysing the costs of schooling, it must never be forgotten that many early modern families lived on marginal incomes. Schooling, even primary schooling, was a luxury beyond the reach of many. The direct costs of schooling such as fees paid to teachers and purchase of books and supplies were burdensome,[3] but even before such outlays could be considered, the significant denial to the family of the child's earning power, however minimal, had to be taken into account. The overall well-being of the family reflected the ratio of productive to dependent members and any decision that delayed the entry of a family member into productive labor was a costly one for the unit as a whole. It was the total income of the family rather than the income of one breadwinner that determined the family standard of living. In early modern

Europe, contributions of spouses and children often made the difference between starvation and survival or between mere survival and a modicum of comfort.[4] Unless payoffs for schooling were high, many families would find the sacrifice of child labor too high a price to pay.

Over and above the constraints imposed by economic marginality, there were additional costs affecting the educational strategies of early modern families. Besides the obvious geographic constraints, for example upon families living in small or dispersed communities, costs to parents of educational investments were always affected by the availability and quality of local schools and by communal willingness to invest in education. Other environmental factors like the high risk of child mortality must also have entered into calculations. However, decision making, insofar as it was communal, is dealt with more fully elsewhere; the purpose here is to explore decision making as a familial process, to look at the costs of schooling faced by different families.

On the other side of the theoretical equation, the benefits of schooling must also be evaluated in the context of the family and its plans. Most economists have emphasized the value of schooling as a means of access to desirable careers. Presumably in times of expanding economic opportunity, of increased demand for skilled employment, the value to a family of education for its

children increases.[5] In the social and economic context of early modern Europe, the utility attached to schooling was perhaps more subtle. While it was sometimes the case that skills acquired through schooling were directly applicable to new job possibilities, it has been suggested by many recent historians of the period that the link between school and work was more complicated. During the early industrial period, they suggest, what was taught in the school was a new type of discipline necessary for the new forms of work organization, the ability to cope with routinized labor rather than any job skill as such.[6] Nonetheless, where such discipline was seen as useful by employers, parents could see the advantage of schooling in planning their children's futures. In addition, however, schooling could have been seen as a means of access to minimal literacy skills whether or not such skills were actually used in the job situation. The benefits of literacy were in many cases indirect; for example, commercially active artisinal classes no doubt valued the link with the national economy provided by literacy in the national language, peasant groups becoming integrated into a market economy appreciated the value of keeping accounts, and potential urban migrants could have seen schooling as a good preparation for city life.[7] Furthermore, in a society where virtually all adults and adolescents, men and women alike, were contributing in some capacity to the

productive efforts of the family, the role of schools as a safe daytime depot for children too young to work or care for themselves cannot be overlooked. Finally, in areas where legal penalties for non-attendance had been instituted, family decisions were clearly influenced, although not determined, by the negative incentive of fines and other penalties for truancy from school. Thus in applying an investment analysis to the historical study of schooling behavior, the concept of economic benefit will be broadly conceived in order to take into account the peculiarities of the historical situation in which incentives for schooling were operating. A detailed discussion of the two cases will hopefully illustrate the workings of the decision model, and reveal the impact of individual family decisions made in the context of the family economy upon broader trends in schooling. The systematic differences in school attendance patterns summarized in the preceding chapter can be viewed as the outcome of family decisions made with regard to differing economic situations, resource availability and expectations for the future.

Family Budgets

While parents from different social groups no doubt had different ideas about the importance of schooling for their children's future, there were other factors

influencing decisions about schooling in a more immediate way. The very marginality of existence experienced by families in the agricultural and industrial working classes suggests one such factor: the crucial role of child labor and its importance to the family budget cannot be overlooked in any discussion of schooling. Planning for the future was a luxury. Immediate survival was the dominant drive for many families. The working-class cycle of poverty, as described by Michael Anderson in his study of family change in early industrial England, goes a long way toward explaining the educational strategies of rural and urban popular classes.[8] In order to maximize the number of working members in a household during its poorest years, children, particularly the older siblings, were simply sent to work at the earliest possible time. This necessity was apparent to a contemporary French observer of working-class conditions who wrote in 1833 that:

> The savings a worker can put away are above all dependent upon his position as a worker combined with that as member of a family. A worker having several young children and earning only 40 sous a day cannot even dream of savings, whereas another whose wife and children are working along with him . . . can do quite well.[9]

Some general evidence about family incomes and expenses indicates the extent to which early modern families were dependent upon the earnings of children.

In the agricultural sector, where incomes were derived from both land and labor, budgetary estimates are

difficult to arrive at. Furthermore, boundaries between sectors were fluid; many people worked in agriculture during part of the year and in industry when the work in the fields was finished. In Vaucluse, nearly every family had a small plot of land for subsistence, but probably two-thirds of all landowners had to supplement income derived from their lands with income from agricultural work on the plots of large landowners or from industrial work.[10] Although the rural work force was not as dependent on wage income as urban workers were, wages in the countryside were low. The salaries of day laborers varied according to the season, reaching a maximum at harvest time when workers were in greatest demand. During these weeks, a man in Vaucluse could earn up to two francs or more a day in the early 19th century. A woman or child could earn 50 centimes or even a franc a day. During the rest of the year, however, salaries were much lower, plummeting in wintertime. Overall earnings were also reduced by the shortness of the work year which varied between 200 and 280 days in length.[11] Seignour estimates that at these rates a bachelor could support himself on his salary from agricultural work, spending a full four-fifths of his income on food. He could get by better, of course, if he managed to raise a bit of food on his own plot, but that meant sacrificing time worked

for wages, or working a double workday. If a man were married, his wife and children would have no choice but to work. They might work in agriculture on the family plot or as hired hands on the farms of other families. In addition, income was still being derived at the turn of the century from domestic textile work, but returns were meager and diminishing.

In the relatively steady and lucrative employment at the mills in the towns in Vaucluse, salaries were in the neighborhood of 50 centimes a day for women and children; that is, a day's pay was roughly equivalent to the cost of a kilo of bread. The tradeoff involved in taking a steady mill job meant, in many cases, foregoing some income derived in kind from ownership of a plot of land. In the 1830's the salaries of men in unskilled industrial labor ranged from 70 centimes to a franc and half a day and were declining. Artisanal workers and construction workers earned more--usually between two and three francs a day.[12] These Vauclusan salary levels are roughly equivalent to those reported elsewhere in France at the same time.[13] While Seignour believes that a general, if slight, alleviation in living conditions was occurring in Vaucluse during the period under consideration, most of the population was still quite poor by modern standards even in the middle of the 19th century. The average diet was composed of grains, potatoes, occasional

vegetables and salt. With bread costing 30 or 40 centimes a kilo, and meat over a franc a kilo, a family of four could barely survive on a two franc daily wage, especially considering that holidays and seasonal unemployment considerably shortened the urban work year as well. Since the bulk of the family income was spent on food, and the proportion going to food expenditure rose with family size, there was built-in pressure on family members to begin earning income as soon as their intake of food was significant. With the possible exception of skilled workers, most urban working-clas families, like their counterparts in the countryside, were dependent to some extent upon the earnings of women and children merely to survive.[14]

Wage levels seem to have been slightly higher in Baden. While potatoes were the dietary staple of the poor agricultural classes, a contemporary observer reported that meat eating was common among the wealthier classes of peasants and in the families of urban skilled workers.[15] Wolfram Fischer has amassed data on agricultural and industrial salaries in early nineteenth-century Baden from which good estimates of the living standards can be derived (see Table 24). It is clear from his evidence that workers in domestic industry would have trouble surviving even if every family member worked. Workers in this sector were apparently supplementing income derived from agricultural work and land by means of

part-time domestic industry in off seasons. In the full-time industrial sectors, only the highly skilled artisanal and factory workers could support small families on one income; the unskilled and semi-skilled factory workers, as well as artisanal workers in many industries, were dependent on additional incomes to raise a family. As in Vaucluse at this time, the overwhelming proportion of the family's income (up to 70 percent) was spent on food; here too, children would need to begin earning income quite early in order to offset their cost in terms of food consumption. The implication of these budgetary figures is that with full employment in non-crisis conditions, many families were on the margin of survival. When food and fuel prices rose, as they did in the 1770's, 1790's, 1810's, 1830's and 1840's, the close margin of subsistence was approached and crossed. Poverty was transformed into indigence. Thus in Baden, to nearly the same extent as in Vaucluse, the early modern economy left the majority of families in both agricultural and industrial employment dependent upon the labor of subsidiary members of the household for assurance of survival.[16] The income of the head of household was simply not sufficient, particularly as children grew old enough to require substantial amounts of food. Keeping children off the labor market for schooling when work was available was costly, often unthinkable. Even where parents valued

TABLE 24

DAILY WAGES IN BADEN, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Industrial Sector	Wage	
	Male	Female
Agriculture		
Winter	24-36 Kr.*	18-30 Kr.
Summer	40-48 Kr.	30-36 Kr.
(With meals)	15-20 Kr.	12-16 Kr.
Cottage Industry		
Spinning		6-12 Kr.
Weaving	to 1 Gulden	
Artisanal Crafts		
Journeymen	40 Kr.-2 Gulden	
(With Meals)	18-30 Kr.	

Industrial Sector	Wage		
	Male	Female	Child
Factory Work	39 Kr.-		
Textiles	1 Gulden	18-30 Kr.	8-16 Kr.
Tobacco		20-24 Kr.	
Chemicals	20-24 Kr.		

*Kr. = Kreuzer. A Gulden was worth 60 Kreuzer. Fischer estimates that the minimum income needed to support a family of five was an average of one Gulden per day.

Source: Wolfram Fischer, Der Staat und die Anfange der Industrialisierung in Baden 1800-1850 (Berlin, 1962), p. 362 ff.

schooling, budgetary constraints forced them to choose immediate income over potential gain from schooling for their children. The structure of opportunities for child employment thus affected the schooling decisions of needy families.

To School Or To Work?

Work, in the early modern world, was a natural part of a child's existence. Like their elders, children filled work roles specified and limited by age, sex and family position. Like those of their parents, their economic functions were constrained by the local economy. And the daily and seasonal rhythms of work, as well as the timing of entry into employment, set the pace of schooling as well.

In agricultural communities, certain tasks were relegated to children. In Vaucluse, grazing communities like Murs and Puget sent their children out when they were quite young to guard flocks; these young shepards and shepherdesses were among the most irrepressible truants of the countryside. In the village of Murs, they attended school at most a few months of the year; of the schoolmaster's fifteen pupils in 1837, only four were learning to write. In other grazing communities, the complaint was that children left school unusually early to mind flocks.[17]

Children were also crucial for the cultivation of mulberry leaves, garance, saffron--all important cash crops in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Vaucluse. Children were indispensable for the intense work of silkworm season. Gathering dung for the omnipresent fumiers was a children's occupation in areas like Vaucluse where the peasants relied heavily on fertilization. Agricol Perdiguier reports spending countless hours as a young boy in the area around Morières, on the road from Avignon to Apt, collecting manure from the public road.[18]

Rural children worked at a set variety of tasks in Baden as well. Some children's poetry written at the beginning of the 19th century for inclusion in a primer refers to such tasks: guiding the reins of horses and mules during plowing; gathering, tying and stacking sheaves at harvest. The industrial side of the rural economy is not overlooked. A poem entitled "The Evening" illustrates the typically complex economic roles played by the various members of a farm family:

> The shutters are closed and the evening's work brought,
> The maid scrapes a turnip, the boy carves a wheel.
> Mother sews a seam in my coat, then teaches us spinning while she spins along.
> Father strikes nails as though he were a smith.[19]

The 1808 report of the inspector of the industry schools adds detail to the picture of youthful employment in the countryside:

> The Odenwald communities are small, dispersed and usually poor. Woodworking serves as an occupation for boys while girls drive the spindle. In the regions of viniculture, carrying soil into the vineyards keeps boys busy on good winter days while girls spin at home. Where the woods are interspersed with fields, the girls occupy themselves in winter with women's work (i.e., the needle trades), for which the growing of hemp and flax give a natural opportunity, while boys make benches, baskets and pots during the time when they are not taking care of the cattle and pigs.[20]

In fact, the rural industry schools seemed to fail precisely because the children in the countryside already had so much to keep them occupied. In Handschuhsheim in 1809, the attendance at these schools was poor because the children could be taught industrial skills at home, because there was a lack of classrooms and teachers, but mostly because the children of seven and eight years were already finding employment in the regional scarf and handkerchief industry.[21] In Mühlhausen in 1813, parents refused to cooperate with the Industrieschule teacher because they preferred to employ their children at home.[22] In 1826, officials in Heddesbach reported that mothers there were quite capable of teaching their daughters to spin, sew and embroider insofar as it was necessary for the family. Furthermore, the girls were needed at home for spinning in the winter and for fieldwork in the summertime.[23] Children's work activities were varied and time consuming in all of these rural communities.

Agricultural labor, for children as for adults, was seasonal. As a result, many parents preferred to send their children to school during the slack months of winter. The seasonal truancy of rural schoolchildren had plagued school officials since the time of the earliest records. Catholic and Protestant school inspectors in Baden continually complained of low school attendance during the summer. The report of the Reformed Church Council of 1765 is typical:

> The old complaint about the children, or rather the parents, is still to be made everywhere: the latter are not industrious enough is sending their children to school; for the most part they send them in winter, but in the countryside the youngsters are used to being employed from an early age in field-work and other kinds of work, and throughout the whole year will spend hardly a quarter of it in school.[24]

In fact, many rural communities in Baden did not even bother to hold summer school sessions despite the legal obligation to do so. As often as not, the schoolteacher was himself an agricultural smallholder who had to work his own lands during the growing season. That season was long, although climatic conditions made for a somewhat shorter season of intense work in Baden than in Vaucluse, where "the desertion (of the classrooms) began in the month of May, the time of the silkworms, and was prolonged until the first of November on account of the harvest and gleaning."[25] In both regions, the seasonal demand for agricultural labor affected school attendance patterns in rural

communities. As was indicated earlier, school officials in both Baden and Vaucluse condemned, for identical reasons, the annoying rural practice of seasonal truancy. To the mind of the school administrator, the practice made no sense. As the Lutheran Consistorium of Heidelberg put it in 1766, children who attend school only in the winter "forget immediately what they have just learned during their short time in school." Early in the 19th century, French officials denounced the same custom for the same reason:

> this practice, prevalent in many rural communities, is harmful to instruction and contrary to the correctly understood interests of the parents, because the children forget in the summer what they learned in the winter; instruction is less rapid and less perfect and takes more time; the time at which the children can be employed at fulltime agricultural or industrial work is delayed.[26]

But parents in the countryside were well aware of the seasonal need for labor. Their insistence on keeping their children out of school when their work was most needed was a reasonable attempt to fit schooling periods into the least costly part of the year.

While many Badenese communities held no summer sessions at all or only poorly attended ones in the late 18th and early 19th centuries,[27] precise records of seasonal attendance patterns were apparently not kept. For Vauclusan communities, such records begin to appear in the third decade of the 19th century. As indicated in Table 25 through 27, attendance levels at summer school

TABLE 25

SUMMER SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN THE ARRONDISSEMENTS OF AVIGNON AND APT ACCORDING TO COMMUNITY SIZE, 1837

	Summer School Attendance	
Community Size	As % School-Aged Population	As % Winter School Attendance
<500	22	63
500-2000	25	68
2000-10000	35	82
10000+	65	100
Arrondissement of Avignon	42	90
Arrondissement of Apt	34	76
Total	39	84

TABLE 26

SUMMER SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1837 (BY COMMUNITY SIZE)

	Summer School Attendance	
Community Size	As % School-Aged Population	As % Winter School Attendance
< 500	19	72
500-2000	24	64
2000-10000	38	79
10000+	67	100
	$\epsilon^2 = .41$	$\epsilon^2 = .30$

TABLE 27

SUMMER SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES,. 1837 (BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNITY)

	Summer School Attendance	
Economic Activities of Community	As % School-Aged Population	As % Winter School Attendance
Agricultural	20	68
Some Non-Agricultural	26	68
Significant Non-Agricultural	30	72
Majority Non-Agricultural	72	96
	$\epsilon^2 = .73$	$\epsilon^2 = .27$

half-years were closely related to both community size and the nature of economic activities pursued in the community. School attendance was highly seasonal in villages, but not in urban communities. There was also more seasonal variance in the more agricultural arrondissement of Apt than in the more industrialized arrondissement of Avignon. Finally, among the Vauclusan sample communities, summer attendance was lowest in the more exclusively agricultural communities. In an attempt to combine work and schooling, rural parents resorted to a chronological division of the year into a season for work and a season for schooling.[28]

Although the poorest sectors of the rural population were the ones who felt the strongest need for child labor, it was not only the children of the poor who worked in the agricultural economy. Where families were wealthy enough to hire assistance for routine labor, the work of children was still required during the peak seasons. For example, even those children whose families could afford secondary schooling for them were affected by the seasonal demand for labor. The principal of the collège of Pertuis reported in 1812 that "since the great majority of the inhabitants (of Pertuis) are artisans and farmers, one and the other wanting to economize employ their children in the function of domestics for the harvest time. The number of pupils grows smaller from day to day and the few

who remain would prefer to be out in the countryside working, driving donkeys and mules, rather then writing compositions and verses and translating Phaedra and Virgil."[29] In Baden, in anticipation of the high labor demand, the Höhere Bürgerschulen were closed during the periods of heaviest agricultural labor: three weeks for haying, three weeks for harvest and two weeks in the springtime.

Although children of most agricultural families were expected to work at least occasionally, the rural poor were obviously more dependent than the well-off on income from their children's labor. Wealthier farmers could restrict their demands upon their children to the seasons of most intense demand for labor; poor farm children had to work whenever there was work to be had. A rare school list for an agricultural village in Vaucluse indicates that only the sons of the wealtheir rural classes were attending the primary school even in winter. The combined costs of fees and labor foregone were simply too high in this village where no subsidy of schooling for the poor was available.[30] Even where compelled by law to attend school, the children of the rural poor missed school to work. A case from the town of Neidenstein in Baden is illustrative. School authorities tried to fine a certain Herr Maier three and a half Gulden for the truancy of his four children during the month of July, 1840.

In the course of the month, two of his sons had missed 13 days each, a daughter had missed eight days and a third son, one day. In his letter asking for exemption from the fine, Herr Maier excused himself in the following manner:

> I am the father of eight young children, completely without wealth; yes, I'm even so poor that I've been excused from paying taxes . . . My children missed school during the time when they had to their bread for themselves and their family, that is, during the harvest time when they were occupied with the gleaning. This gleaning of the cornfields is usually permitted as a grant to help the poor.[31]

Despite mandatory attendance laws, the economic needs of the family had to be given first priority. Herr Maier, who was Jewish, was quick to point out that the Christian schools in the community were, quite reasonably, closed during the times of heavy labor to allow children to work. The fact that the Jewish school remained open (no doubt because virtually no Badenses Jews were farmers) appeared discriminatory to him since it deprived him of the labor needed to take advantage of the gleaning rights. His complaint created a rare documentation of the rural dependance on child labor and its effect on school attendance: the labor demands of the agricultural economy produced seasonal absenteeism and, of necessary, seasonal truancy.

Patterns of work, for children as well as for adults, were quite different in the towns and cities. Children of the urban popular classes had to find niches

in the occupational structure wherever they could. Work for children does not seem to have been as readily available as it was in the countryside, and although some kinds of urban employment opportunities were seasonal, the very marked seasonality of labor demand apparent in the country side was attenuated. In early adolescence, boys were employable in the crafts as apprentices; apprenticeship, which will be discussed in more detail later, combined technical training with on-the-job experience. Younger boys worked at odd jobs; in Baden and Vaucluse both, they found easy access to labor as masons' assistants in construction work. Girls did homework. Parents in the towns and cities of Baden were unusually responsive to the industry school's offer to teach the needle skills to their daughters, since textile work was about the most lucrative available to urban working class girls.[32] Children routinely assisted parents who worked at home in domestic industries of all sorts, much as they did in the countryside.

By the 1830's, a new possibility for child labor had been added. In addition to work opportunities in crafts and at home, urban children were beginning to find work in the factories. A Vauclusan school inspector reported in 1837 that in the town of L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue, "more than 300 boys and girls are not attending school; this is principally due to the fact that this commune,

because of its waters, holds a large number of factories. Children manage to find profitable work there and parents prefer to employ their children rather than having them taught."[33] In preparation for a projected child labor law, the Avignonais Chamber of Commerce and Conseil de Prud'hommes prepared reports on child labor conditions in the city. There were naturally interested in presenting the best possible picture of the situation, a fact which makes their report all the more astounding to modern ears:

> It is mainly girls who are employed from their childhood on in the silk factories. They find work suited to their capacities and enter at the age of ten or twelve. Their salary is ordinarily 40 or 60 centimes a day. The length of the work day is 13 to 14 hours, of which two to two and a half hours are used for moments of rest meals. Generally the children employed in the factories belong to the workers who work there, to which others are added according to he needs of the different shops. Their education is generally quite neglected. They rarely go to school from the time they are capable of earning a small daily wage to help in their maintenance.[34]

In Baden, state industrial statistics reveal that between 1835 and 1842 there were already 10,584 factory workers in Baden, of which more than 2000 were children. An additional 4371 people were employed in mechanized industry in small shops; most of these were women and children.[35] Through laws passed in Baden in the late 1830's and early 1840's, child labor in the factories was limited to children over the age of 11, and for those

between 11 and 14 the workday was limited to 10 hours. The French law, passed in 1841, restricted children between the ages of eight and 12 to eight hours a day and under 14 to 12 hours a day. In both places schoolteachers and released time for classes were to be provided for child employees. In both places enforcement was ineffective. Factory inspectors were often in sympathy with factory owners. Complaints against owners were in any case rarely made, more rarely pursued. Even where schoolteachers were made available, children were too tired from work to profit from instruction. Parents continued to send their children to work as long as work was available and as soon as they were employable; factory owners continued to hire children as long as their labor was cheap and efficient.[36]

In a sense, concern about child factory laborers was disproportionate to their numbers. The child labor force in the factories, like the adult labor force, represented only a small fraction of the total working population in the early 19th century. But factory children, like their parents, were particularly visible to authorities, and similarly appalling and threatening. Furthermore, factory children were among the earliest victims of automation. Since they tended to hold the least skilled jobs in the factories, new advances in mechanization often led to the replacement of child labor by machines.

For example, in the silk industry, motors had replaced most child workers by the 1860's. In 1865, the prefect of Vaucluse reported that few children under the age of 12 were left in the silk mills in Avignon; in addition the crisis in the cotton industry had driven many children out of work in that sector and those who remained were working reduced hours.[37] In the city of Avignon, only tinters and printers continued to hire underage employees "at the reiterated insistence of their families."[38] Economic change seems to have produced the effect that child labor laws could not, no doubt contributing to late 19th century surges in school attendance in France by lowering opportunities for child employment.

Besides regular employment, the kind that leaves some traces in the historical record, city children were undoubtedly deriving income in ways that were less official, less visible and less lucrative. Children of the poorest classes did whatever they could to add to the family income. Public begging was one trusty method of bringing in a few extra coins. In front of the churches in Vaucluse, in the taverns in Baden, hordes of poor beggar children were an ever-present reminder of the poverty of many families and one which naturally alarmed authorities.[39] Official reactions were much the same in both areas. While a certain amount of begging was tolerated, incarceration of the truly indigent was often the

ultimate solution. For this purpose, there were institutions in Avignon, Heidelberg and Mannheim, designed to keep the urban poor and their children from steady begging, idleness and other sorts of mischief feared by the more prosperous.[40] Street peddling of small items (matches and thread are common examples), sweeping chimneys, pilfering in a pinch, were all ways in which young city children helped to support themselves and their families. In addition, older children, especially girls, often minded younger siblings to free their mothers for work outside the home. One of the announced goals of the Kleinkinderschule in Mannheim was to allow school-aged children "to whom the care and protection of younger children is usually left" to attend school as required by law.[41]

Apparently urban children could not always find work. Idleness was often seen as a problem in the cities, whereas in the countryside most children could be occupied at least seasonally. The relative lack of employment opprotunity for children in the city made fulltime schooling a more reasonable option than it was in the countryside. But wherever possible, employment of children in the cities--whether in shop or factory, at home or in the streets--persisted throughout the period of early industrialization. Though it is probable that the practice of sending children out to work was neither as universal in

the city as in rural areas, nor possible at as early an age, the family economy of the urban working class remained to some extent dependent on the work of children.

The Age and Sex Structure of the Child Labor Force

Since the opportunity cost of sending an employable child to school was greater than that of schooling children unable to work, schooling patterns reflected local demands for child labor. As was described earlier, employment opportunities varied between rural and urban areas and among towns of different employment structures. Furthermore, work was sex-typed and the kind of work which boys were doing was more likely to require regular workday hours, was often outside the home, and paid better than girls' work. Work in the fields, construction work and artisanal apprenticeship are a few examples. With the exception of those in domestic service and the minority employed in the textile mills, girls were more likely to be engaged in household chores and homework in various putting out industries with more flexible hours at lower pay. In other words, all else being equal, it was probably less costly to send girls to school than boys. Of course, this does not imply that girls would actually be sent to school in greater numbers than boys under all circumstances. The value of schooling for girls was

certainly also seen as lower than its value for boys. But on the opportunity cost side, differential value to the family of male and female labor made schooling less costly for girls. In a situation where fines for non-attendance were enforced, as was increasingly the case in 19th century Baden, it was actually less costly to send girls to school than to keep them home, since their earnings, unlike those of their brothers, were not large enough to offset a truancy fine.

The age at which children were first employed was also of crucial significance to their schooling possibilities; unfortunately, evidence on this point is scarce. While it is clear that children were employed in agricultur during times of intense labor from their earliest years, the age of entry into fulltime employment varied according to the needs and aspirations of the family. The most usual age cited as the time when children entered fulltime occupations was around 12 or 13. In France, the première communion, a religious rite of adolescence, seems often to have served as a rite of passage with regard to economic status and dress as well.[42] In Baden, the Konfirmation ceremony often marked the end of schooling and the beginning of adult economic life. The school years were structured in such a way that a decision could be made at confirmation between work and advanced schooling of some sort for those "not required to devote themselves

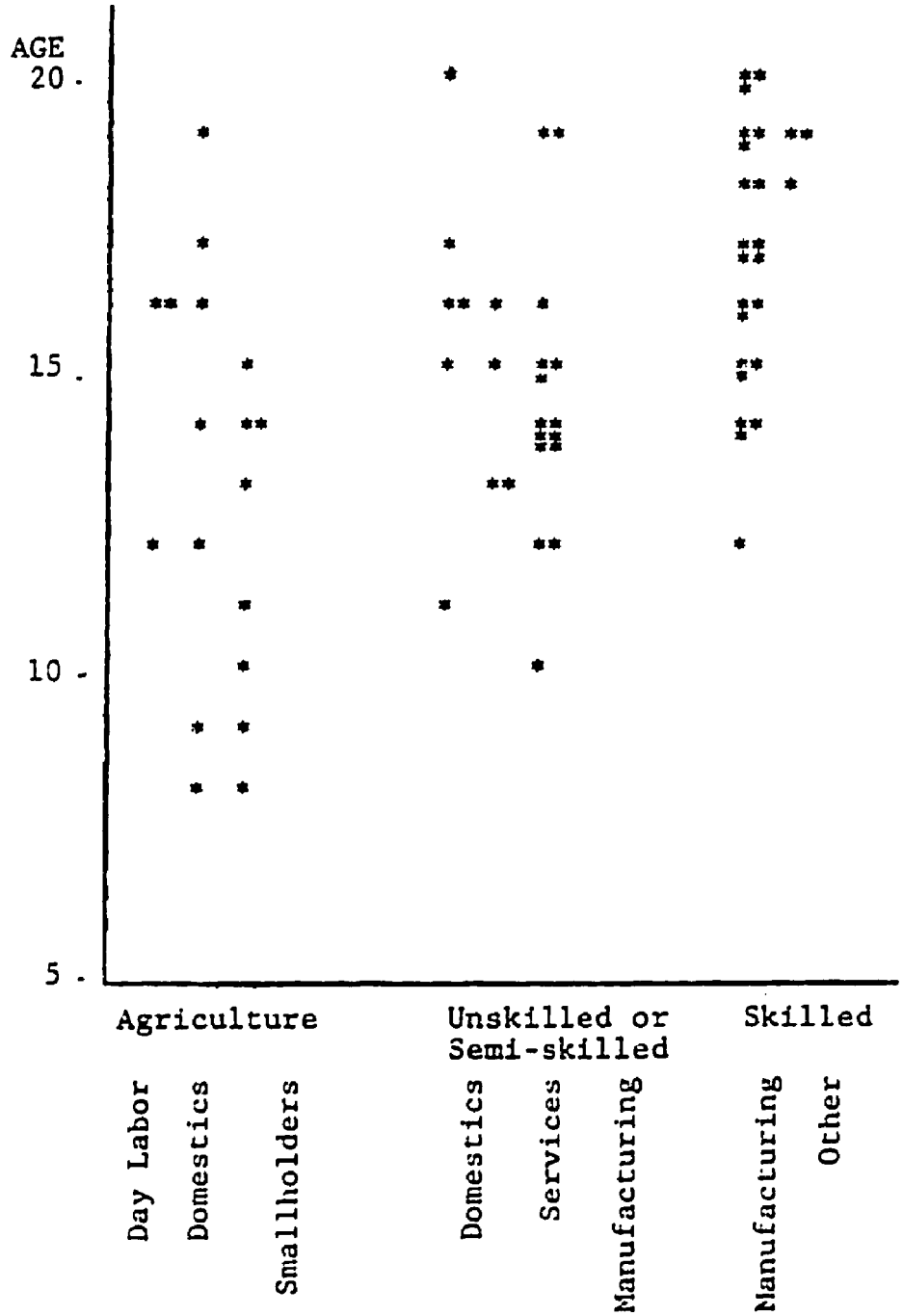
at this age to a practical occupation."[43] While there was certainly a lot of flexibility in practice, it nonetheless seems to have been customary to permanently withdraw most children from school in early adolescence and start them to fulltime work. For example, in Jonquerettes in 1802 the level of instruction of the population was said to be quite low because the children in the farming community were removed from school permanently at the age of 10 or 12.[44] Half a century later, farm children were still leaving primary school for jobs in the fields. The school inspector reported in 1843 that in one village the children of the upper two divisions had just left school while those of the third, who were only seven and eight years old, "were probably destined to remain on the benches for another few years."[45] In 1859 it was still the case that "fathers were impatient to put their children to work and those who send them to school rarely leave them there after the first communion, the time at which they are employed in fieldwork."[46]

One often has the impression that it was in the industrial sector that the exploitation of young children was the most harsh. The attention given to the child factory laborer, to the horrendous conditions under which he or she worked, create the false illusion that child labor was a product of the industrial revolution. There certainly were young children working in factories and

mines and shops; the reports on child labor cited earlier indicated that employees of ten or even eight years old were not unheard of. But children in the industrial sector were typically employed at a later age than children in agriculture. Job opportunities for children were simply more diverse and plentiful in farming. The French census, which contains the only direct evidences about the age of employed persons, suggests that entry into agricultural employment was possible and common at an earlier age than entry into industrial occupations. As Figure 16 illustrates, children working as agricultural day laborers and domestics, mainly children of the poorest rural classes, were reported working at the youngest ages. Among domestics, those employed in agricultural households were typically younger than those employed in non-agricultural households. Not only was the proportion of domestics in agriculture under the age of 20 greater than the proportion of domestics in household service under 20 (Table 28), but the age of entrance into agricultural domestic status seems to have been earlier than entrance into non-agricultural domestic work[47] (see Figure 17). In other words, even though the more pronounced seasonality of the agricultural work year allowed continued part time schooling during slack seasons, the ability of even young children to find employment in agriculture for at least

FIGURE 16

PATTERN OF AGE OF ENTRANCE INTO THE LABOR FORCE IN DIFFERENT SECTORS[a]



[a]Age of youngest worker in each of the sample communities employed in occupations having employees younger than 21 years; from Vaucluse census samples, 1836.

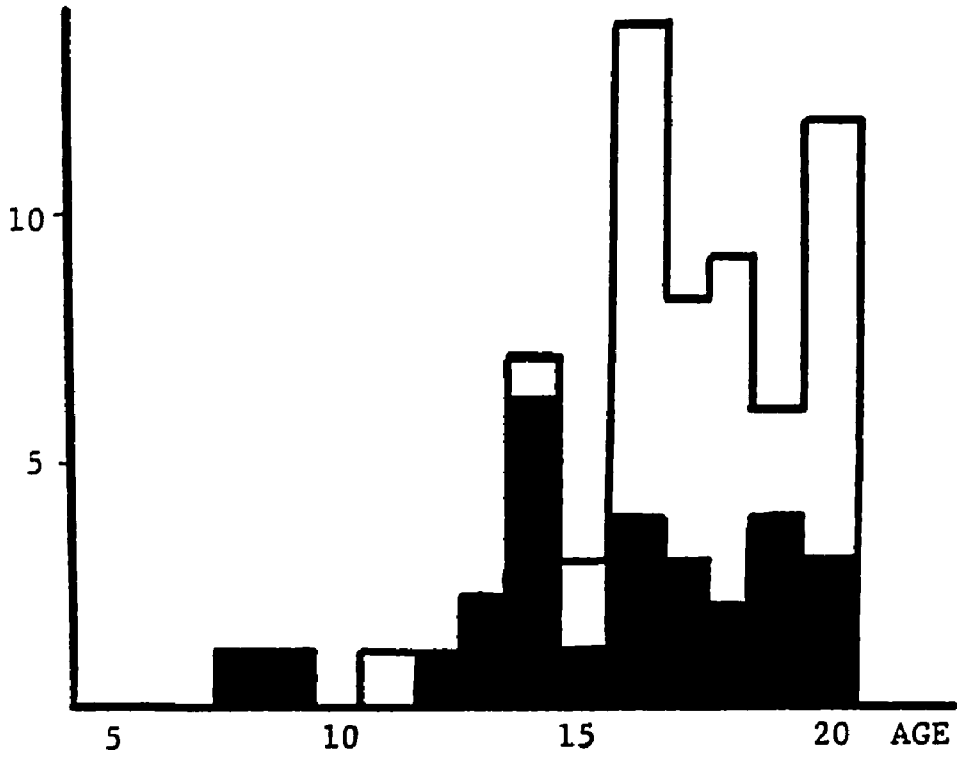
TABLE 28

PROPORTION OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS BELOW AGE TWENTY
VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1836

Sector	Avignon	Other Communities
Agriculture	50%	37%
Other	5%	30%

FIGURE 17

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF DOMESTIC SERVANTS BELOW AGE TWENTY



Sample Households in Vaucluse, 1836

Agriculture
Other Households

part of the year meant that schooling was more likely to be interrupted, and that fultime schooling was a likelihood only for the very young.

While no direct evidence about age-specific child employment in Baden was found, an examination of records of school truancy there gives some indication of the impact of familial demands for child labor on regularity of school attendance. Evidence on rural truancy, although scant, follows a pattern predictable on the basis of age- and sex- specific labor demands. Older boys were undoubtedly the most truant of all school-aged children, followed by older girls. Reports from a group of Lutheran parishes of north Baden in 1802 indicate that school enrollments included about 90 percent of six-to-nine year olds, but only about 75 percent of ten-to-fifteen years olds.[48] Surviving school registers supply even more precise evidence. These registers report absences of enrolled pupils and generally make a distinction between excused absences (generally for illness or emergency family need) and unexcused absences. The later seem usually though not exclusively to have resulted from parental demands for the help of their children in work responsibilities. In the community of Waldangelloch, most boys were truant at least occasionally, but older boys (ten-to-fourteen year olds) averaged nearly 50 days of unexcused absence during the course of the school year 1809-1810, while their

younger brothers averaged about 30 days each. (See Table 29) girls showed the same trend toward increased truancy at older ages, but at slightly lower levels--43 and 27 days respectively.

Some surviving registers from urban areas illustrate the demands for urban child labor. In the Mannheim Reformed school in 1811, boys aged 11 to 14 were truant, on the average, about 36 days. Nine-to-ten year olds missed an average of 28 days without acceptable excuse. No information exists for the youngest schoolboys. In Sinsheim in 1812, older girls were quite regular in their attendance, missing an average of only seven days; their younger sisters, however, were even less truant--an almost negligible two-and-a-half days each. Mid-nineteenth-century data from the poor school in Mannheim shows the same trend for boys, but a curious reversal for girls. In this police-run school for the indigent, which had a predominantly femine enrollment, six-to-nine-year-old boys were truant on the average seven days each, their older brothers 15 days. There were very few young girls enrolled, but their truancy rate was high at 17 days each. Older girls missed, on the average, eight days.

While the peculiar nature of the clientele of this school make generalization on the basis of its records a dubious procedure, the poor school registration lists were unique in indicating the occupation of the parents of

TABLE 29

TRUANCY BY AGE AND SEX IN SEVERAL COMMUNITIES

Community	Date	Average # of Days of Unexcused Absence	
		Boys	Girls
Waldangel-loch	1809/10		
Ages 6-9		31.4	27.2
Ages 10-14		49.1	42.6
(n = 145)			
Mannheim	1811		
Ages 9-10		27.6	
Ages 11-14		36.4	
(n = 103)			
Sinsheim	1812		
Grade 2			2.5
Grade 3			6.9
(n = 107)			
Mannheim	1848-49		
Ages 6-9		7.1	17.1
Ages 10-14		15.0	7.9
(n = 108)			

Source: GLA, 213/2570, 229/109025, 235/22776, 377/966.

enrolled children. Though the numbers are too small to bear the weight of much analysis, these lists allow speculation about the relationship between social class and truancy (see Table 30). All the children in the Mannheim school were from poor families, but their absences were not randomly distributed. The fatherless children were the most truant, followed by the children of unskilled and semi-skilled laborers. Sons of artisans were rarely truant; their daughters were more often. The least truant of all, not surprisingly, were the children from the city's orphan asylum, whose hours were controlled by a cooperating institution rather than by a family whose needs often conflicted with the demands of the school. The evidence, while not overwhelming, does nonetheless suggest a situation in which children were more likely to be truant where their labor power was more important to their families.

In short, school attendance and work were options between which parents of employable children had to choose. As soon as and as long as children could work, their school attendance was bound to suffer. Schoolteachers and administrators were certainly aware of the parental calculations in this respect. For example, in a petition written in 1839 to complain of the ineffectiveness of enforcement of school attendance, the schoolteachers of Wiesloch maintained that "parents who are fined don't take it seriously

TABLE 30

TRUANCY BY PARENTAL OCCUPATION; MANNHEIM POOR SCHOOL, 1848-1849

Head of Family	Average # of Days Truant of Children			
	Boys	Girls	Total	n
Orphans in Asylum	--	0	0	8
Female Head	30.5	23.6	25.2	19
Unskilled or Semi-skilled	17.9	17.8	17.8	37
Skilled	4.6	14.2	10.9	38
Other	13.3	2.8	7.4	20

Source: GLA, 213/2570.

enough and often say, 'I'll gladly pay six or eight Kreuzer for one day missed since I'll save the wages of a man for the day, which costs more,' or, 'my child gathers wood and that is worth a lot more.'"[49] French officials pointed to a similar explanation for non-attendance there. A Midian school inspector summed up the situation pretty well when he wrote:

> one cannot deny that in the popul-ous industrial cities, as in rural communes, there exists a rather large number of families who can only survive by the product of the labor of all the members which make it up. Even the most modest salary that a weak child can earn whether in the fields or in the work-shops, becomes for them an indispensable necessity. For these children, the school doors are open in vain . . .[50]

Paying for Primary Schooling

Even where a family could dispense with the work of its children, or calculated that in the long run it would be beneficial to do so, parents were faced with the additional problem of raising school fees and subsidiary costs. The actual costs of schooling were typically shared by the community and the parents of the school-children. As indicated earlier, the usual arrangement in the 18th and early 19th centuries was for the community to provide a schoolteacher's salary which would then be supplemented by fees paid for each child.[51] Often a fixed number of indigent children, agreed upon at the time the

contract with a schoolteacher was signed, would be dispensed from fee-paying or subsidized by the community.

Primary school fees were relatively low in Baden. Late eighteenth-century fees were in the nieghborhood of one Gulden per year or less, or less than an average day's pay per year per child. Fees were especially low in rural areas where parents had more difficulty raising cash payments. Around 1800, the Catholic schoolteacher in Handschuhsheim was getting only six Kreuzer a quarter, or less than half a Gulden per year per child.[52] As late as 1813, the schoolteachers in the village of Rohrbach received only half a Gulden a year for each schoolchild. Some small communities like Walldorf even set up their schools as "free schools" where fees were entirely subsidized out of communal coffers. Fees in the towns and cities were usually much higher, both because of higher costs of living there and because teachers were more dependent on cash incomes. Urban rates were often set at two or three Gulden a year. By 1836, statewide minimum fees were established by law at one Gulden per year and there was a tendency at this time for communities to take over the responsibility for fee collection, making evasion and delay of payment more difficult. At all times, the basic fee was supplemented during winter months by Schulholz or Holzgeld payments: children were required to either carry logs and kindling to school each day or pay

a fee for firewood. Payments for school firewood could amount, over the course of a winter, to the total yearly school fee.

In Vaucluse, fees were paid monthly and were relatively high. Only during the early years of the Revolution were the primary schools free everywhere. Before and after, all but the officially declared indigent were expected to pay. At the turn of the century, fees ranged from 75 centimes to two or more francs a month; that is to say, parents had to pay about an average day's pay for each month of schooling for each child. The only free mass schooling provided in the Ancien Regime was that of the religious teaching orders, especially the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Fees were generally rising during the early decades of the 19th century, but in the cities, at least, there was often access to free schooling. Many religious orders and some of the écoles mutuelles charged no fees. In fact, by 1859, only about a third of the primary school pupils in Vaucluse were paying fees.[53]

The impact of the level of school fees on attendance was certainly important, but it is difficult to judge just how much weight they carried in family decisions in view of the serious problem of dependence on child labor and the relatively higher cost of forgone income. A school inspector, for example, claimed that the need for

child labor in one village was so great that school attendance would not substantially increase even if the schools were made free.[54]

Still, records from several Vauclusan communities suggest that fees were a significant factor in accounting for low attendance. In explaining the school attendance decline in his community after the Revolution, the mayor of St. Martin de la Brasque blamed it on the necessity for parents to pay fees, a practice he claims began after the Revolution. Before the Revolution, he maintained, the commune had given a salary to the schoolteacher and required that he teach indigents for free.[55] While this arrangement was a typical one in Ancien Regime France, it persisted in most communities even after the Revolution. St. Martin seems to have been unusual in requiring everyone to pay, and as a result was also unusually undemocractic in terms of access to primary schooling. As late as 1834, there was still only one pupil excused from fee paying (out of the good will of the schoolteacher and not by decision of the community) and the roster of pupils at the school included only the sons of property-owning peasants and men in tertiary sectors. The poor were apparently completely excluded from the school.[56] But even where arrangements were made for some free schooling, many of the poor were not receiving subsidies. In Lourmarin in 1834, only 75 of 127 children of school

age were attending school. Sixty-five school-aged children were officially declared indigent by the municipal council, but funds for their schooling were not available. In Lauris, there were 128 children of school age, of which fewer than half were attending school. Although 48 were judged indigent and another 12 were incapable of paying the full amount of the fees, the municipal council authorized public subsidies of school fees for only 20 children.[57] As in any such subsidy system, there was room for abuse, and one occasionally hears complaints that the children receiving subsidies were not always needy, while the truly poor often went unaided.[58] In any event, local people believed that the high fees presented an obstacle to attendance in many communities.

As was mentioned above, some evidence from the sample communities indicates that school fees, when they were as high as they were in Vaucluse, did have an effect upon attendance levels in a community. Within the Vauclusan sample communities, there is a high negative correlation (-.76) between the amount of school fees and the proportion of school-aged children attending school in 1836. Even controlling for the fact that fees were lower in the cities in Vaucluse than they were in villages, the relationship remains strong (a partial, controlling for size of community, of -.70). High school fees in

Vaucluse did present an obstacle to schooling over and above the cost of keeping children from remunerative labor.

In Baden, where fees were considerably lower, there was no apparent relationship at the community-level between attendance patterns and the amount of school fees. School fees tended to be higher in the cities, but even controlling for community size produces no significant relationship. However, the minimum school fees still presented families with difficulties during hard times, and were out of reach for the poorest families even under normal conditions. In crisis periods, Badenese children had to continue to enroll in school, but fees were paid less regularly. For example, in October of 1789, the schoolteachers of the city of Mannheim wrote the government asking for a subsidy to keep the schools open through the coming winter despite expected shortages of food and wood.[59] The years between 1790 and 1820 were marked by recurrent subsistence crises; wartime inflation threw many families into the ranks of the indigent, and made traditional school payments simultaneous beyond the reach of many and insufficient for their purposes. More and more families fell into arrears of payment and schoolteachers were helpless to collect what was due them. In 1795, a schoolteacher from Heidelberg submitted a list of 43 children whose families owed him money for school fees and firewood. He noted that, even if everybody paid, there

still would not be enough wood to last the winter. By 1796, the cost of wood had risen so much that it took 75 Gulden to heat one average classroon for the winter. Fire wood-payments never equalled this amount. In one school, official Holzgeld payments amounted to only 16 Gulden. Rural and suburban schoolteachers with small classes found it impossible to burden parents with the soaring costs of heating.[60] They flooded the school administration with requests to raise the tuition of those who could pay, but those who couldn't comprised an ever-increasing proportion of their pupils. In 1802, of 161 pupils in the Catholic girls' school in Heidelberg, 85 were excused from fee paying.[61] In the Mannheim Lutheran school, 20 of 90 pupils were officially classified as poor in 1804; among the remaining 70, 14 could pay only a couple of months a year. The same pattern held in two other schools in the city. The situation seems to have worsened by 1809, when only 140 of the city's 290 Lutheran schoolchildren were capable of paying the hefty four Gulden fee.[62] In a similar situation, the pastor of Heidelberg complained that:

> . . . among the parents in our community there are many who find themselves reluctant to send their children to school because of the cost of the Schulgeld, which is admittedly a noticeable burden where there are several children [in one family]; these parents are not prosperous enough to pay the Schulgeld, but are not poor enough or are too proud to inscribe their children on that list of those for whose schooling a fixed sum is given each year from the poor relief.[63]

The pastor felt that the only solution was a state subsidy for the schoolteacher. Similar requests continued until around 1810 from all over the area. The pastor in Waldangelloch asked in 1810 that school fees be doubled since only a tenth of the 163 pupils in his parish could pay anyway. The schoolteacher in Nussloch complained in 1811 that nearly 50 of his pupils were in arrears of payment.[64] More detail on the pattern of hardship can be inferred from a list of fee-owing parents of Mannheim in 1811: of the 98 delinquent parents, only 11 were listed as arm, the officially poor; the rest were largely unskilled workers, women, or workers in textiles and construction, the latter group very likely experiencing seasonal unemployment.[65]

The decades at the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th were unusually hard, it is true. Series of bad harvests, economic dislocation caused by the revolutionary upheavals and warfare made subsistence problematic for many families. The contemporary trend of conversion from payment in kind to payment in cash for schoolteachers' salaries and fees only complicated an already difficult situation. But while evidence of financial hardship as a hindrance to school fee payment is especially plentiful during these decades, it persists at least into the middle of the 19th century. By this time, however, it seems to have the urban poor who had the

greatest problem. The eventual solution in Vaucluse to the problem of financing the schooling of the urban poor was the establishing of communally-supported free schools. In Baden, urban schools were free only for the certified indigents, hence only for some of the poor. In Mannheim in 1838, about a tenth of all Catholic parents were deemed unable to pay school fees, this number over and above the officially destitute whose children attended the city's special police school for the poor.[66] Records of requests for dispensation from payment of fees demonstrate that even minimal fees were of significance to families with marginal budgets: a widow with four children who was supporting herself and her family as a laundress found it impossible to pay school fees even with the help of poor relief she was receiving from the state; another petitioner, certain Sophie Schwartz, was supporting herself and one son; a third woman complained that her husband and deserted her and their three children and was no longer sending any money. Again households headed by women were prominent among the needy, but circumstances could make payment difficult even for employed fathers. Herr Fischer, a ragpicker for the paper industry, wrote that he had five young children, the oldest of whom was eight. Two of his children were enrolled in the Protestant school and had to pay three Florins each; two younger ones were attending the Kleinkinderschule which cost six Kreuzer.

Herr Fischer was finding it impossible to pay his debts and his children's school fees as well. The same set of records lists eight or nine families each year who requested and received special exemption from payment of school fees.[67]

In sum, the evidence seems to indicate that difficulties in raising even minimal school fees like those in Baden plagued some families at all times. Typically, the families in most hardship were those in certain phases of the family cycle of poverty. Hardest hit were widows with children and other female heads of households: couple-headed households with numerous children too young to work also suffered financial difficulties. In times of general economic hardship, many additional families fell into the category of those unable to pay school fees. But except where poverty was widespread enough to prevent the collection of even the minimal amount needed to maintain the schoolteacher and heat the classroom, the lesser dependancy of the Badenese schoolteacher on school fees meant that schooling could continue despite the poverty of the pupils. Various forms of temporary and permanent subsidy for fees were also available. In Vaucluse, where fees were higher and more crucial to the teacher, they presented a real obstacle to schooling, even for those children whose labor was less crucial. This obstacle was only removed where free

schooling for the poor was made available through community subsidy of fees.

The Value of Schooling

What were the benefits of schooling? Certainly, the ability to read and write had a value that was not simply economic. The earliest incentive for literacy in Europe were often of a religious nature. Still, as Francois Furet has pointed out, even in a culture that defined schooling as desirable for everyone, actual educational attainments reflected socio-economic patterns. But over and above this generalized incentive to learning, certain economic considerations and career expectations more pertinent to some social groups than to others should produce varying degrees of interest in education. In addition, changing opportunities and changing conditions may affect some groups and not others, or some earlier than others. Furthermore, the family economy with its cyclic demand for labor contribution might also make schooling more valuable for some children than for others. Schooling patterns, and changes in them should thus reflect these kinds of differences.

Children Too Young To Work

The pressure on older children to work, coupled with the direct costs involved in school attendance, discouraged extended schooling. But while older children found the demands of the family economy countering the official push toward the classroom, parents were apparently more eager to opt for schooling for children too young to work. It is clear that parental assessments of educational possibilities for their children were influenced by the age of the children in question: the younger children within the school-age range were most likely to be attending school. Children too young to work were a liability insofar as their care prevented parents and older siblings from working. The truancy records mentioned earlier, which indicate that truancy was lower among younger children suggest age-discrimination in schooling behavior. Further evidence indicating a demand for schooling for young children adds insight into parental strategies.

A group of Catholic parents in the town of Schriesheim wrote a petition in 1750 complaining of the poor quality of their local school. In the course of their complaint, they remarked that:

> . . . of course, there are little children who are sent to the school, but only with the idea of keeping their noise out of the house for a few

> hours; the older ones, no matter how unlearned they are, we are better off setting to handicrafts than letting them waste their time going to school.[68]

Clearly, these parents felt that the time of their older children was more valuable than that of their younger ones. In fact, any sort of schooling was good for the latter is only to free parents from childcare responsibilities for a few hours a day. Very often, school officials had difficulty, not in forcing young children to attend school, but rather in finding room for all the youngsters who flocked to the classrooms. Heidelberg officials noted in 1815 that the elementary classes were particularly overcrowded. They considered instituting split shifts for the six-to-nine years olds, but then decided that this solution was not tenable since "so many parents send little children to school, not merely for learning, but also in order to have them in safe hands for extended periods of time, and these parents would be very dissatisfied if their children could attend only for one hour in the morning and one if the afternoon."[69]

School administrators often met with these problems by establishing minimum ages of enrollment. The Brothers of the Christian Schools were forced to set statuatory minimum age of seven in order to prevent a flood of toddlers from entering their free classes. They even raised the age to eight in certain towns like Cavaillon where overcrowding was particularly problematic. French public

schools were closed to children below the age of five. In the early 19th century, officials in the city of Mannheim and Heidelberg forbade attendance to children younger than six.[70]

The importance of schools to parents of young children should not be underestimated; the alternative was often a choice between costly or mediocre care in the homes of neighborhood women, or the streets. For example, parents in the city of Apt wrote a petition in 1830 in support of continuing town subsidies of the Brothers' school because before the Brothers came to Apt, so they claimed, there had been no free schooling, and "the children of all the families who live from the product of their labor used to pass the time running and fighting in the public squares. The opening of the Frères' school ended these little disorders; nearly all families, rich and poor alike, send their little children to the frères . . ."[71] Their remarks echo a commonly made distinction between older and younger children, whose roles in the family were different. As the 19th century progressed, there was a decided trend toward the exclusion of the very youngest children from primary school classrooms. Eighteenth century classrooms seemed often to include children ranging in age from four or five years old to 13 or 14 or even older.[72] The early nineteenth-century official move toward rationalization of the schooling

process resulted in the disappearance of the youngest children from the classroom. Schools in the most progressive districts in Baden were, by the second decade of the 19th century, already divided into successive grades in which the age range of pupils was narrowed to three or four years.

Children who were too young to attend the official primary schools, or who were being gradually excluded from them, were a problem for working parents. To a certain extent, the demand for schooling for toddlers was filled by unofficial "dame schools," run in various neighborhoods by older women, or by the "Winkel" or "ABC" schools, often run as side occupations by artisans, innkeepers and others.[73] Sometimes these schools were no more than the corner of someone's house; sometimes they were more elaborate institutions which actually taught the rudiments of grammar, the alphabet or needle crafts. All seem to have shared a characteristic nonchalence about the age of their "pupils," and most had the additional virtue of minimal tuition. When and where they competed with more acceptable, official schools, they aroused the concern of teachers and administrators. Information about them becomes available, for the most part, only on such occasions. In Vaucluse, most large towns had schools of this sort. The city of Cavaillon had three, reported to have 120 pupils in the wintertime in the 1830's. These

pupils were all under eight years old. In one of the classes, the children were all below age six and "fort turbulent." Avignon also had several such shcools, according to the inspector; the bourg of St. Saturnin d'Apt had one.[74] Despite the more organized network of official schools in Baden, neighborhood schools for little children also flourished though less visibly and less freely. For example, the city officials of Mannheim fined a Winkelschullehrer Flees ten Thaler in 1741 for holding a school without authorization. In response to this official action, the parents of the children taught by Flees sent a petition to the Lutheran Consistorium asking for official recognition of Flees. In the petition, the parents claimed that they had hired him:

> 1. . . . so that we could send him particularly our very little children who cannot be accepted by our regular schoolteacher on account of their too tender years and because of the crowds of growing children . . .
> 2.because we'd like to keep our little children out of the streets, and safe, until they are old enough to go to the regular schools;
> 3. . . . because of his good method of teaching children . . .[75]

Similar confrontations between parents and school authorities over the legitimacy of Winkelschulen recurred in Mannheim in the 1760's and between 1790 and 1810.[76]

In contrast with the apparent vitality of private institutions for the care of young children, government initiative was slow in the area of early childhood schooling. In both France and Germany, however, there were

private infants school movements in the early 19th century, dedicated to the creation of schools for children too young to enter the primary schools, which spurred official interest in this area. In 1833, the government of Baden added 500 Gulden to the funds of an infant school association for the purpose of opening a Kleinkinderschule in Mannheim.[77] Avignon opened its salle d'asile at about the same time.[78] Both schools began with an enrollment of 120 or 130 pupils. The schools seemed to fill a critical need and over the next 30 years, infants schools began to multiply in both regions. The largely agricultural community of Lourmarin in Vaucluse opened one of 1837. As one might expect, the seasonal enrollment pattern there was the opposite of that of the elementary schools. The salle d'asile had an enrollment of 40 toddlers in the summertime and mothers were reportedly "extremely pleased over the establishment of the school which allowed them to absent themselves from their homes, without anxiety, to work in the fields." No one attended the school in the wintertime when the farm women could supervise their young children at home.[79] The Sisters of St. Charles, who ran a primary school for girls in L'Isle, proposed opening an infant school there in 1843. The mayor of the town favored the plan which was "extremely useful for this commune where so many factories [and, presumably, so many women working outside their home] are to be found."[80] By

1848, nine communities in Vaucluse, mainly urban, had opened successful salles d'asile. The enrollment in the largest infant school, in Avignon, had reached about 360. At the same time, there were about 200 children in the infant school in Mannheim.[81] (Table 31 charts the growth of the institution in Vaucluse and France as a whole.) With factory growth progressing apace, and more and more parents working outside the home, the infant school seemed ever more necessary. Working-class parents valued them for their relative safety and cheapness. (Most were, in fact, free.) School officials, on the other hand, may have seen them primarily as a first training grounds for the children of the working classes, where instruction in the habits of order and productivity could begin. Nonetheless, despite the probable divergence over goals, the infant schools were the earliest and most dramatic meeting grouds of educational policy and family plans.

Schooling and Careers

But what about the more positive benefits of schooling? Why were older children ever sent to school? Unfortunately for the historian concerned with education, average families rarely left records of their perceptions about schooling and its value to them; their strategy must

be inferred from their behavior alone with only occasional hints coming from direct comments about goals and plans. As in other realms, it was the relatively well-off who left accounts of educational schemes, and they distinguished themselves from the typical both in their interest in education and their ability to write about the subject. As for the ordinary people, one is left with little but the testimony of school administrators and other strangers, who often found the common people impossibly shortsighted in their indifference toward schooling. School inspectors' reports provide interesting if distorted glimpses into parental assessments of the value of schooling. For example, a Vauclusan inspector wrote in the 1830's:

> The most powerful motive encouraging parents to send their children to school is without a doubt the hope they have that their children will find in the instruction they receive the means to increase their well-being and even arrive at a certain condition of fortune; but these distant results are little sensed by the poor because they don't concern themselves with the prospect of fortune, which is too distant for them, but simply with living from day to day. So they obstinately keep their children with them no matter how minimal the wage they can earn.[82]

The inspector certainly regarded schooling as a means of social mobility; to him, it was simple shortsightedness to refuse to take advantage of the opportunities offered by schooling. Again, one must question the accuracy of his perceptions. No doubt, access to certain careers and success in them entailed educational preparation, but a

closer examination of the role of schooling in career determination casts doubt on the general validity of his assertion.

Even in the 20th century, the link between schooling and career selection is tenuous at best. Critics of contemporary Western education have made a strong case that meritocratic arguments have merely rationalized a system in which educational institutions essentially reproduce, from generation to generation, the cultural capital required for access to prestigious careers.[83] Logically speaking, specified skills are required for the performance of any job. These skills can be acquired in a variety of situations falling into two general categories: on-the-job training (including, for example, work alongside parents and apprenticeship) and training in institutions which are specialized in instruction rather than in production (schools of all sorts). There has been a clear trend over the past few centuries for the latter type of training to take up an ever greater bulk of child and adolescent time. although the extent to which schooling has taken over the transfer of job skills is less clear. Furthermore, access to schooling cannot be equated with access to careers. In the early modern world (and even today if the critics are to be believed) access to a particular career had very little to do with skills acquired through schooling. Careers were chosen by

a family depending on its needs, aspirations and capacities to invest in expensive and time-consuming training. In general, schooling made sense as an investment only to those for whom careers requiring educational qualifications were a likelihood in the first place. For the rest, extensive schooling was either an expensive waste of time, or a downright impossibility.

For that majority of early modern people who earned their living from the land, choice of occupation was largely determined by the social and demographic situation of the family. Children who were in a position to inherit land from their parents could expect to go into farming; only non-heirs would be likely to change occupations. The children of the landless of land poor were, of course, not as motivated to follow in their parents footsteps, but the dearth of family resources made any investment in alternative training unlikely. In either case, learning to farm entailed work alongside elders, begun early in life. This doesn't imply that peasants had no use for schooling, but the vocational value they attributed to it must have been minimal. Of course, among agricultural classes, landed peasants had more of a stake in schooling than did the landless, particularly as commercial dealings began to intrude more often and more predictably into the peasant economy. Literacy among landholding peasants in southeastern France began to pick

up around the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and rose dramatically thereafter[84] (see Figures 18 and 19). Schooling came to be regarded as beneficial for sons who could conceivably find reading, writing and ciphering useful in farm management. Interest centered, for the most part, on the acquisition of these basic skills which were becoming increasingly relevant to propertied peasants with increasing monetization of the economy. Vauclusan peasant parents were, in general, little concerned with the niceties of grammar, if continual inspectors' complaints on the subject are accurate: this would not be too surprising in a population whose everyday tongue was different from that taught in the schools. On the other hand, they "held a great store in arithmetic because they made use of it more frequently . . . there are a lot of children who interest themselves in it."[85] In 1836, the inspector was surprised to find children who, despite the fact that they devoted themselves to farmwork six months a year "could read and write passably [and], while little learned in grammar . . . the usefulness of which they couldn't appreciate, were applying themselves more to arithmetic."[86] As the popularity of evening schools attests, adults were even re-turning to school at night to acquire skills they had not learned as children. Thus at Gadagne in 1838 ciphering was the principal interest of the night pupils, among them "many fathers of families

KEY

O, o - notables
C, c - commercial class
A, a - artisans
P, p - properties peasants
X, x - landless labor, cultivateur
I - semi-skilled industry

Small letters represent observations from one community; large letters represent means of several communities. The dotted lines suggest regional means for each class.

Sources: ADV: E, État Civil. M. Vovelle, "Y-a-til eu une revolution culturelle a^{u} XVIIIe siècle?. . ." Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, XXII (1975), 89-141 and J. Sanchez, "De la culture populaire. . ." (Mémoire de Maitrise, Aix, (1974).

FIGURE 18

MALE LITERACY PATTERNS BY OCCUPATION IN EARLY MODERN HAUTE PROVENCE

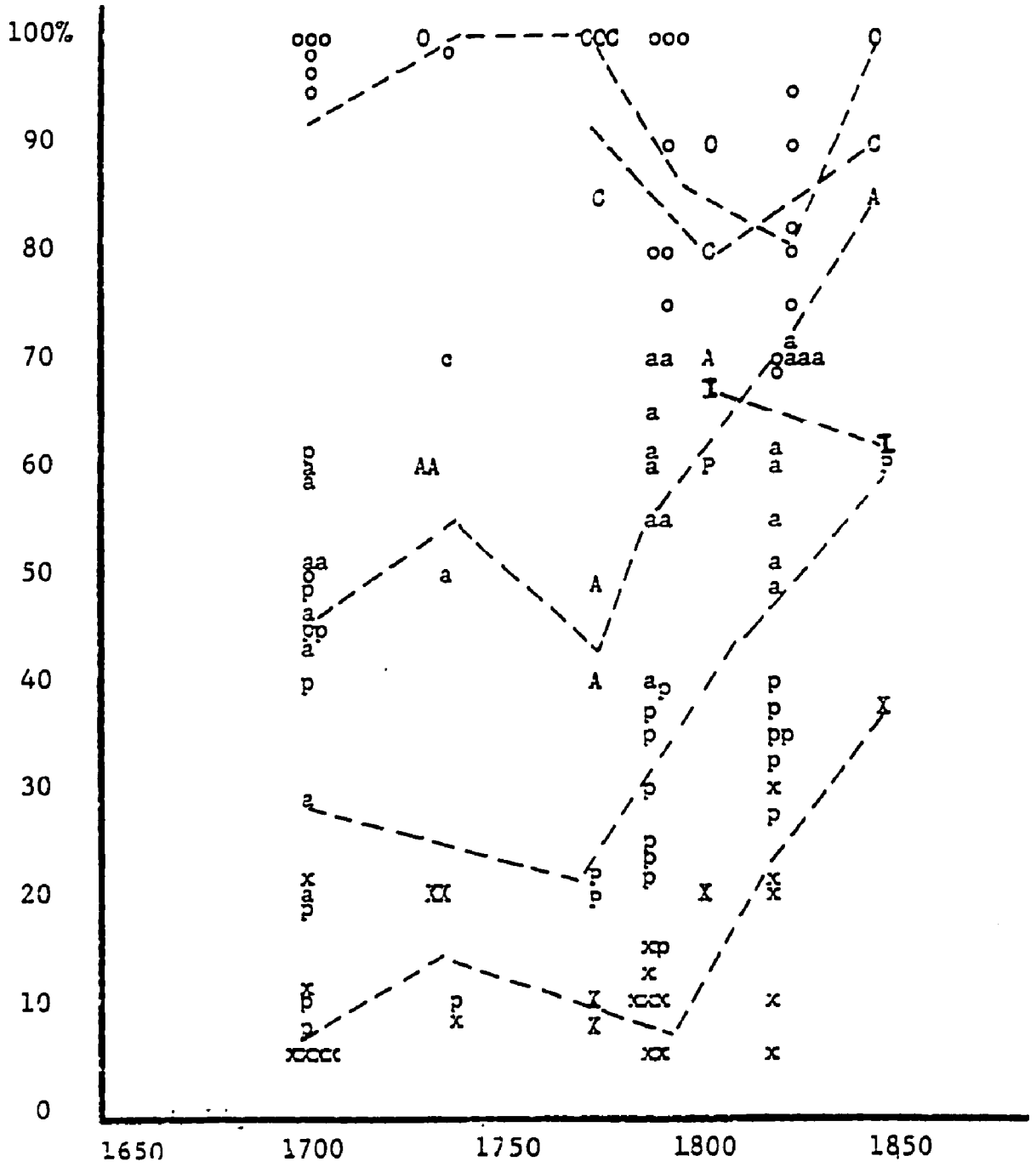
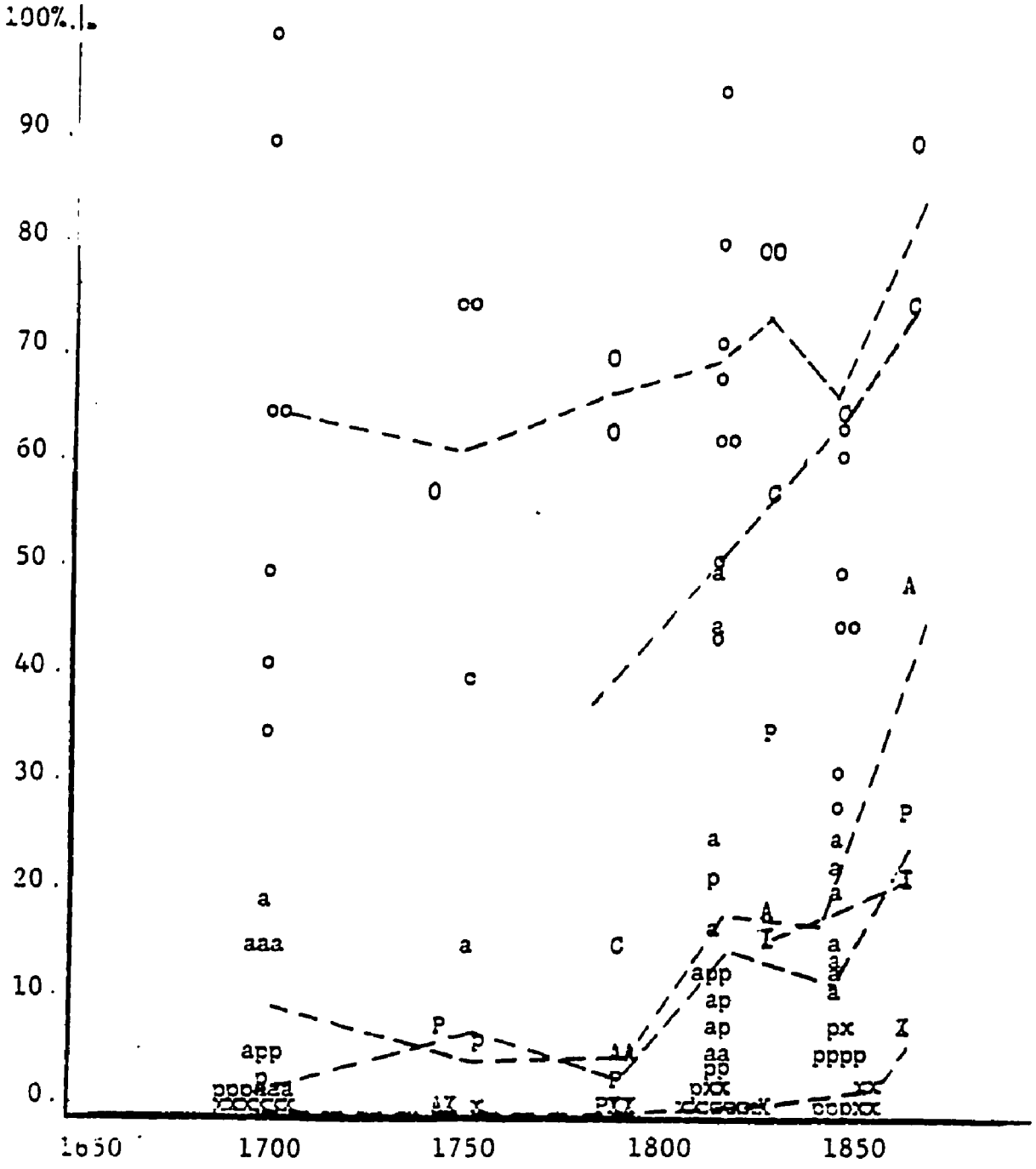


FIGURE 19

FEMALE LITERACY PATTERNS BY OCCUPATION (OF FATHER) IN EARLY MODERN HAUTE PROVENCE



See preceding graph for sources and key.

who sense each day the need they have to know how to keep accounts."[87] Among the poorer agricultural classes of Vaucluse, literacy (and presumably, schooling) remained low, despite some early 19th century advance among male cultivateurs. While agricultural classes were clearly unwilling to accept as practical the government's program of fulltime elementary education, it is apparent that certain sectors of the agricultural population--particularly peasants with property to manage--were beginning to appreciate the advantages to their children of acquisition of basic literacy skills through seasonal schooling.

But peasant appreciation for schooling seems to have been limited to sons. While girls in Baden were enrolled in equal numbers with boys in primary schools by the middle of the 19th century, sex discrimination with regard to schooling was still quite obvious in Vaucluse, particularly in rural areas. Not only were fewer girls sent to school, but their schooling was more limited. For example, in St. Saturnin d'Avignon, there was a girls' school for teaching reading and writing, but no grammar was taught since "mothers of families, here all belonging to the agricultural classes are opposed to having their children devote themselves to studies which according to them serve no purpose but to make their children waste their time."[88] At Beaumont, the female pupils were not making much progress because their attendance was too often

interrupted by parental demands on their time.[89] As was indicated in Chapter 4, Vauclusan rural families were persistently less likely to send their daughters to school than urban families, even once they began to educate their sons.

Although evidence indicates that girls were less likely than boys to be in school in late eighteenth-century Baden, such a pattern disappears in the face of early nineteenth-century attempts at enforcement of mandatory school attendance. As was indicated earlier, the relatively lower value attributed to schooling for girls persisted even in the Badenese situation of religiously encouraged schooling, and apparently only disappeared when offset by the risk of fine for truancy.

For the surplus children of propertied peasant families, and for the children of families in other sectors, specialized vocational training was a routine part of childhood and adolescence. For those destined for artisanal and small commercial enterprises, that training came in part through some form of apprenticeship in a home or shop. For those intending to follow a professional or administrative career, secondary schooling was the standard preparation. In either case, the socio-economic position of the family dictated both career choice and schooling decisions; those not in a position to inherit or invest in training, those under pressure to begin work

early in life drifted, without resource, into whatever unskilled or semi-skilled employment was available.

For entry into the skilled industrial classes, apprenticeship was still routine, although the formalities of the guild system disintegrated much earlier in France than in Germany. Apprenticeship contracts preserved in the notarial archives of Vaucluse reveal significant aspects of the apprenticeship system as it was operating in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. First, apprenticing a child meant doing without his or her labor for a period of two to five years, although the duration specified was tending to shorten at this time. Secondly, apprenticeship also generally entailed the payment of a lump sum intended both as payment for initiation into the mysteries of the trade being taught, and also to contribute toward the support of the apprentice during the early, non-productive years. Some contracts specified that parents were to continue to supply certain parts of the apprentice's maintenance. Fees paid to the master at the time of apprenticeship ranged from eighteen to 200 livres in the late 18th century and from 30 to 400 francs in the early 19th century, depending on the trade and time involved. In other words, the cost of apprenticeship was between a month's and a year's average pay or more; it entailed substantial savings and sacrifice for all but the well-off and was out of reach for many families.[90] It

seems, nonetheless, that apprenticeship to some trades could be arranged merely for the price of the child's labor. Mid-to-late 19th century commentators often imply that shopowners were happy to take on young children as "apprentices," and even pay them a pittance, as a source of cheap labor. It is not always easy to draw the line between child labor and apprenticeship, but it was apparently still the case that entrance into highly skilled and well-paid trades for the most part entailed apprenticeship training. Other trades, in particular textiles and construction, in which the division of labor was fairly advanced and skill levels for some jobs quite low, exploitation of child labor was quite common, whether or not termed apprenticeship. The institution seems to have been disintegrating the fastest where factory industry was most extensive; thus in 1851, the Prefect of Vaucluse reported that:

> the apprenticeship contract no longer exists in most of the workshops of our department, especially in those employing children. . . in these shops, children are paid by the day, like workers, and the apprenticeship contract has disappeared in favor of paid labor.[91]

While apprenticeship as a means of access of certain careers was a form distinct from schooling, its existence and importance as a stage in the life cycle of early modern youth had implications for schooling practice. Since apprenticeship was often begun before

school-leaving age an obvious potential conflict existed between parents and masters on the one hand, and school officials on the other, over control of the apprentice's time. This conflict was manifested in the disputes, cited earlier, between masters in Baden and Gewerbeschule authorities. Nonetheless, since they were destined for careers which often entailed running a small shop, buying and selling, keeping accounts, etc., apprentices were also interested in the types of literacy skills taught in the schools. Despite conflicting demands on their time, apprentices and even journeymen in cities often managed to combine vocational training and work with formal schooling. The Badenese Gewerbeschulen were deliberately set up to allow easy access to working people. Courses met in the evenings and on Sundays and fees were minimal. While many of the students in these schools were young apprentices required by law to attend until the age of 14, a substantial scetor were older apprentices and journeymen who apparently saw these schools as means of acquiring advanced skills or of making up for schooling missed in childhood.[92] In Vaucluse, apprentices and journeymen were the most important groups attending the various evening schools and adult courses offered in the towns.[93] Artisans as a group clearly valued education; their regard for it is reflected in their high literacy rates, but while schooling could help an artisan better manage

his affairs, or keep up with certain technical improvements in his field, it could not in the a early modern context be substituted for on-the-job training. Access to the essential skills was still largely in the hands of artisans themselves, and was to remain so for most trades until the end of the century. Artisanal status could not be achieved through schooling.

Career skills were acquired directly through schooling for some occupations, primarily in non-productive sectors like the professions, administration, and to a lesser extent in commercial and service sectors.[94] Still, recruitment into these sectors operated in a way that made schooling largely insignificant as an independent determinant of career choice. Either the cost of requisite educational investment was so high as to discourage all but the wealthy to undertake the venture, or the necessary material capital for entry into the career made any scholastic preparation useless to all but those who stood the chance to inherit the necessary shop, notarial study, capital stock etc. The large (and looming) exceptions to this claim of irrelevance of schooling to career choice fall into the general category of bureaucracy. Schooling, and schooling alone, could sometimes qualify a few exceptional individuals for positions commanding a certain income and prestige. The talented younger son of even a poor peasant, artisan or veteran

could be encouraged to attend, at the expense of the church or state, a Latin or normal school or seminary leading to a career as minor officer, official or cleric. The school bureaucracies themselves recruited through mechanisms like these, perhaps explaining the optimism of many school officials concerning the potential for upgrading the population through schooling. However, such "sponsored mobility" through schooling affected relatively few individuals at this time. Church-controlled patronage had clearly declined by the early 19th century in France. Revolutionary seizures of church property had destroyed the endowments so crucial for the Church system of educational patronage, but even before this crucial blow, endowments originating for the most part during the periods of Reform had been steadily eroding in value as a result of inflation. Military scholarships were available, especially in France, but with the exception of the Napoleonic boom period, remained few in number in most secondary schools. Finally, state civil burearcracies created in the early centuries of statebuilding were also recruiters of the educationally qualified. But like the industrial and commercial bureaucracies which were to follow their organizational example, their presence as sectors of the labor force was, still little felt. Even in the middle of the 19th century, the total of all persons employed in civil service, teaching, clergy,

the professions and white collar employment in private industry represented only about three percent of the adult male labor force of Vaucluse, and about four percent of the Badenese.[95] Recruitment into the beaucracies did not yet produce an upsurge in secondary school attendance, although the rise perceptible in the middle of the 19th century may have been a result of parental desires to place sons in these sectors of the future.

Extended secondary schooling was possible only for select groups. While even primary schooling reflected class distinctions, obviously in Vaucluse where it was voluntary and expensive and more subtly in Baden where it was cheap and obligatory, the social class determinants of secondary schooling are apparent in both places. At the level of secondary education, the same constraints controlling primary school investment were operating at exaggerated degrees: the need for the labor of the adolescent was more pressing than for that of the small child; his or her potential income was higher; the costs involved in secondary schooling were generally higher; the payoff for esoteric studies was an incentive for smaller sectors of the population than were the potential benefits of literacy skills.

The direct costs of advanced schooling could be quite high. Obviously, residential factors came into play. People living in villages and small towns that

could not support secondary schools were disadvantaged in comparison with urban dwellers. In the larger towns and cities, children could live at home and still take advantage of local educational facilities as day pupils. Non-residents had to pay for room and board at the school or elsewhere in the city and the costs of boarding were significantly higher than the costs of merely attending classes.[96]

In some early modern schools, most notably the Jesuit schools that existed all over Europe until the 1760's, there was no charge for day students attending classes. In cities and towns where such free schooling existed, access to higher education was determined by the immediate labor needs of the family as weighed against the future expectations for the child in question. Most forms of secondary schooling available between the min-18th and mid-19th century, however, required some financial outlay on the part of parents. Tuition fees ranged widely depending on the type of institution and on the proportion of the school's running expenses subsidized by government and private funds. But for all of the institutions of classical learning--the collège and lycée of France and the Lyzeum and Gymnasium of Baden--a significant part of the financial burden of schooling was borne by the parents of the pupils. In mid-19th century Vaucluse, between a third and a half of the educational budgets of the collèges

were derived from tuition. (The total parental share increases, of course, if living expenses of the boarding students are included.) The situation was similar in north Baden; the Gymnasia were financed by a combination of state, church and city subsidies and parental payments, with the latter contributing between a third and a half of the budget. The more heavily subsidized Lyzeum received only a quarter to a third of its budget in the form of tuition fees.[97]

In early 19th century Vaucluse, secondary school fees ranged from around two francs per month for elementary subjects to around twelve francs per month for the upper grades a collège.[98] In some towns in pre-Restoration Vaucluse, there are indications that sons of city residents were admitted without charge to the municipal secondary schools, but this practice disappeared during the Restoration. More typically municipal councils stipulated that a specific number of town residents be admitted free to collège classes as part of the financial agreement between the city and its school. Secondary school fees in Vaucluse were generally rising during the first half of the 19th century. Monthly fees were about five francs during the 1820's; by the 1840's, only the elementary subjects could be learned for as little. Pupils in the advanced grades paid closer to ten francs per month for instruction both at the collège royal in

Avignon and at the communal collèges in the towns and bourgs of the department.[99] These rates, amounting in a year to about two month's earnings for a skilled artisan, put the secondary schools out of range for all but the well-off and scholarship students.

The vast disparity between Baden and Vaucluse in schooling costs, apparent at the primary school level, largely disappears at the level of secondary education. Nonetheless, because of larger state and religious subsidies of secondary schooling, the total cost to families was slightly lower in Baden. Around the middle of the 19th century, lyceum fees were between 20 and 30 florins per year, depending on grade.[100] This figure is about ten percent higher than early 19th century rates, indicating some inflation over the first half of the century. In any event, despite subsidies, this yearly tuition represented a large investment, about a month's salary for an average artisan. The Höhere Bürgerschulen were less expensive; tuition was dropped from 30 to 16 florins in the 1830's. But these schools, like the écoles primaires supérieures of France, were not intended to teach career skills, but rather to provide general education and advanced skills useful for manufacturing and commercial careers for which training took place in non-academic situations.

As was indicated in Chapter 4, attendance at full-time secondary schools remained low throughout the early 19th century. Relatively low attendance meant attendance by elite social groups. Sons of artisans and small shopkeepers could attend classes in towns with publicly subsidized secondary institutions; families living in smaller communities were excluded with the exception of those wealthy enough to pay boarding costs. The more prestigious royal collèges and lycées, with their higher proportion of boarding pupils, recruited from even more restricted groups.

Recruitment into secondary classes had not always been so selective. The evidence of sheer numbers indicates a more democratic access to schooling in the late Renaissance: seventeenth century enrollment lists indicate that Latin schools attracted even the poorer urban classes.[101] In Ancien Regime Avignon, as elsewhere, the Jesuits enforced their policy of free instruction for town residents, supported by endowments and city subsidy. When the municipal council took action to replace the Jesuits ousted from the Comtat in 1768, some applicants for the takeover of the collège felt it politic to set themselves apart from this democratic policy of their predecessors. The winners of the bid, the Benedictines, stated in their Mémoire of application that they differed from other congregations in "admitting to their institutions only

children from good families having prior instruction; an unlettered child or the son of some artisan would present himself in vain; we would never admit him . . ."[102]

Such a statement would be unlikely both a century or so earlier when urban schools were thriving institutions of education for a great variety of urban groups and several decades later when Revolutionary principles made such a direct statement of antidemocratic policy suspect. Nonetheless, the practice of the institutions that succeeded the collège of Avignon was certainly restrictive in terms of social class recruitment of student. The Napoleonic period presented a temporary aberration in recruitment patterns. During the five years between the founding of the lycée at Avignon and the end of the Napoleonic era, the school drew about a third of its pupils from artisanal and commercial classes and a quarter from agricultural origins. The remainder were drawn from professional, official and military classes. By mid-century, however, agricultural representation had virtually disappeared and only about 15 percent of the students came from commercial and artisanal groups.[103] The communal collèges were more democratic in their recruitment, as both curriculum and fee levels were subject to the approval of local municipal councils. Thus in Pertius, where the curriculum was geared more than usually toward commercial subjects, about half of the students seem to

have been drawn from artisanal and commercial classes.[104] By 1852, the principal of the collège reported that "of 30 pupils who attend the collège, 25 are destined for commercial and industrial professions; only 5 are going into the liberal professions."[105] But only in places like Pertuis, where the political influence of the petit bourgeoisie was strong, was such a trend likely.

In Baden, the orientation of the Latin schools toward education for the liberal professions and civil service was even more marked. By the middle of the 19th century, the Badenese system was channeling students into career-specialized institutions at an early age. No equivalent of the communal collège, which mixed pupils in Latin and commercial courses in the same classes, existed in Baden. Many of the subjects taught for the benefit of the commercial classes in the some of the communal colléges of Vaucluse were taught in the newly created Höhere Bürgerschulen in Baden. Thus while a larger number of boys had access to fulltime secondary schooling in Baden, that access was designed to discourage mobility from one Stand to another. Furthermore, the establishment of Höhere Bürgerschulen seems even to have rigidified social boundaries at the level of primary education as well in those cities which supported such schools. As one school inspector noted:

> because of the establishment of our Höhere Bürgerschule, most of the children whose parents are concerned about the schooling of their children have been withdrawn from the ordinary elementary schools, especially in the upper grades; for the most part, those who remain are those whose parents are poor or lacking in interest in their children's schooling.[106]

This led, the inspector felt, to a deterioration of the regular primary schools.

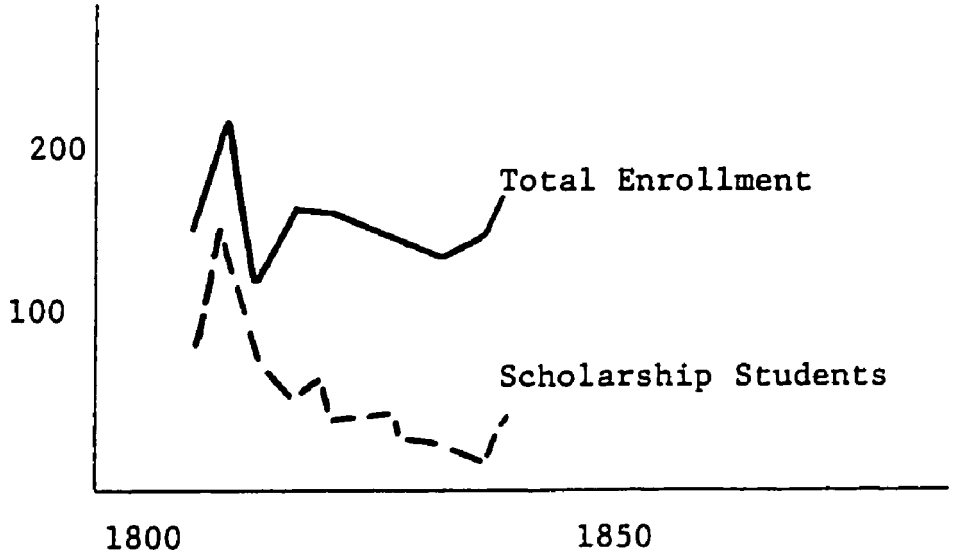
Those who attended the Höhere Bürgerschulen were also drawn from fairly distinct social groups. According to Hohler, 80 to 90 percent of the pupils were destined for bürgerliche business careers.[107] In particular, this meant commercial and artisanal careers. While a few students did transfer from Höhere Bürgerschulen to classical schools, such transition was relatively rare. In choosing their careers, the students of the Höhere Bürgerschulen as a group reproduced quite closely the careers of their fathers. While about a fifth of their fathers were liberal professionals or civil servants, the bulk came from the same trading and manufacturing occupations toward which the students were directed.[108] The lyceums, on the other hand, recruited primarily from the for the classes of professionals and government officials. Those achieving the Abitur, according to surviving lists, and even those excused from payment of tuition fees because of financial hardship were from these classes.[109] The

Badenese secondary schools, even more than the French, were institutions specialized in the reproduction of elite classes.

Of course, poverty was not an absolute barrier to higher education; a few poor scholars made their way through the system. Patronage in the form of scholarships for those too poor to pay for tuition and subsistence during the years of schooling was available. In the 18th century, this patronage took the form of endowed scholarships for advanced study, generally leading to positions in the Church. In the city of Avignon, for example, there were around 150 such positions during the Ancien Regime, usually filled by recommendations from members of the sponsoring families.[110] Similar scholarship aid, though in smaller amounts, was available for about 15 pupils of the lyceum in Mannheim destined for theological study. The value of these endowments was decreasing over time with inflation; in France, most were lost entirely as a result of Revolutionary seizures of Church assets. By the early 19th century, state aid was becoming available. In the French lyceums a set number of scholarships were established at the time of reorganization during the Napoleonic era. At first, most of these free places went to the sons of military officers; the exceptions, those sponsored by local governments, went to sons of professionals and local officials.[111] As is illustrated in Figure 20 the number

FIGURE 20

TOTAL ENROLLMENT AND NUMBER OF SCHOLARSHIP STUDENTS, LYCEUM OF AVIGNON, 1810-1843



of such scholarships for pupils in Vaucluse declined steadily after the Napoleonic period. Certain fees could also be dispensed with in cases of need, but such dispensations again went generally to the sons of members of administrative or propertied classes in financial straits; the few working class exceptions were generally clients of the small patronage network around the school itself, in particular, sons of artisans employed by the institution.[112]

Scholarship aid was also available in Baden, as were dispensations from Schulgeld for the poor, but the dispensation system was becoming more restrictive as the 19th century progressed. In 1820, 35 of the 120 pupils at the Lyzeum in Mannheim were dispensed from fee paying. By 1824, the number of dispensations had risen to 48 and the director began to worry. Claiming the institution "was certainly not a free school," he ordered that henceforward such dispensations would be granted only after one year of attendance during which the candidate paid fees and showed signs of "industry, capacity, and progress."[113] Eventually, following the lead of the directors of the Heidelberg lyceum, he placed a ceiling on dispensations at ten percent of paid enrollments. During the next 20 years, such dispensations as in Vaucluse, went primarily to the sons of deceased, retired or otherwise insolvent professionals and officials. In

all, the early 19th century reorganization and rationalization of the school system seems to have worked in practice as well as in theory to restrict access to classical education.

Even as primary education was becoming more common, access to it more universal, and appreciation of its value apparently more widespread, the relative career advantages it bestowed were shrinking. In a situation where all classes were becoming more educated, more literate, the move into the schools was for the last to arrive there a defensive one:[114] rather than opening up new opportunities, the early 19th century democratization of primary schooling simply helped to extend to the poor schooling that was already available to the comfortable, schooling that was quickly becoming crucial for the maintenance of even a modest position. The democratization of access to primary schooling made the bifurcation of the schooling system all the more clear. Even as enrollments in elementary education boomed, wealthier families began to send their children to more selective institutions for their primary instruction and institutions of higher education apparently narrowed their recruitment to select specific kinds of children with specific career destinations. Without significant change in the mode of access to careers, and in the overall pattern of access to higher

education, the democratization of primary schooling represented a very limited advantage to the poor.

CHAPTER SIX FOOTNOTES

[1]The Family economy model on which this chapter is based described in M. Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire (Cambridge, 1971) and J. Scott and L. Tilly, "Women's Work and the Family in Nineteenth Century Europe," Comparative Studies in Soceity and History 17 (1974) 36-64. The Tilly and Scott model is more fully elaborated in their forthcoming Women, Work and Family (tentative title), to appear in 1977.

[2]T. W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," American Economic Review 51 (1961), 1-17. Economic models of educational investment have been applied in historical studies by, among others, C. Tilly, "Population and Pedagogy," History of Education Quarterly, 13 (1973), 113-129; L. Solmon, "Opportunity Costs and Models of Schooling in the Nineteenth Century," Southern Economic Journal, 37 (1970), 66-83.

[3]See above, Chapter 1 and 5.

[4]Tilly and Scott, Chapter 6; Anderson, Chapter 5.

[5]Schultz, p. 14. Other economists like G. Becker and R. Easterlin treat children more as consumer durables in their analyses of family economies. While such a conception may have validity in post-industrial economies, it seems that the investment conceptualization is more useful in societies heavily dependent upon child labor. The latter concept is especially pertinent for peasant societies, where the importance of producing surviving heirs apparently influences parental strategies.

[6]This social control view of schooling has been advanced by a number of British historians, including R. Gilmour in "The Gradgrind School," Victorian Studies 11 (1967), 207-24 and R. Johnson in "Education Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," Past and Present, 49 (1970), 96-119. Similar arguments have been made concerning education in the United States by S. Bowles and H. Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (New York, 1976) and for Baden by W. Trapp, "Liberale Volksschulpolitik in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts-untersucht am Beispiel des Amtsbezirk Konstanz/Baden," Mimeographed (Konstanz, 1974).

[7]T. Laqueur discusses the context and meaning of literacy among popular classes in "The Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy in England, 1500-1850," (manuscript),

and in Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture (New Haven, 1976).

[8]Anderson, Chapters 5 and 6.

[9]AN: $F^{12}4704$.

[10]P. Seignour, La Vie Économique du Vaucluse de 1815 à 1848 (Aix-en-Provence, 1957), p. 180.

[11]Seignour, p. 182.

[12]Seignour, p. 182.

[13]AN: $F^{12}4704$.

[14]Vaucluse, of course, was not unique. J. Simon found the same situation in Paris as late as the 1860's, when he estimated that only a tenth of the Parisian working-class families could survive on the wages of the head of household. Ouvrier de Huit Ans (Paris, 1867) pp. 75ff.

[15]A. Heunisch, Das Grossherzog-thum Baden . . . (Heidelberg, 1857), p. 274-275.

[16]Just which household members would be sent to work depended, of course, on the composition of the household and on the availability of work. Scott and Tilly point out that when children were too young to work, mothers often had to. As soon as the children were old enough to work, the mother could return to her household duties (see note 7, above).

[17]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38 and Rapport de 1844/45.

[18]A. Perdiguier, Mémoires d'un compagnon (Moulinas, 1914).

[19]GLA: 235/15531.

[20]GLA: 235/20101.

[21]GLA: 313/3484.

[22]GLA: 235/23025.

[23]GLA: 229/40270.

[24]GLA: 77/6093.

[25]ADV: Rapport de 1857.

[26]GLA: 77/6093 and ADV: T,I.P. Fonds 3, 3bis.

[27]H. Steidel, Ortsgeschichte von Daisbach mit Ursenbacherhof (Heidelberg, 1910) p. 115.

[28]M. Vovelle, "Y a-t-il eu une revolution culturelle au XVIII-siècle?" Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine 22 (1975) pp. 98-141; I. Davey, "The Rhythms of Work and the Rhythms of School," (unpublished manuscript) illustrate the same pattern in Haute Provence and Ontario respectively.

[29]ADV: T, Collèges, 77.

[30]ADV: T, I.P., 3bis.

[31]GLA: 356/1059.

[32]GLA: 235/20101.

[33]ADV: Rapport de 1837.

[34]AN: $F^{12}4705$.

[35]Universallexikon von Grossherzogthum Baden (Karlsruhe, 1843).

[36]For example, W. Trapp found in his study of schooling in the region of Konstanz during the late nineteenth century that school truancy for factory work in the South of Baden was rarely punished in the 1840's and 50's (see note 6, above). Similarly, Vauclusan evidence also indicates that early enforcement of child labor laws was minimal. They were often evaded by employers claiming that their child workers were apprentices and hence excluded from the provisions of the law. One factory owner cited for violation in the 1850's was actually a former member of the inspection commission. Sorgue, Archives Communales, 7F.

[37]AN: $F^{17}4714$.

[38]AN: $F^{12}4723$.

[39]GLA: 77/6102.

[40]HStA: 253.

[41]GLA: 362/1599.

[42]F. Benoit, La Provence et le Comtat Venaissin (Aubanel, 1975), pp. 136-137.

[43]GLA: 435/1464.

[44]ADV: T, I.P., 1.

[45]ADV: Rapport de 1842/43.

[46]ADV: T Rapport de 1859.

[47]For some evidence on domesticity in modern Europe, see L. Tilly and J. Scott, Women, Work and Family and T. McBride, The Domestic Revolution (New York, 1976).

[48]GLA: 77/9839. As described in Appendix I, the earliest reports of school age population are distorted by the fact that local officials often underreported the presence of certain kinds of children, whom they felt to be unlikely to attend school, in particular, the really poor, and girls. Of the 35 communities included in the Lutheran report of 1802, 14 actually reported 100 percent school attendance, but at the same time gave figures which indicated serious sex biases in the reporting of school-age populations. These communities were excluded from the calculation, although it is possible that some of them may actually have had full attendance. The reports of the remaining 21 communities, which indicated normal sex ratios and school attendance below 100 percent, were considered to be more reliable.

[49]GLA: 231/1322.

[50]AN: F^{17}9372.

[51]See above, Chapter 2.

[52]GLA: 63/1, 229/38388.

[53]ADV: Rapport de 1859.

[54]ADV: T, I.P., 3.

[55]ADV: T, I.P., 3bis.

[56]ADV: T, I.P., 3bis.

[57]ADV: T, I.P., 3bis.

[58]For description of finance of schooling for poor, see above, Chapters 2 and 4.

[59]GLA: 213/2662.

[60]GLA: 204/2693.

[61]GLA: 204/2693.

[62]GLA: 235/21687.

[63]GLA: 235/21687.

[64]GLA: 356/3382.

[65]GLA: 235/22714.

[66]GLA: 235/21079.

[67]HStA: 260.

[68]GLA: 229/94987.

[69]GLA: 235/21685.

[70]GLA: 235/21685, 235/22714.

[71]ADV: I.P., 3.

[72]M. Vinovskis and D. May have noted the same trend toward disappearance of the very youngest children from the classroom in early 19th century Massachusetts. Vinovskis believes that new theories about the effects of early childhood schooling on the development of the child were responsible for this trend, but I found no evidence of such considerations in the regions studied. "A Ray of Millenial Light: Early Education and Social Reform in the Infant School Movement in Massachusetts, 1826-1840," multilithed (Ann Arbor, 1975).

[73]T. Laqueur, "The Cultural Origins of Popular Literacy of England, 1500-1850" (manuscript, 1976), describes these institutions in England.

[74]ADV: T, I.P., 3bis.

[75]GLA: 213/2645.

[76]GLA: 213/2644.

[77]GLA: 362/1596.

[78]ADV: T, I.A., 102.

[79]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[80]ADV: Rapport de 1843/44.

[81]ADV: T, I.A., 102. GLA: 362/1596.

[82]ADV: T, I.P., 3bis.

[83]The contemporary argument is made by C. Jencks, in Inequality (New York, 1972); S. Bowles and H. Gintis discuss both historical and contemporary trends in education and social mobility in the United States in Schooling in Capitalist America (New York, 1976).

[84]Goubert notes a qualitative change in the role of money in the French economy around 1760. The Ancien Regime (New York, 1973), p. 65.

[85]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[86]ADV: Rapport de Mars, 1836.

[87]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[88]ADV: Rapport de 1837/38.

[89]ADV: Rapport de 1843/44.

[90]The information about apprenticeship was drawn from a small sample of notarial contracts covering notarial studies in several Vauclusan communities. These contracts are contracts covering notarial studies in several Vauclusan communities. These contracts are contained in Serie of the Departmental Archives. Contracts of apprenticeship were numerous during the Ancien Regime, but virtually disappear in the decades after the Revolution.

[91]ADV: 9M11.

[92]Seventy-eight of the 316 pupils at the Gewerbeschule in Mannheim in 1844 were journeymen, as were 86 of the 156 pupils in Heidelberg's Gewerbeschule GLA: 362/1616. HStA: 273/1.

[93]ADV: T,I.P., 3.

[94]The question arises as to how much of what was taught in the schools was actually preparation for careers, as opposed to mere establishment of barriers between the "qualified" and the "unqualified." L.O'Boyle argues that

the role of Latin education in the early 19th century was to educate an elite in an esoteric language and culture that would serve to distinguish this elite from everybody else, not to impart any skills relevant to elite careers. "Klassische Bildung und Sozialstruktur in Deutschland, 1800-1848," Historische Zeitschrift, 207 (1968), 584-608. The contemporary debate over the merits of Latin and scientific education indicates confusion and disagreement over the role of education, particularly classical education, in career preparation, though few were prepared to abolish the centrality of ancient languages to elite socialization.

[95]A. Heunisch, Beschreibung des Grossherzogsthums Baden (Heidelberg, 1855) p. 296-298; France. Statistique de la France (Paris, 1854).

[96]For a more detailed discussion see D. Julia and W. Frijhoff, École et société dans la France d'Ancien Regime (Paris, 1975).

[97]ADV: Rapport de 1843/44. GLA: 356/696, 326/1616, 235/16092. HStA: 274/1. MStA: KFG, 40/1971.

[98]ADV: T, Collèges, 1-2.

[99]ADV: T, Collèges, Various cartons.

[100]HStA: 274/1. MStA: KFG, 40/1971.

[101]F. de Dainville, "Effectifs des collèges et scolarisation au XVIIe et SVIII^{e} siècles dans le Nord-est de la France," Population, 10 (1955), 455-488.

[102]ADV: 1G23.

[103]A.M. Bastit, "Personnel et élèves du Lycée d'Avignon de sa fondation à 1850," (Master's thesis, Aix, 1973).

[104]In the 1830's, a group of town's citizens and pupils' fathers signed a petition supporting the principal of the collège who was under attack. Of those including their occupations, about half were artisans, the other half professionals and notables. ADV: T, Collèges, 6.

[105]ADV: T, Collèges, 6.

[106]GLA: 435/847.

[107]W. Hohler, Das Realgymnasium Mannheim, 1840-1910 (Mannheim, 1911).

[108]GLA: 435/870.

[109]GLA: 213/3072, MStA: KFG, 40/1971, 173-174.

[110]ADV: D344.

[111]AN: F^{17}7396.

[112]ADV: T, Fonds de l'I.A., 37.

[113]GLA: 362/1591.

[114]M. Katz makes a similar argument about early industrial Hamilton, Ontario in "Who went to school?" History of Education Quarterly, 12 (1972), 432-454.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCRETE REALITIES: STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SCHOOLING

While decisions about schooling were made in the context of the family, the situations in which families found themselves and which created the constraints upon those decisions varied according to time, place and social class. As conditions changed, family decisions changed as well, ultimately affecting the aggregate demand for schooling. This final chapter will explore the systematic variations in schooling patterns discussed in the preceding chapters in relationship to changes in the political, socio-economic and demographic structure of the societies in question. Again, the analysis will of necessity ignore the "value in itself" which schooling must have held for so many families. The purpose here is to explore the degree to which variation in schooling patterns seems to be related to variation in the conditions affecting familial strategies.

Preceding sections have suggested some of the changes which were presumably contributing to the rising demand for schooling at the elementary level. Occupational and class structures of communities, political relationships between different groups, the extent of

market relationships, population density were all subject to change over time, and varied among regions and communities. Other structural factors like the availability of and dependence upon female and child labor, and the risk to which educational investments were susceptible as a result of high levels of infant and child mortality also, in all probability, figured into calculations about the feasibility of schooling. Historical variability along these dimensions, changes which affected the environment in which schooling decisions were made, will be the subject of this chapter. Analysis will thus center on changes affecting demand for schooling, but first, a brief summary of the most important changes in schooling supply will be useful.

For a variety of reasons discussed above, state administrators in France and Baden began in the late 18th and early 19th centuries to take an active interest in schooling. Policy agendas soon included plans to encourage the establishment of adequate public primary school facilities in every community, and attendance by all school-aged children. The implementation of these policies sometimes involved direct intervention by the state in the provision of schooling. As was indicated earlier, direct intervention of the state in the supply of schooling was insignificant before the third decade of the 19th century. In Badenese communities, most state aid went to

supplement the salaries of teachers already established and largely supported through communal and church grants of various kinds, and tuition fees. In Vaucluse, state aid actually helped to found schools in small communities where there were none previously. In these places, of course, state intervention can be regarded as crucial in the rise of school enrollments. In fact, in four of the six Vauclusan sample communities receiving state subsidies in 1840, there had been no resident teacher, and school attendance was reported as nil, a decade earlier. For most communities, however, resources for schooling had to be raised locally and the amount of subsidy depended upon local wealth and upon local processes of decision-making about the allocation of that wealth. Local subsidies for schooling were clearly rising in Vaucluse between 1800 and 1840; the proportion of teachers' incomes drawn from tuition fees was halved in the sample communities during the early decades of the 19th century, and the real cost to parents of schooling was decreasing.[1] While this occurred with state encouragement, it was still the local political configuration that determined the specific outcome of each locality. The battles over schooling were fought simultaneously at the local and the national level. While the national outcome determined official French policy, it was the

local political scene that was determinant of implementation.

In Baden, where subsidies were higher and costs to parents lower to begin with there is no evidence of increasing subsidy in the early decades of the 19th century. Real costs to parents were, in fact, rising slightly. So, in the realm of elementary education at least, the impact of state intervention in the supply of schooling was uneven and relatively insignificant up to the middle of the 19th century. In small Vauclusan communities, however, such intervention was becoming crucial at that time.

State intervention in other aspects of schooling went further and was more direct. In the realm of teacher certification, for example, and other processes affecting quality of instruction, state agencies were more active. State officials certainly felt that they were improving the quality of teaching as a result of their certification and inspection procedures, although such claims remain largely unverifiable. State agencies played a direct role in the transformation of educational institutions from local, often religiously oriented concerns into institutions in which socialization in appropriate civic virtues and economic capacities could take place, but, in all but the smallest communities, it was

the nature rather than the supply of schooling that was most directly affected by state intervention.

It is clear that state administrators saw a need for universal schooling and had a motive for improving school facilities. That many officials saw the schools as institutions appropriate for the formation of good citizens and good workers is also clear.[2] But the evidence shows that state policy was in no sense translated automatically into educational reality. Always mediated by local political conditions and constrained by local economic conditions, policy was often no more than wishful thinking. The relative effectiveness of policy implementation in Baden was the outcome of the statebuilding coalition between representatives of the old absolutist state and its state churches on the one hand, and those more progressive elements of the Badenese polity who placed their hopes for fuller civic participation in the structures for political education and official opposition provided for in the new state constitution.[3] Equally crucial, of course, was the pre-existence of an educational infrastructure left intact by the state as a result of its alliance with clerical organizations.

Despite the similarity of French state educational policy, apparent at least from the time of the Revolution, implementation was decidedly more difficult in some areas of that country. In Vaucluse, educational resources were

contingent upon the goodwill of local notables, and were meager to begin with as a result of the dearth of public properties endowed for educational purposes. The recurrent political upheaval and economic difficulty that marked the course of European history during this period was reflected more noticeably here than in Baden in disruption of the school system. True to the Enlightenment and Revolutionary traditions from which they emerged, radicals of early modern France refused to compromise with the Church--a refusal well-justified in areas like Vaucluse where there was an obvious association between clericalism and political legitimism, but the refusal to compromise was costly in terms of educational resources foregone. Even the less radical proponents of universal education, often more willing to compromise with the Church, faced the organizational dilemma of reconciling lay officials having few local resources with clerical organizations whose economic support was often derived from social groups hostile to liberal, secular education. Furthermore, the official state commitment to full-fledged economic development in a capitalist mode, a commitment long apparent in France but made final through the Revolutionary destruction of the last vestiges of the pre-market economy, precluded many of the financial arrangements which were supporting public schooling in Baden.

Because decisions about schooling were made more locally in France, however, the potential for democratization of the educational system was more obvious and came close to being realized on occasion, especially during the revolutionary situations of 1789, 1830, and 1848. At these times, the submerged interest in schooling of different sectors of the population became manifest. Local policy change, even if temporary, could result. Ironically, increases in public subsidy for education were by no means the necessary outcome of democratization of the decision-making process.[4] On those rare occasions when the popular classes were allowed to affect the nature of their institutions, the conflicts between their policies and official policies became clear, as the incidents discussed in the conclusion will illustrate. In any event, the comparison between Baden and Vaucluse suggests that any simple equation of political democratization with increased public subsidy for schooling would be erroneous. Access to instruction was more extensive in Baden where educational institutions were administered by bureaucracies created by an absolutist state. Because state and church authorities had decided that universal education was critical to their ends, and because the resources necessary to implement it were at hand, mass schooling became a reality. The population, by no means necessarily opposed to the idea,

nonetheless complied without being consulted. In France, where local elites had more administrative responsibility and where parents could refuse without penalty to send their children to school, mass public schooling was accomplished more slowly. Although the French state advocated universal education, many communities and many parents were simply not interested, and only became interested in schooling when the perceived benefits of education began to outweigh its costs. While it is clear that local elites were often representing reactionary interests opposed to public subsidy of schooling, it cannot be assumed that more progressive state policies thus automatically served the interests of non-elites. As in Baden, state policies were formulated without popular consultation or consent, and as the preceding chapter suggested, state and local subsidies were distributed disproportionately in favor of those in the wealthier classes.

State Policy and the Demand for Schooling

The intervention of state and local governments in the supply of schooling, in the form of subsidy of the teachers' salary, while not in most cases actually increasing the supply, did act to reduce the cost to individual families with children by redistributing the

coast of schooling among all taxpayers. At a fixed level of expected return for schooling investments, such subsidy thus raised the effective demand. But in their campaigns to raise the demand for schooling, state officials also had at their disposal the apparent option of direct intervention through the enactment and enforcement of obligatory attendance laws. As was discussed earlier, Badenese and French officials chose to follow different paths with respect to obligation policies. In Baden, where attendence was already high, obligation was enforced; in France, where many areas had extremely low school attendance, no such policy was undertaken before the last quarter of the 19th century. Economic historians of education have observed this phenomenon elsewhere. For example, in their study of compulsory schooling laws in the United States in the late 19th century, W. Landes and L. Solomon concluded that:

> Compulsory schooling legislation was not the cause of higher schooling levels observed in 1880 in states with laws. Instead, these laws appear to have merely formalized what was already an observed fact; namely that the vast majority of school-aged persons had already been obtaining a level of schooling equal to or greater than what was to be specified by statute . . .[5]

This observation holds for the French-Badenese comparison as well. But in addition, the Badenese situation does offer some evidence suggesting the efficacy of enforcement of school attendance legislation in raising already high enrollments. When the first school laws

were passed in Baden, it is likely that the vast majority of children were not already enrolled for the required seven or eight years. When rigorous attempts at enforcement of these laws was undertaken in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, however, most school-aged children were enrolled in, if not necessarily attending, school. Enforcement of actual attendance continued to be a problem; only the reduction of summer school hours and the creation of schools with reduced hours for poorer children whose families depended on their labor prevented the otherwise inevitable truancy of many children.

Again in agreement with the argument of Solomon and Landes, the French law obliging school attendance was passed only in 1882, when over 80 percent of school-aged children in France were already attending school voluntarily.[6] The lower levels of school attendance, and the persistance of voluntarism until this late date allow a more detailed analysis of educational decision-making during the transition period by parents whose only constraints were those of cost and benefit. The wider variation in the demand for schooling observed in Vaucluse can more easily be related to observable variation in community conditions. In Baden, high levels of enrollment almost from the onset of observation, which increased with the enforcement of compulsory laws, tended to homogenize measurable parental policies with respect to

primary schooling and create a situation of limited variance in schooling behavior. In the absence of more precise evidence about truancy, little can be said about the impact on schooling demand of structural changes in Baden.[7] Thus while the following sections will make reference to Badenese evidence for international comparison, the major part of the analysis will rest on evidence drawn from Vaucluse.

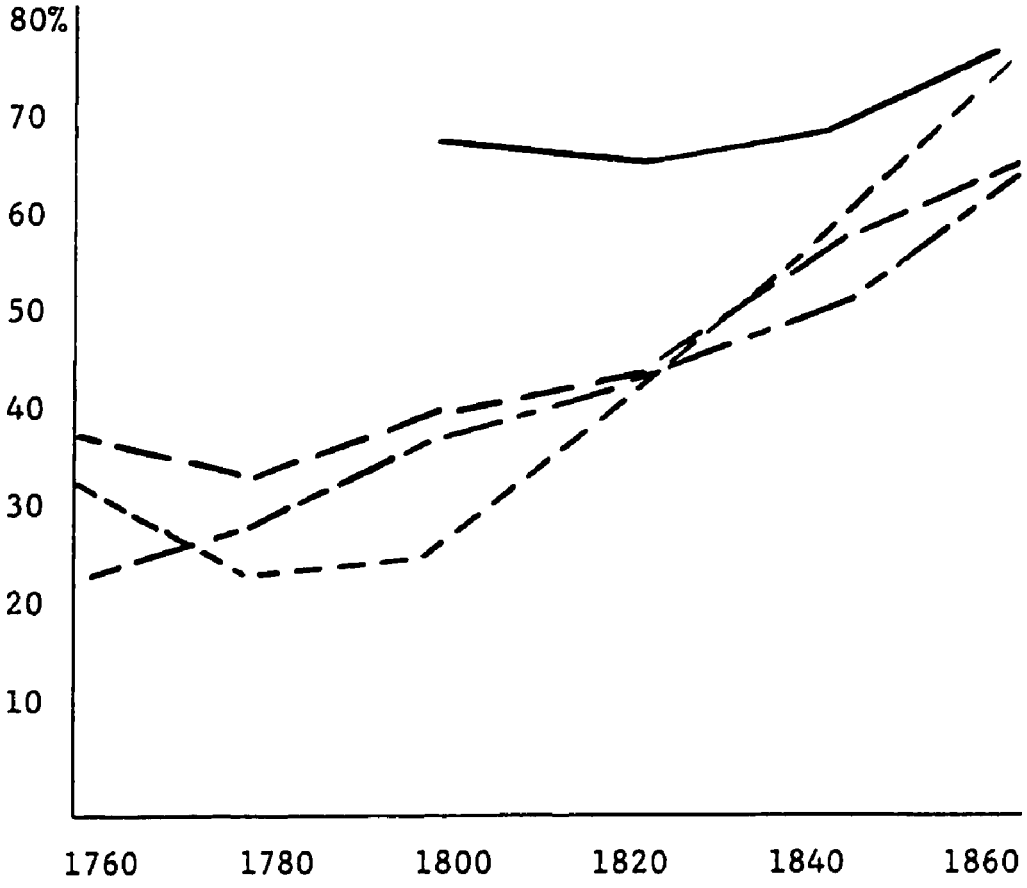
Population Concentration and Schooling Trends

Previous studies on educational history, as well as earlier sections of this one, have shown the importance of patterns of population distribution for schooling trends.[8] The size of communities in which people lived was important because larger communities were more likely than smaller ones to be able to raise the resources necessary for public subsidy of a teacher, and to have the number of children of school age necessary to provide an adequate salary in tuition fees. In 1800, only half of the 12 sample communities of fewer than 500 residents had primary schools,[9] although the effect of size was less noticeable in 1780 and had largely disappeared by 1840. In fact, on all dimensions, the marked advantages of city living in terms of access to elementary education were diminishing during the early 19th century. While pat-

terns of both school attendance and literacy still distinguished urban from rural areas, it was no longer the case by the middle of the 19th century that the size category of a community was a reliable indicator of its educational attainments. Between 1780 and 1840, the proportion of brides and grooms who could sign their name generally varied according to the size of the community of residence. (See Figure 21a & b) By the turn of the 19th century, however, literacy, particularly among males, had begun to increase quickly in smaller communities, while in the largest city, Avignon, rates of literacy stagnated until mid-century. By 1860, the urban-rural literacy gap had narrowed significantly.[10] Thus while facilities for and motivation for acquisition of literacy skills was still apparently larger in urban areas by the middle of the 19th century, the relative educational advantage of urban life had diminished. This was surely a reflection of the improvement in facilities and the reevaluation of schooling that was occurring in rural areas. In addition, however, the population growth that was occurring in some urban areas may have put a damper on the advance of literacy in these communities. Streams of sometimes illiterate migrants who settled and married in urban areas depressed the native literacy rates somewhat. Although male migrants to Avignon and the smaller cities of Vaucluse were more literate than

FIGURE 21a

MALE LITERACY BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY (WEIGHTED MEANS)



Key:

Population
10000+ (Avignon)
2000-10000
500-2000
<500

FIGURE 21b

FEMALE LITERACY BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY (WEIGHTED MEANS)



Key:

	Population
_____	10000+ (Avignon)
___ ___ ___	2000-10000
___ _ ___ _	500-2000
_ _ _ _ _ _	<500

city natives at the beginning of the 19th century, male migration to these cities tended to lower general literacy thereafter. (Refer to Figures 22 and 23) Female migrants were nearly always less literate as a group than female natives of urban communities. It should also be noted however, that these migrants were still more literate as a group than were the residents of the smaller communities from which they were often drawn. There is at least a suggestion here that early industrial migration drew off the more literate of the rural residents, but nonetheless dampened normally higher urban literacy rates. By the middle of the 19th century, however, Vauclusan urban migrants had literacy levels that are comparable to rural rates.

While levels of school enrollment are more difficult to establish because of the problem of estimating school-aged populations, it is likely that variance according to community size in at least winter enrollment was also diminishing during the first half of the 19th century. (See Figures 24 and 25) Levels of enrollments of school-aged children established from two different sources of estimate of school-aged population indicate a rapid rise in school enrollment during the first half of the 19th century in all sized communities with the exception of the largest, Avignon. In Avignon, as Figures 24 and 25 indicate, the estimates drawn from

FIGURE 22

LITERACY OF RURAL RESIDENTS (COMMUNITIES <2000), AND TOWN NATIVES AND MIGRANTS FOR THREE TOWNS

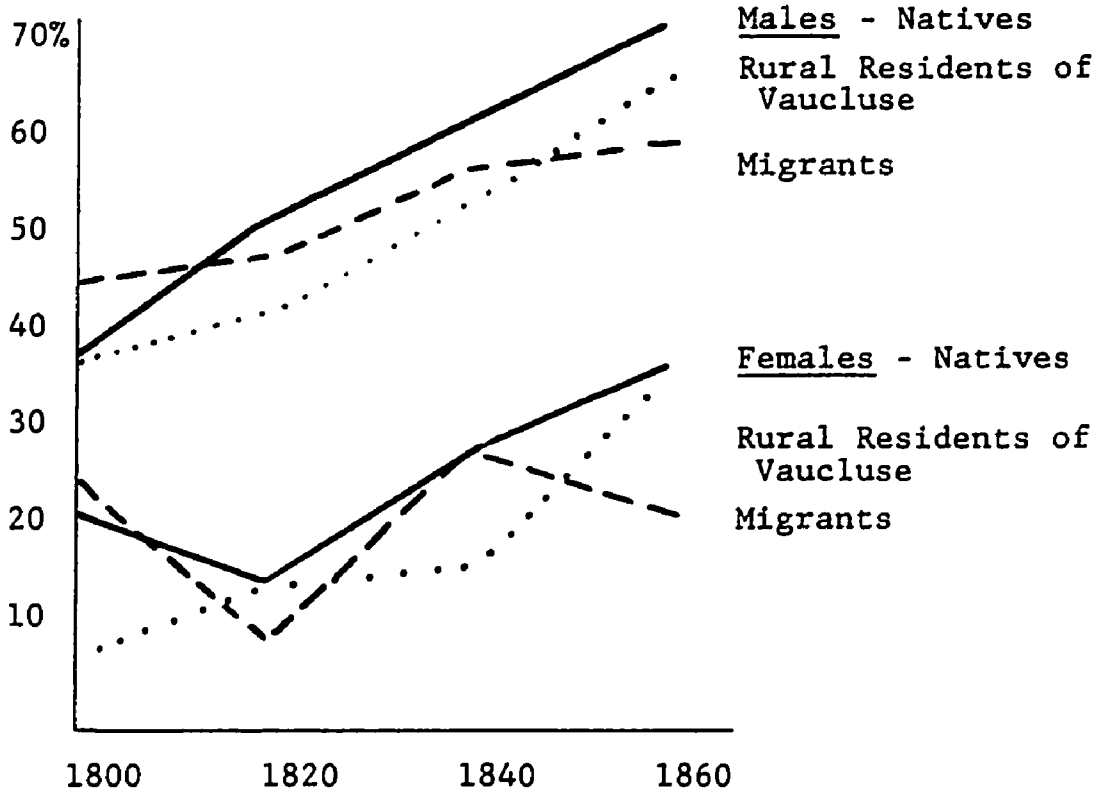


FIGURE 23

LITERACY OF RURAL RESIDENTS (COMMUNITIES <2000), AND CITY NATIVES AND MIGRANTS FOR AVIGNON

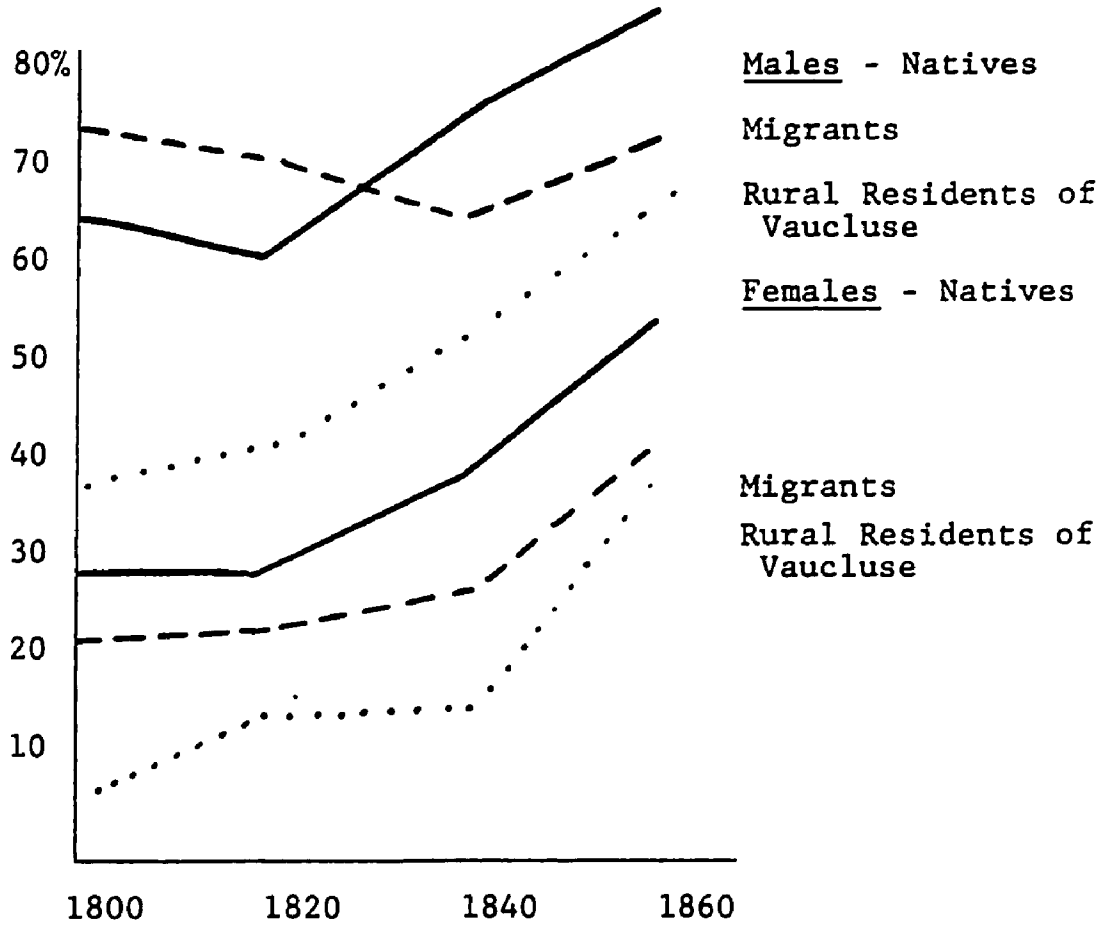
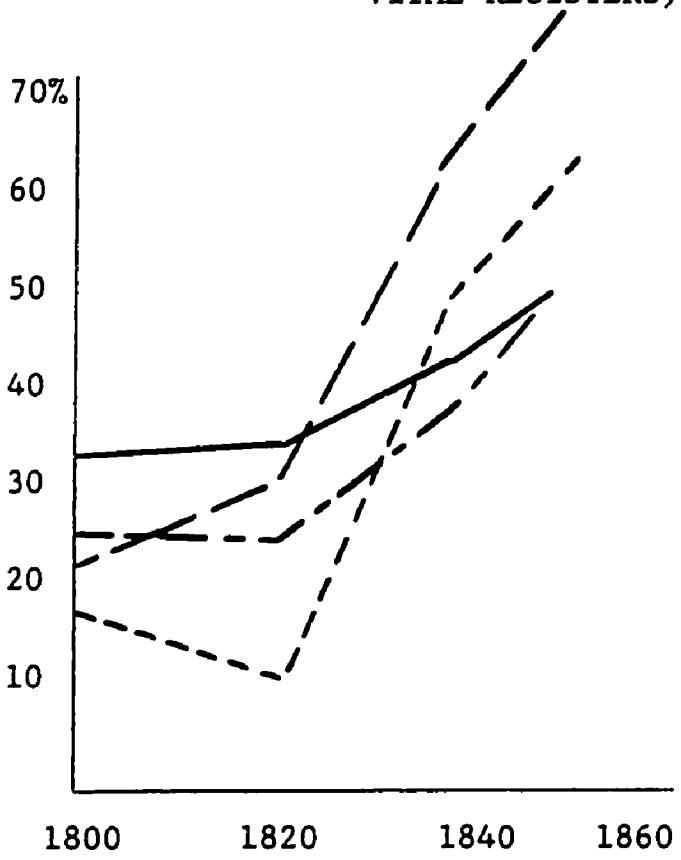


FIGURE 24

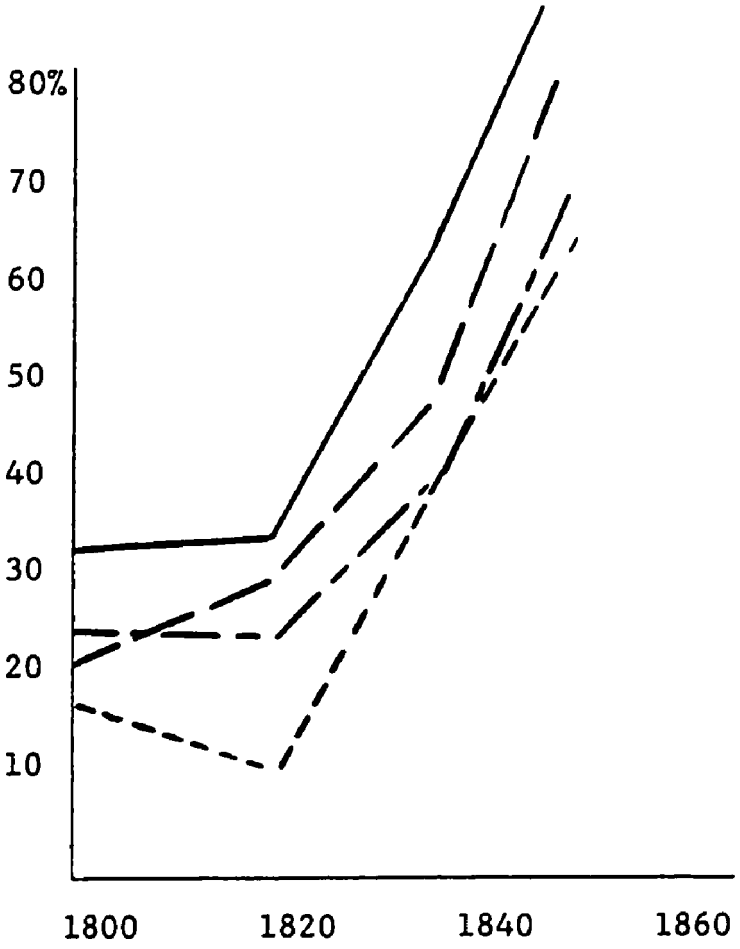
WINTER SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY
(ESTIMATES OF SCHOOL-AGED POPULATION FROM
VITAL REGISTERS)*



*For Key, see Figure 21.

FIGURE 25

WINTER SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY
(CONTEMPORARY ESTIMATES OF SCHOOL-AGED POPULATION)



*For Key, see Figure 21.

contemporary figures and from vital register reconstitutions are most in disagreement. While the actual level of school attendance in Avignon probably fell somewhere between the two estimates, the problem of determining trends in enrollment for growing cities with highly mobile populations is evident. Nonetheless, it is clear that the rising demand for schooling was at least as apparent in rural as in urban areas.

At the level of secondary education, the influence of community size was more striking and persistent, and the role of urbanization more complex. Table 31 points to two features of the distribution of facilities for post-primary education. First and not surprisingly, these facilities were concentrated in towns and cities. More interesting is the fact that this distribution is different in Vaucluse than in North Baden. Like the rest of Provence, the department of Vaucluse and the arrondissement of Apt in particular had a settlement pattern characterized by an abundance of bourgs, or market towns of intermediate stature. Generally old towns of between 2000 and 6000 inhabitants, these bourgs competed with one another for the market in services to the surrounding rural areas. The effect of this competition was felt in the realm of schooling as well: too many town governments were attempting to build complete programs of classical secondary education, programs that were too ambitious for

TABLE 31

FACILITIES FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1840

	Baden				Vaucluse			
Community Size	Public	Private Only	None	(n)	Public	Private Only	None	(n)
c. 1800								
<2000	0	0	13	13	0	1	12	13
>2000	2	0	5	7	2	2	3	7
Total	2	0	18	20	2	3	15	20
c. 1840								
<2000	0	0	13	13	0	1	12	13
2000-10000	0	0	5	5	1	2	3	6
10000+	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	1
Total	2	0	18	20	2	3	15	20

local needs and too numerous to all survive on the small regional market for such schooling. It was this sort of competition, for example, that contributed to the financial problems of the public collèges in Apt and Pertuis and fed into the moves to close the collèges which occurred at various times during the early decades of the 19th century. The municipal council of the Pertuis observed in 1824:

> Since the opening of the collège of Pertuis, two large establishments of public instruction have been opened at Forcalquier (Basses Alpes) and at Aix (Var). There are also the collèges in the cities of Apt and Manosque (Basses Alpes). . . that of Pertuis has been abandoned by the foreign boarding pupils, and today the school is attended by about only 20 day pupils of this locality.[11]

Without the income from boarding pupils, the collège was dependent upon the municipal government for its entire budget.

Urban growth of the early 19th century left these old bourgs behind. In the four Vauclusan sample communities in the arrondissement of Apt having between 2000 and 10000 residents in 1800, population growth during the first half of the 19th century averaged less than two percent a decade. Certain sectors of the population of these bourgs struggled to maintain urban services, including that of higher education, but the stagnating economies and competition from neighboring towns made continued support of these institutions difficult. In con-

trast, in the arrondissement of Avignon, like in the river plain of north Baden, most of the towns having 2000 to 10000 residents in the middle of the 19th century had crossed that point in the preceding decades as a result of rapid growth. Only two towns in these two regions, Schriesheim and L'Isle, had had more than 2000 residents in 1800. The other five were the products of population growth rates of between about five and 25 percent a decade.[12] Since these new urban areas were typically manufacturing areas or overgrown commercial agricultural villages, they did not support the same social groups, dominant in the older commercial and artisanal centers, who were the advocates of and marked for secondary educational facilities. Urbanization thus had an uneven impact upon the distribution of facilities for secondary education. The older urbanization of eastern Vaucluse had created an effective oversupply of schooling which persisted throughout the middle of the 19th century; the newer and more rapid urbanization of western Vaucluse and northern Baden, however, did not have the effect of stimulating the creation of facilities for higher education. The changing nature of the city that resulted from early industrial concentration and advancing division of labor was reflected in the dearth of facilities for education in the new towns of the early 19th century.

The Move Out of Agriculture, the Steady Recession of Localism

While resources available for public subsidy of schooling were higher in urban than in rural areas, and costs of schooling were lower as a result, the fact that urban populations were comprised of people of different occupational sectors from those of rural areas also helps to account for the generally higher urban level of demand for schooling and the higher urban literacy rates observed.[13] The previous chapter on family economy suggested that the constraints under which families operated depended upon the manner in which the family livelihood was derived. In particular, peasant families had different kinds of labor needs and different kinds of family strategies from artisanal or factory families. On the aggregate level, the occupational composition of a community should affect schooling demand, and changes in occupational structure should be reflected in changing schooling patterns.

The most significant change in economic sectors that was occurring in the areas studied, prior to the middle of the 19th century, was the move away from a system of peasant agriculture supplemented by seasonal industrial labor, into fulltime manufacturing and commercial agriculture.[14] As is illustrated in Table 32, (refer as well to Table 28, Chapter 6) communities in

TABLE 32

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1837

Economic Activities in Community	Winter School Attendance As % School-aged Population
Agricultural	29
Some Non-agricultural	38
Significant Non-agricultural	41
Majority Non-agricultural	75
	$E^2 = .48$

which agriculture dominated were less likely than others to have high levels of school enrollment. School enrollment, particularly in the summertime, decreased in the Vauclusan sample communities as the predominance of agriculture increased.[15] Presumably, then, the slow move of people out of agriculture and into other sectors of the economy would put more people into the pool of those whose demand for schooling was high. Simultaneously, however, an overall increase in the demand for schooling, as suggested by the increasing school enrollments and the increasing literacy rates even within the agricultural sector was also occurring. (See Figure 26)

Evidence from the Vauclusan sample communities suggests, moreover, that the bulk of the early 19th century rise in literacy is to be explained in terms of rising literacy within the agricultural sector rather than by shifts from the agricultural into other sectors. Tables 33a and b present the results of a hypothetical calculation dividing the observed general literacy rise for three communities into that attributable to sectoral change and that due to literacy rise within sectors. The standardization procedure merely suggests the effect each trend would have independent of the other. In the bourg of Cadenet, the decline in the agricultural sector which occurred between 1800 and 1860 certainly had some effect upon male literacy, but the effect of growing literacy

FIGURE 26

LITERACY BY OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR, SIX VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, 1800-1840

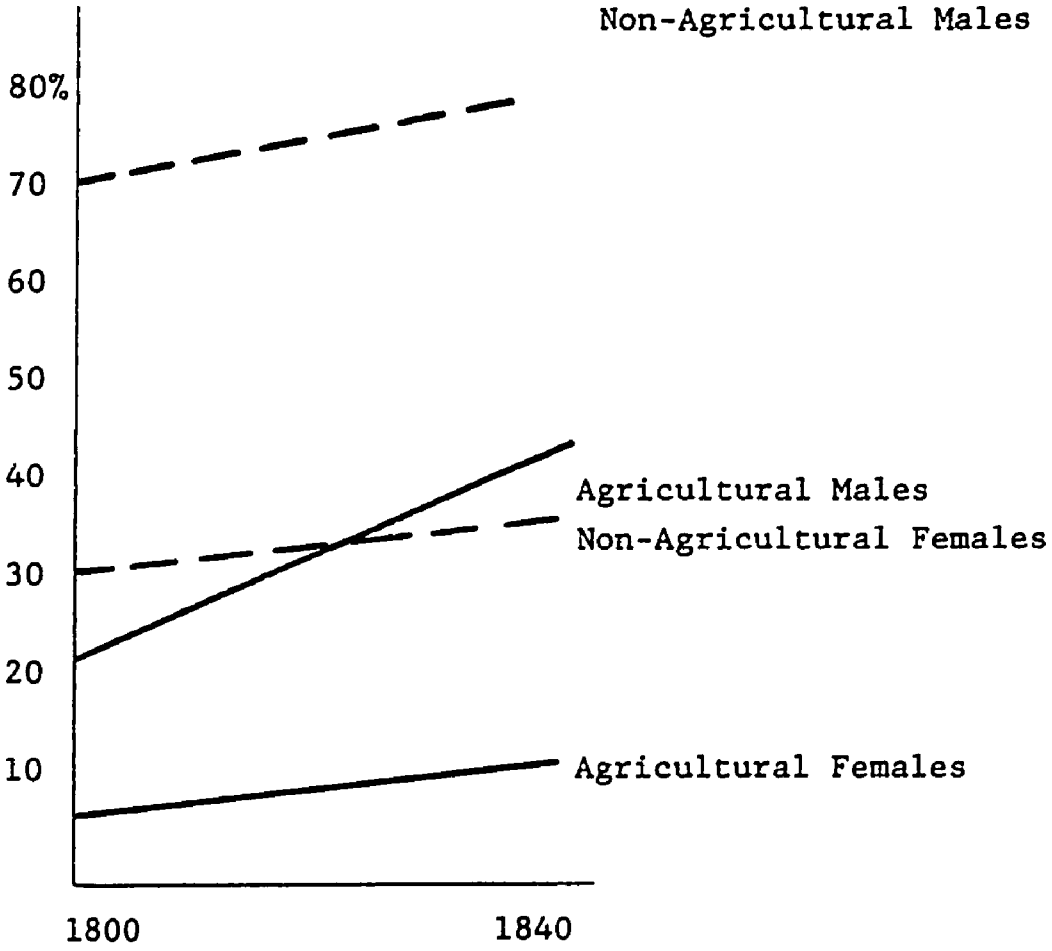


TABLE 33a

LITERACY OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR, THREE VAUCLUSAN COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860

Community	Year	Agricultural Sector M	Agricultural Sector F	Non-Agricultural Sector M	Non-Agricultural Sector F	Total M	Total F
Merindol	1820[a]						
% in Sector		67	75	33	25	100	100
% Literate		25	10	50	14	33	11
Merindol	1860						
% in Sector		57	74	43	26	100	100
% Literate		69	41	90	50	78	43
Cadenet	1800						
% in Sector		72	70	28	30	100	100
% Literate		70	0	76	8	30	3
Cadenet	1860						
% in Sector		53	60	47	40	100	100
% Literate		37	29	88	60	61	41
L'Isle	1800						
% in Sector		61	64	39	36	100	100
% Literate		28	10	74	49	46	24
L'Isle	1860						
% in Sector		68	50	32	50	100	100
% Literate		54	17	93	45	66	31

[a]The year 1820 was used for the community of Merindol as commencement date since earlier marriage registers failed to identify the occupation of brides or their families.

TABLE 33b

LITERACY RATE RESULTING FROM SECTORAL CHANGE ALONE AND FROM RISE WITHIN SECTORS ALONE IN THREE VAUCLUSAN COMMUNITIES, 1800-1860

Community	% Literacy 1800[a]		% Projected Increase in Literacy, 1800-1860 Holding Constant:				% Actual Increase 1800-1860	
			1800 Sectors		1800 Rates			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Merindol	33	11	43	33	3	0	45	32
Cadenet	30	3	21	35	12	0	31	38
L'Isle	46	24	23	2	-3	6	20	7

[a]For Merindol, 1820.

among both farmers and the largerly commercial and artisanal non-agricultural population was more important. The importance of the rise in literacy among agricultural classes is striking in the predominantly agricultural community of Merindol. Among women, who in these particular communities were moving less quickly than men out of agricultural employment, sectoral shifts are of even less importance in accounting for the early literacy rise. In the manufacturing town of L'Isle, on the other hand, literacy rates within sectors stagnated, and the shift of women from agriculture into manufacturing did produce a small overall gain in female literacy. Gains in L'Isle were, nonetheless, moderate in comparison with those of many agricultural communities, which again underlines the more dramatic rise in literacy among farm populations.

Although the perspective employed in this analysis has been that of the families considering education as an investment in the improvements of their own lives and those of their children, their collective decisions about schooling can also be of impact in changing the very socio-economic structures shaping their lives and decisions. Many historians of education have, in fact, attempted to assess the role of schooling as a factor helping to account for level of economic development. While the type of evidence discussed here cannot really

be directly applied to this question, it does offer some suggestions about the relationship between schooling and some aspects of economic change in the early industrial period.

The arguments which attribute to schooling a significant role in economic development generally assume that development entails the relocation of people into jobs requiring high levels of skill and into areas where more facilities are available. Historians of the early industrial period in Europe have pointed out, however, that most of the jobs created by early industrialization were, in fact, unskilled or semi-skilled jobs requiring little training.[16] The evidence presented here does seem to suggest some association between the move out of agriculture and increasing educational levels, but the link is indirect. In Vaucluse, peasants were less educated than other classes. Furthermore, it seems likely that migration to urban employment in new industrial occupations may have selected out the slightly more literate rural residents. This process was particularly noticeable among female industrial workers. It should be noted, however, that this effect was generally small and was shortlived. By around 1860 or so, agricultural literacy rates had pretty much caught up with those of people in unskilled and semi-skilled industry. Migration to cities did provide access to training after childhood. Young

adults who had missed elementary schooling as children or wanted to supplement such schooling could find facilities if they felt the need, but trends in literacy and schooling both suggest that, in Vaucluse at least, change within the agricultural sector was probably more significant than increased schooling demand induced directly by the move from agriculture into semi-skilled industry.

Growing literacy and school attendance among peasants, particularly propertied peasants, was not the only type of cultural innovation apparent in early 19th century Vauclusan society. That change was occurring in linguistic practice as well was noted by many contemporary observers. And their observations add another dimension to the picture of rural cultural vitality outlined in the discussion of schooling and literacy. In Provence, a spate of manuals appeared designed to teach correct French to people accustomed to speaking patois. In one such manual, published in 1836, the author claimed:

> Decidedly, Provencal is disappearing. . . everything has changed in the last half-century; reading is more generally taught, military service although obligatory for everyone especially calls the young men of the lower classes and forces them to learn French; the huge number of commercial agents, of workers and of foreign peddlers who roam through the countryside; finally, this shower of employees of all sorts who are sent from Paris in exchange for the men of talent absorbed there, all this must inevitably bring the downfall of Provencal.[17]

These observations neatly summarize the social and political transformations that seem to have encouraged the

gradual switch from local languages to a national one. It suggests an explanation for the uneven pace of "francification,' which occurred earliest in places where commercial and government activities were most concentrated. Within a community, however, different social groups adopted French at different times as well. This manual was written for people who, even if they regretted the passing of the old ways, wanted to be in a better position to take advantage of new conditions. French speaking was a social as well as a cultural phenomenon, as it still is in some parts of France today.[18] In fact, certain elite classes in Avignon seem to have acquired, if anything, a precocious knowledge of the French language, and used it as early as the 15th century. In the realm of official documents, French had replaced both Latin and Provencal by the late 16th century.[19] The administrative and judicial classes were thus of necessity francophone by this time.

Midian literature abounds with references to the association between social class and idiom. According to the linguistic historian Brun, characters of high social status in late 18th century plays consistently spoke French. Characters from more modest circumstances spoke patois. "In a number of plays," he reports, "Jews appear, who everybody knew were poor. They spoke Provencal. . . Valets spoke Provencal, masters French."[20] In the Noels,

a common form of popular Provencal literature, "important characters - Christ, the angels - spoke French; the shepherds, patois. In one old languedocien Noel, when the peasants want to send a delegation to the Infant Jesus, they look for somebody who can talk to him in French."[21] In a Biblical play written in 1775, the Prodigal Son returns from his exploits and speaks French to his patois-speaking family. When asked to explain his behavior, he replies, "Un homme comme il faut parle francais."[22]

The son, or rather the author of the play, was an astute social observer. The "right kinds of people" did speak French. Ordinary people, on the other hand, spoke patois, as did those who needed to communicate with them. As was noted earlier, this latter group included local officials of all sorts who were perforce bilingual. Clergy depended upon patois to speak with their parishioners. The people of the town of Sorgue felt that the inability of their newly assigned priest to speak patois was justification, on the eve of the Revolution, for a complaint direct to the Pope.[23] One of the Abbé Gregoire's correspondents noted that cures "speak French when they arrive from the seminary; they even cite Latin and everybody admires them; but when they want to be understood, they speak patois."[24] Patois sermons and patois catechism became less common after the Revolution,

but patois long remained the everyday tongue of the cure and his parishioners.

Still, Gabrielli was correct: Provencal was on its way out. Linguistic innovation was apparent by the middle of the 19th century and ordinary people in Vaucluse were beginning to learn French. The common use of patois which persisted for more than a century after the systematic campaign to eradicate it had begun undoubtedly made schooling and other dealings with francophone groups more difficult for patois-speaking families; nonetheless, the social significance of French speaking in a patois region may actually have added stimulus for schooling to those groups who wanted their children to be comfortable in the French language. The memoires of the artisan Perdiguier remind us that the desire to know French was not limited to elite groups, but affected the ambitious peasant and industrial working class as well and was of special significance for those who saw national organizations as crucial to the interests of workers.[25] Although evidence on linguistic habits in the past is scarce, any picture of the early 19th-century French countryside as a stagnant backwater is nonetheless belied by this linguistic evidence as well as by the vigorous advances in school attendance and literacy already apparent in Vaucluse by the middle of the century.[26] In fact, the interrelated processes of increasing demand for schooling, rising

literacy, and growing use of the French language were affecting rural as well as urban areas of southeastern France by the end of the 18th century. While it is certainly not coincidental that literacy rates in Vaucluse and elsewhere in France began their slow climb between 1760 and 1780 or so, that is, around the time cited by French historians as the era of qualitative change in the degree of monetization of the French economy and a boom period for agricultural prices, the precise relationship between the process of commercialization and the increased demand for schooling has yet to be traced. It is tempting to ascribe some of the gradual rise in the demand for schooling to the slow and uneven multiplication of peasant dealings with a market economy, but until more work is done to specify the changing nature of economic transfer in early modern Europe, this relationship will have to remain tentative.[27]

Changes in Childhood: Life Chances, Socialization, Transitions

For the most part, this analysis has viewed schooling as a deliberate effort to prepare children for a forseeable future. It is clear that many people who wrote about such things did conceptualize schooling in these terms: the school administrators cited in the first half of the study reveal this to be their perspec-

tive while deploring the "inability" of the poorer classes to conceive of such investment, instead of preferring the short run return of a wage to the longterm profit that was to be gotten from a well-educated child. The analysis of actual schooling trends and career patterns suggested, however, that investment in schooling, even where affordable, was unlikely to bring returns in the form of relative advantage in the career markets. Investment in schooling, in the absence of the other resources necessary to set up a child in a desirable career, would in most cases be investment lost. The mid 19th century rise in secondary schooling may perhaps be seen as the beginning of the schooling boom induced by the growth of the tertiary sector, but prior to that time if not later as well, there were few desirable careers open to those whose only capital was schooling. The question still remains whether in this context parents were at least beginning to see schooling as a worthwhile investment in the future, as a way of having their children better succeed at whatever life course they were destined to follow. How was the concept of socialization changed? Were the demographic changes that accompanied early industrialization, particularly declining mortality, conducive to future orientation, and hence to educational planning? This final section will discuss the relationship between parental interest in schooling, the changing

probabilities of child survival, and changing assessments of the appropriate role of children in family strategies.

In thinking about education as an investment, one cannot overlook the fact that under early modern conditions of mortality, such investment was extremely risk prone. The very real possibility that a child might not survive to adulthood must have made parents hesitate to devote excessive care and resources to the raising of a child whose life was continually at risk. Several historians have suggested that there is a relationship between levels of child mortality and parental willingness to invest in schooling that represented, in the short tun, a considerable drain on the family budget.

Phillippe Arièes discovered a new interest in childhood and the schooling of children appearing among the French middle classes during the course of the 17th century, at about the same time that these families were beginning to adopt family planning measures. Arièes believes that there is a relationship between new attitudes toward children which characterized the "modern" family and the willingness of families to invest in education. As the number of children in each family decreased, families became more child-centered and more willing to lavish care and resources on its few offspring.[28] Arièes claims, however, that the attitudinal

change preceded noticeable drops in infant and child mortality.

The case has been restated by Charles Tilly, who has suggested that declining mortality may have been the motor for this attitudinal change among elite classes. As child mortality declined in France, and as families adjusted their fertility strategies to cope with the new mortality conditions, the tendency was to reduce the number of children born to a family and to value each child more since "an investment of attention, love and money in a young child began to have a reasonable chance of return for the parents and for the family as a whole."[29] According to this view, one would expect increased interest in education to accompany declines in infant and child mortality.

Still a third possibility is suggested by F. Musgrove, who claims that new attitudes toward children were apparent in England before the onset of fertility decline: children became more valuable when there was a decline in mortality accompanied by a simultaneous expansion of the economy that opened up tremendous opportunities for youthful employment in early modern industry. Musgrove feels that interest in education came much later--when child jobs were no longer available to compete with the classroom.[30]

These arguments present a variety of models which relate educational to demographic behavior. Actual data existing for the two localities suggest a rather complicated historical interaction. It is clear that, as was generally the case in France, Vauclusan populations experienced an early decline in general and marital fertility, probably begun in the first third of the 19th century.[31] While no detailed analysis of early modern fertility has been completed for Baden, crude birth rates there remained high beyond the middle of the 19th century. A study of fertility decline in Germany suggests that there was no perceptible decline in marital fertility before the middle of the 19th century.[32] Thus evidence of Malthusian attitudes toward fertility, insofar as the crude international comparison is useful, are by no means reflected in attitudes toward schooling: the high Badenese fertility levels persisted throughout the period of organization of the school system and high levels of school enrollment were much more characteristic there than in Vaucluse.

There does, however, seem to be some evidence suggesting a relationship between child mortality levels and schooling trends. While data on fertility are difficult to assemble, information about levels of infant and child mortality are more accessible. As indicated by vital statistics registries of the sample communities, both

regions experienced a steady, if slight, decline in infant mortality during the century between 1750 and 1850. (See Figures 27 and 28) However, because of the nearly imperceptible rate of the decline, it is unlikely that contemporaries were even aware of its occurrence. It is less likely still that it alone would have produced a massive revaluation of attitudes toward children. But attitudes toward young children may have been different once the crucial years of high mortality had passed. Trends in child mortality may actually have been of much greater significance for decisions about schooling than infant mortality was. While the index of child mortality is more dubious,[33] it nonetheless reveals differences between the regions and between communities which are both interesting for their suggestiveness with regard to schooling and plausible in light of modern observations about population patterns.

The index of mortality among children (defined here as those between the ages of one and 20) fluctuated much more rapidly than that of infant mortality. Child deaths are more closely related to environmental factors; children, particularly toddlers, are especially susceptible during epidemic and subsistence crises. Years of crisis mortality for children recurred throughout the 18th century in Baden and in Vaucluse; but they seemed to have persisted into the 19th century in Vaucluse, where

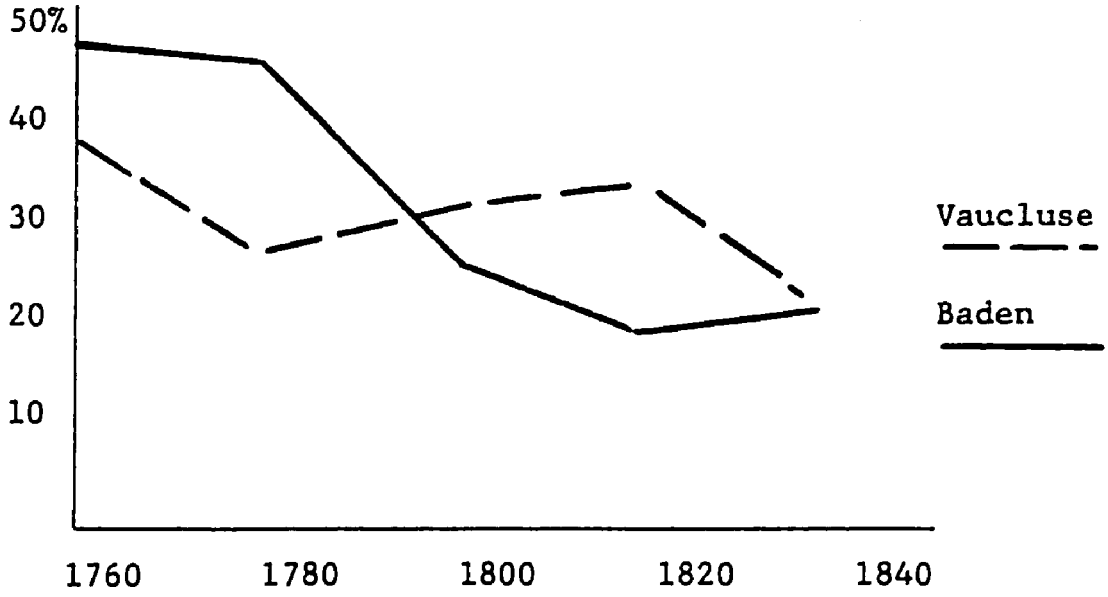
FIGURE 27

ESTIMATED INFANT MORTALITY - DEATHS <1/LIVE BIRTHS
(UNWEIGHTED MEAN OF SAMPLE COMMUNITIES)



FIGURE 28

INDEX OF MORTALITY OF 1-20 YEAR OLDS - DEATHS 1-20/BIRTHS SURVIVING TO AGE ONE (UNWEIGHTED MEAN OF SAMPLE COMMUNITIES)



the early 1820's, for example, were marked by high child mortality levels in many of the communities studied. Table 34 illustrates the pattern of crisis mortality in several Vauclusan communities. As is indicated in Figure 28, child mortality seems not to have declined before 1820.

Similar crisis patterns marked many Badenese communities in the late decades of the 18th century. In some instances, vital registers even specify the nature of the crisis. While the predominant stated cause of death among infants is listed as gout (Gichtern)--undoubtedly a common form of digestive problem, causes of death among young children were most often infectious--either respiratory infections or epidemic diseases. In Mannheim in 1762 the largest killer of toddlers was dysentery (Ruhr). The early 1780's saw a number of epidemics: dysentery in 1781, smallpox (Blättern) in 1782, measles (Rödeln) in 1783. For the town of Wiesloch, cause of death listings were available for the period 1790-1810, having been noted by the Protestant pastors. (See Figure 29) There were apparently smallpox epidemics at three different times, with that of 1805 being the most severe: during that year, 25 children between the ages of two and seven died of smallpox in this one town. A large number of parishes, under the instruction of the Badenese state, kept cause-of-death information in the

TABLE 34

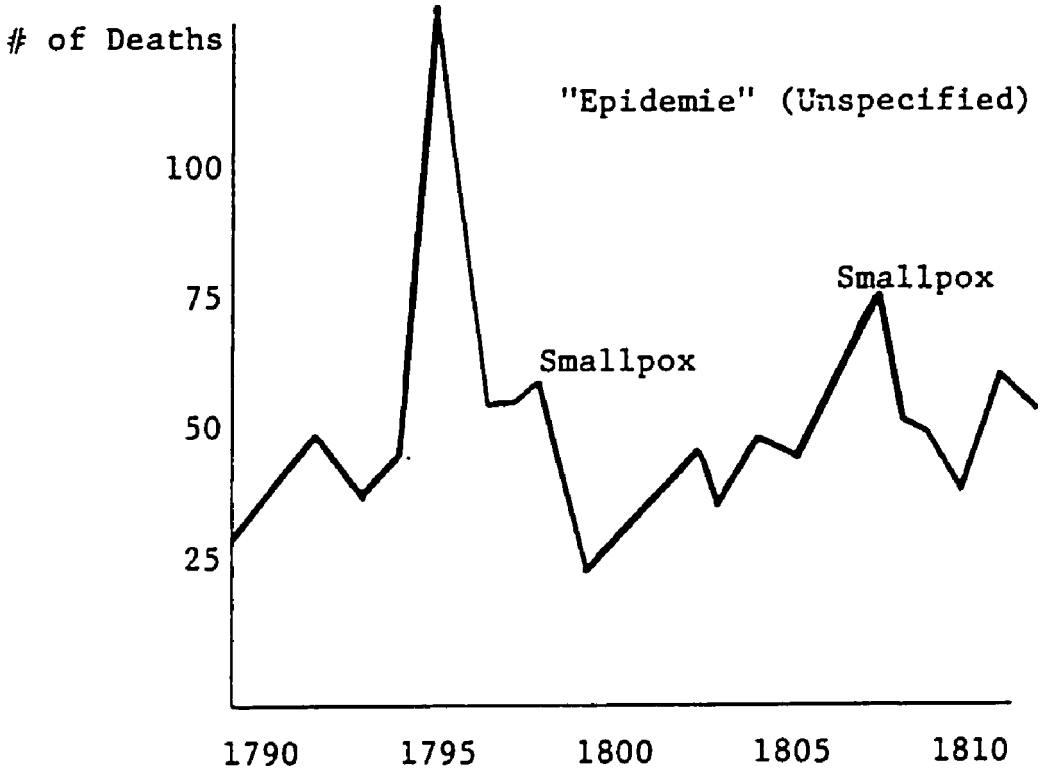
EXAMPLES OF CRISIS MORTALITY, VAUCLUSAN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES

Community	Years Sampled	Crisis	Mean Births	Infant Deaths		Child and Adolescent Deaths			
						Aged 1-9		Aged 10-19	
				Average Year	Crisis Year	Average Year	Crisis Year	Average Year	Crisis Year
Avignon, St. Didier Parish	1779-1782	1779	181	30	33	32	62	--	5
La Madeleine	1779-1782	1779	109	29*	30*	28*	60*	3	3
Avignon	1820-1823	1823	1191	214	145	282	375	50	55
La Bastide des Jourdans	1760-1764	1762	24	8	17	9	22	1	4
	1820-1824	1823	20	7	7	6	12	1	3
Cadenet	1760-1763	1760	75	23	29	14	28	4	10
	1780-1783	1780/83	88	22	15/27	21	31/28	2	2/3
Merindol	1820-1824	1824	27	5	7	3	8	2	0
	1840-1844	1842	25	5	9	4	9	2	0
Sorgues	1760-1763	1763	32	9	12	21	48	3	2
	1780-1783	1783	59	9	18	18	48	2	1

*Age at death not precisely stated; totals for young children approximate. Source: ADV: Serie E; Etat Civil.

FIGURE 29

MORTALITY PATTERN FOR THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITY
OF WIESLOCH, 1790-1810



early 1820's. From it one learns that in Schriesheim, for example, 12 children died of measles in 1822, in Walldorf in 1824, scarlet fever (Scharlach) took the lives of six children most of whom died without being seen by a doctor.[34] But smallpox seems to have been brought under control by this time, possibly as a result of widespread inoculation.

The state of Baden had undertaken measures to end smallpox: Innoculation was first introduced at the turn of the 19th century. By 1808, the first laws requiring vaccination of certain classes of schoolchildren were passed. By 1815, parents were required under penalty of fine to vaccinate their children at the age of one year. A medical report issued in 1827 attributed to the innoculation program the saving of 100,000 Badenese lives, mainly children. In fact, during the first quarter of the 19th century a half million Badenese were vaccinated. While the medical effects are debatable, the impact must have been substantial. A Badenese medical man travelling in France in 1825 was appalled by the number of smallpox victims there in that epidemic year. He claimed that such mortality was avoidable and persisted only because innoculations were still voluntary in France.[35] Regulations requiring schoolchildren to be vaccinated appeared in France only during the 1820's and 1830's. There is considerable debate among medical historians concerning

the overall impact on mortality levels of medical advances in smallpox control. Nonetheless, current estimates suggest that virtually everyone living during the epoch when smallpox was common was exposed to the disease at some point in his lifetime, usually during childhood. Furthermore, one victim in seven died from the effects of the disease.[36] It seems likely that control of smallpox did reduce child deaths considerably.

Whether or not control of smallpox is the cause, child mortality does seem to have been decreasing faster and earlier in Baden than in Vaucluse. Analysis of trends in the sample communities is again suggestive. While infant mortality and child mortality were higher in Badenese communities in 1800, the difference was insignificant. (See Table 35) By 1840, levels of infant mortality remained similar, but child mortality was significantly lower in Baden. The vaccination program may have been just one manifestation of great overall concern with child welfare or of more advanced health conditions. It should be noted that mortality levels even in Baden remained quite high by modern standards. Severe epidemics of measles, scarlet fever and dysentery took many young victims. Although there were only three deaths from smallpox reported in 1855 for the whole Unterrheinkreis, there were nearly 300 deaths from measles in the same year.[37] (Table 36 summarizes the impact of measles

TABLE 35

LEVELS OF INFANT MORTALITY AND INDEX OF CHILD MORTALITY IN SAMPLE COMMUNITIES, BADEN AND VAUCLUSE, c. 1800-1840

	Baden	Vaucluse	Student's T
c. 1800			
Infant Mortality[a]	.24	.21	-1.6
Child Mortality[b]	.23	.28	1.2
c. 1840			
Infant Mortality	.24	.23	-0.7
Child Mortality	.17	.29	4.3[c]

[a]Average number of deaths of persons less than one year divided by total number of live births in each community.

[b]Average number of deaths of persons less than 20 years divided by total number of survivors to age one in each community.

[c]Significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 36

MORTALITY FROM MEASLES IN NORTH BADEN, 1818-1823

Community	Year	Cases of Measles	Deaths
Baden	1818	472	44
Walddorf	1818	523	6
Phillipsburg Region	1820	1315	46
Wiesloch	1820	463	22
Karlsruhe Region	1820-21	470	35
Durlach Region	1820-21	1944	136
Heidelberg Region	1823	1222	42

epidemics during the early 19th century in several communities in North Baden) It is nonetheless fair to conclude that Badenese parents probably witnessed a dramatic decline in childhood mortality beginning at the end of the 18th century, and saw a once dreaded childhood disease, smallpox, apparently succumb to medical intervention. Parents in Vaucluse saw no such decline in child mortality, at least not before the 1830's. It is striking that parental and state concern over elementary education was apparent in Baden several decades before such concern was manifested in Vaucluse. While the relationship between mortality conditions and schooling is a complicated one, there is at least a suggestion here that declines in child mortality, accompanied perhaps by a new awareness of the possibility of controlling epidemic death in children, was conducive to educational planning.[38]

The changing attitude toward children documented by Ariès for the families of the French middle and upper classes during the 17th century, changes which were reflected in the new concern about education, are less evident among the popular classes, even in the middle of the 19th century. Rites of passage like First Communion and Konfirmation did mark the transition from childhood to adulthood. The concept of childhood was not an unfamiliar one. But the conditions of existence experienced by most families left little room for the senti-

mentalization of childhood found by Ariès to be occurring in the more comfortable classes. Showering of attention and resources upon children long remained the prerogative of an elite. In fact, as Tilly and Scott suggest, the early industrial move of productive labor out of the home may have made childcare even more difficult for many working-class families. With married women having, at times, to supplement the family income through work in shops and factories, the care their children received probably deteriorated. The appallingly high rates of infant and child mortality typical of some early industrial cities are a sad reflection of the need for women to leave home to work.[39]

Increased institutionalization of childhood was, however, a universal phenomenon, apparent by the middle of the 19th century. In all classes, childhood was becoming associated with preparation. As schooling became more universal and more of a fulltime experience for children, the concept of childhood as a time for socialization became institutionalized. Whether popular attitudes about childhood were changing as a result is difficult to ascertain, though probable. What is clear is that increased school attendance did, in fact, tend to compartmentalize children, to define childhood more explicitly than it had been defined in the past.

Furthermore, with changing work patterns, the role of children in the family economy was changing as well. Peasant families were still extremely dependent upon the seasonal labor of their children, of course. But the flexibility of work patterns in off-seasons allowed peasants to send their children to school at least seasonally. As the earlier chapters suggested, peasants, particularly propertied peasants, were most responsive to new conditions and new opportunities for schooling despite their initially low levels of literacy. Their response suggests a marked flexibility of childrearing patterns in the face of change.

In urban areas, the shift of workplace from home to factory had an impact which varied according to the employability of women and children, and to the level of parental income. In both Baden and France, wherever children were employed in factories, their school attendance was reduced. In industries where work and school attendance could be combined, schooling was more possible, especially where there were schools with hours built around the work schedule as there were in many Badenese cities. Only where work for children was unavailable, and when real wages rose enough to allow the family the luxury of a single breadwinner, could working-class children be sent to school fulltime. But the redefinition of work roles which accompanied industrial-

ization affected school attendance in an opposite manner through its impact on women's work. By taking production out of the home, industrialization also took women out of the home,[40] which in turn created an increased need for institutions for the care of children too young to work. The boom in infant schools and, to some extent, the rise in attendance at primary schools can be attributed to this need.[41] Thus while early industrialization created some employment possibilities for children which virtually precluded schooling, the same processes also created jobs for married women which led them to seek out schooling for their young children. Still, as children grew older, and more employable, they were increasingly likely to be withdrawn from school, and sent to work, even when such behavior was illegal. It was only the late 19th century rise in adult wages and the decrease in opportunities for child employment, that secured for schools their current place as pre-eminent institution, after the family, in the lives of virtually all preadolescent children in Western Europe.

CHAPTER SEVEN FOOTNOTES

[1]See above, Chapter 2.

[2]Some examples of analyses of schooling as a means of social control are included in Note 6, Chapter 6.

[3]The conceptualization underlying the view that political options taken by state administrators at crucial periods of statebuilding persistently affect the form of decision-making at later times is drawn largely from B. Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Boston, 1966). For a discussion of the explicit political constraints under which the state-builders of France and Baden operated during the 18th and 19th centuries, see L. Gall Liberalismus als Regierende Partei (Weisbaden, 1968); C. Tilly, ed., The Formation of National States in Western Europe (Princeton, 1975).

[4]See below, Chapter 8, for a discussion of a concrete example; a similar argument is made by M. Katz in The Irony of Early School Reform.

[5]W. Landes and L. Solomon, "Compulsory Schooling Legislation," p. 87ff.

[6]P. Chevallier, Scholarisation en France depuis un siècle (Paris, 1974), p. 139.

[7]P. Lundgreen encounters the same problem in his attempt to discover the extent to which economic growth in late 19th century Prussia is attributable to increases in education. By the beginning of the period he is concerned with, enrollments within the compulsory years were already virtually universal, and the relatively small amount of variability in enrollments in higher education cannot account for the high rates of economic growth characteristic of the decades following the attainment of universal primary schooling. See his article, "Educational Expansion and Economic Growth in Nineteenth Century Germany," in L. Stone, ed., Schooling and Society, p. 21 ff.

[8]For discussions of the relationship between urbanization and schooling/literacy patterns, see L. Stone, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640 - 1900," Past and Present, 42 (1969), 61-139; M. Sanderson, "Literacy and Social Mobility," Past and Present 56 (1972), 74-104; H. Boon, Enseignement primaire et alphabétisation dans l'agglomération Bruxelloise (Louvain, 1969).

[9]See Table 12, Chapter 4 above. The effect is more noticeable in Vaucluse, where the deficiency of endowment for school subsidies made public finance of schools difficult. French researchers have pointed to specific threshholds of population which predict to the presence or absence of school facilities. In his study of primary schooling in Haute Provence at the end of the Ancien Regime, M. Vovelle found that villages of fewer than 700 residents were often deprived of schools; towns greater than 1500 always had public school facilities. "Y-a-til en une revolution culturelle. . .", p. 120ff. Similarly, D. Julia and D. Pressly found a threshhold effect in their study of secondary schooling in 18th century France. While virtually no towns of fewer than 2000 inhabitants supported secondary schools, many above this level did; at the 5000 mark, a collège was a virtual certainty. "La population scolaire en 1789," Annales: E. S. C., (1974), 714-737.

[10]L. Stone, cited earlier, finds a similar stagnation in urban literacy rates in late 18th and early 19th century England. Correlational analysis substantiates the results observable form the graphs. Male and Female literacy rates in the sample communities were significantly related to community size in 1800. By 1840, the strength of the relationship had decreased, although women were still significantly more likely to be literate in larger communities. The rank order correlations are:

Community Size and:	1800	1840
Male Literacy	.50*	.19
Female Literacy	.80**	.63*

* = .1 level. ** = .01 level of significance.

[11]ADV: T, Collèges, 6.

[12]Stadt-und Landkreis Heidelberg und Mannheim; ADV: M, Rencensements.

[13]For a discussion of the relationship between schooling trends and historical changes in occupational opportunities, see C. Tilly, "Populations and Pedagogy," History of Education Quarterly, 13 (1973), 113-129; and M. Cohen, "Italian-American Women in New York City, 1900-1950: Work and Schooling," in M. Cantor and B. Laurie, eds., Class, Sex and the Woman Worker (Westport, Conn., 1977).

[14]More detailed discussions of the economic transformations that were occurring in these regions during the 19th century are found in W. Fischer, Der Staat und Die Anfange Industrialisierung in Baden (Berlin,

1962); P. Seignour, La vie économique en Vaucluse, 1815-1848 (Aix, 1957); P. Simoni, "Un Canton Rural au XIXème siècle," (These de doctorate de 3ème cycle, Aix, 1976).

[15]In the Badenese sample communities, there was no relationship between school attendance and predominance of agriculture; there was little variance in schooling within the sample, where school attendance was uniformly high.

[16]The view that educational levels of the population is an independent determinant of economic growth is argued, for example, in C. A. Anderson and M. J. Bauman, "Education and Economic Modernization," in L. Stone, ed., Schooling and Society and in D. McClelland, "Does Education Accellerate Economic Growth?" Economic Development and Cultural Change, 14 (April, 1966), 257-278. For theoretical and historical criticism of this view, see P. Lundgreen, cited earlier, and D. Hinrichsen and K. Kohler, "Bürgerliche Theorien - Darstellung und Kritik," in E. Altvater and F. Huisken, eds. Materielen zur politischen ÖKonomie, among others.

[17]G. Gabrielli, Manuel du Provencal (Aix, 1836).

[18]Julien Pitt-Rivers reports that in the village of Magnac in southwestern France, in the mid 20th century, patois speaking was closely associated with social status. "Social Class in a French Village," in C. Tilly, ed., An Urban World (Boston, 1974).

[19]A. Brun, Recherches historiques sur l'introduction du francais (Paris, 1923). M. Blanc, "Essai sur la substitution du français au Provençal. . . ," Extrait du bulletin historique et philogique, (1897).

[20]A. Brun, La Langue francaise (Marseille, 1927) p. 25ff.

[21]Ibid., p. 25ff.

[22]Ibid., p. 31.

[23]A. Gazier, ed., Lettres à Gregoire (Paris, 1880), pp. 153ff.

[24]A. Perdiguier, Mémoires d'un Compagnon, p. 94.

[25]E. Weber argue in Peasants Into Frenchmen that the essential cultural transformation of the French countryside occurred only in the latter decades of the

19th century, and that prior to that period, traditional cultures persisted.

[26]The influence of the market on early modern economic life in Europe is discussed in F. Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life; specific economic trends in France, and in particular trends in agricultural prices are analyzed in E. Labrousse, et al., Histoire économique et sociale de la France, vol. 2, p. 367ff. For a discussion of the relationship between literacy and market relations in contemporary societies, see J. Goody, ed., Literacy in Traditional Societies (Cambridge, 1968).

[27]E. Kayser, "Heidelberg" Badisches Städtebuch (Stuttgart, 1959). A. Heunisch, Das Grossherzogthem Baden, p. 288.

[28]P. Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, p. 413. C. Tilly, "Population and Pedagogy," p. 118.

[29]C. Tilly, "Population and Pedagogy," p. 118.

[30]F. Musgrove, "Population Changes and the Status of the Young," in P. Musgrave, ed., Sociology, History and Education (London, 1970).

[31]E. Van de Walle, The Female Population of France (Princeton, 1974).

[32]J. Knodel, The Decline of Fertility in Germany, 1871-1939 (Princeton, 1974). Knodel's more recent work on village reconstitution studies suggests that the beginning of the fertility decline may have been earlier in some regions than the above aggregate study of the late 19th century concludes. The village of Grafenhausen in Baden, for example, yields data showing clear evidence of fertility control between 1825 and 1850. "Natural Fertility in Pre-Industrial Germany" (Presented at the meeting of the Population Association of America, April, 1977).

[33]See Appendix for a discussion of the problems involved in using death registers to calculate child mortality levels.

[34]GLA: 390/2944, 6093.

[35]F. Roller, "Ein Fall von Variola Vaccination," Annalen für die Gesammten Heilkunden (1837).

[36]T. McKeown and R. Brown, and R. G. Record, "An Interpretation of the Modern Rise in Population in Europe," Population Studies, 26 (1972), 345-382; P. Razzell, "An Interpretation. . .- A Critique," Population Studies, 28 (1974), 5-18.

[37]Baden. Statistisches Landesamt, Beiträge zur Statistik, vol. II (Karlsruhe, 1856).

[38]Direct assessment of the impact of child mortality levels is complicated by the multicolinearity of several critical variables: size of community, country, school attendance and child mortality. The zero-order correlations between child mortality and proportion attending school are:

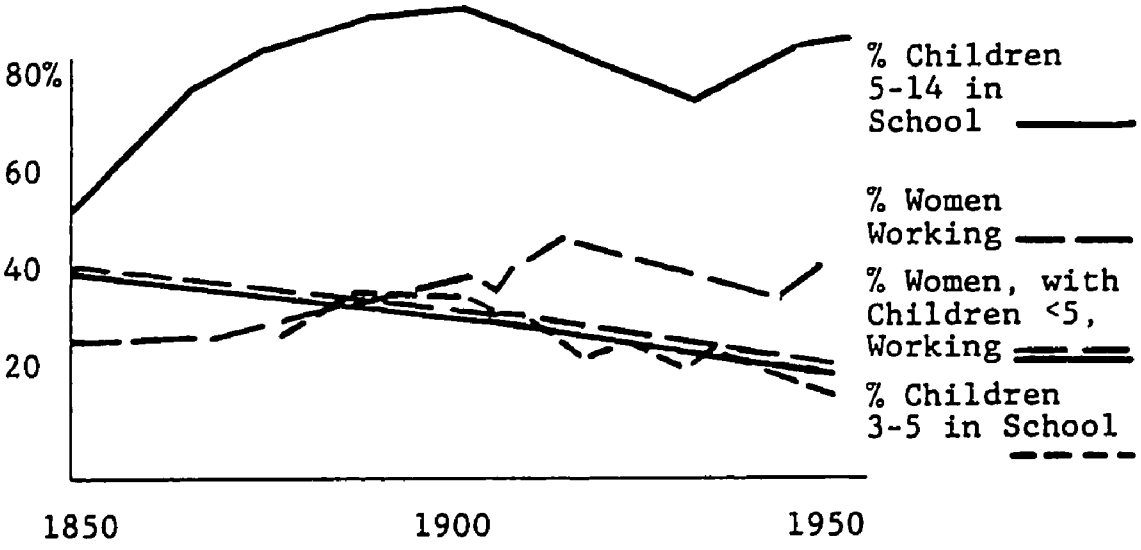
	Total	Vaucluse	Baden
% Attending School, c. 1800 and Child Mortality	-.14	.32	-.04
% Attending School, c. 1800 and Child Mortality	-.54**	-.27	-.25

The relationship between child mortality and school attendance within each of the two regions is in the expected direction in 1840, but is weak. In 1800, the relationship is also weak, but in Vaucluse, it is in the opposite direction from what was expected. Part of the explanation of the reversal is the tendency for both child mortality and school attendance to be higher in urban areas, particularly in early periods. In 1800, there is a strong positive correlation between the size category of the community and the level of child mortality. (.70** overall, but higher in Vaucluse). By 1840, the relationship is still positive, that is, mortality levels are higher in urban areas, but insignificant (.33). Controlling for size of community increases the correlation between school attendance and child mortality. (The partial is -.42 for Vaucluse and -.26 for Baden.)

[39]See, for example, L. Tilly and J. Scott, p. 107, E. Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family, Chapter 5.

[40]L. Tilly and J. Scott, p. 134ff.

[41]In France, more recent trends in school enrollments parallel trends in female employment; there is an extremely close association, in particular, between the enrollment of children between three and five in nursery schools and the employment of women with children under five. The data for the following graph comes from L. Tilly and J. Scott, pp. 24, 244ff. and P. Chevallier, p. 29, 38-39.



CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION - A NOTE ON 1848 AND THE SCHOOLS

On the occasion of his visit to the collège of Apt in 1849, the inspector from the Academy of Nimes warned his superiors that "the current municipal council, composed for the most part of men who either cannot or do not want to send their children to the collège, takes no interest in it."[1] His warning was a timely one. The council soon decided to suppress a seven-centime surtax that had been voted by a previous council to finance the purchase by the town of a building to house the public collège. Its motives for suppressing the surtax are suggested in the inspector's warning: the new council brought in by the Revolution represented classes for whom the collège was an alien institution. This analysis is made explicit in a later report to the Academy by the embittered owner of the school building who had spent nearly ten years negotiating the terms of its sale to the town:

> . . . then, in 1848, a new theory relative to the collège sprang up in Apt: The Collège of Apt was an Aristocratic institution; the local Aristocracy should pay for it themselves. . . .[2]

The election of 1850, in which in Apt the fate of the collège played an important role, returned a second council that was

simultaneously both "democratic and anti-collegiate."

In August of 1848, Parisian authorities were similarly warned that in Pertuis as well "the existence of the collège is compromised. The communal authority is in its entirety opposed to this establishment."[3] Records of the municipal council debates reveal, however, that three months later discussion centered not on the existence of the institution, but on its democratization. The council declared its intentions to continue support for the school, but maintained that:

> . . . without wishing to establish distinctions between positions of more or less wealth other than those of merit or virtue, it is nonetheless just to give the latter more facilities for their education by according the poorest free places in the communal collège. . . . It is also reasonable to. . . make its instruction appropriate, no longer for the few exceptions, but for the vast majority of a communal and agricultural population. . . without excluding the teaching of Latin and the dead languages for those who are called to them by a marked vocation or by the desire of their family.[4]

The council established 12 free places at the collège, 20 more at reduced tuition, and called for a total redesign of the curriculum to deemphasize classical studies.

As we have seen, the move to tailor the curriculum to the needs of broader segments of the population of Pertuis was not novel in 1848. Day pupils had long been the mainstay of the collège, and many of their families belonged to the commercial and artisanal petty bourgeoisie who dominated the town's economy. In contrast, the collège of Apt, while hardly aristocratic, nonetheless

catered to a different kind of clientele. The town's notables included more professionals, officials and rentiers whose sons attended the school, and the number of boarding pupils drawn from the wealthier families of the surrounding area gave the collège a more elitist profile. The social controversy brought into the political forum as a result of the Revolution thus took slightly different turns in the two towns. In both cases, however, the goals of public education and the proper use of public subsidies for educational institutions became a matter of public debate.

In a move that was less dramatic, the council of the city of Heidelberg used its more limited discretionary power in 1849 to lower the tuition at the Höhere Bürgerschule from 16 to 10 Florins since the school, according to the council, should serve "not only the propertied, but the propertyless as well."[5] The events of 1848 were reflected in a different manner in the state run lyceums in Mannheim, Heidelberg and Avignon. There were students and professors in these institutions who were involved in revolutionary activities, but the administrative machine which ran them were largely untouched by political events. Calm was restored in the lyceum in Avignon at the cost of five student expulsions. Officials at Heidelberg were happy to report in 1849 that the unrest of June of that year had caused the loss of not a single student and only

three days of classes, although it was noted without explanation that "several changes in teaching personnel occurred."[6] Undoubtedly the most elite of all public schools, the lyceums, by virtue of their very isolation from popular opinion and popular control, were preserved from administrative disruption.

The Revolutions of 1848 touched upon elementary schooling as well. In France the national level debate over the merits of free and obligatory elementary schooling was reopened. In Baden, where schoolteachers had long been active in the support of progressive causes, school reform measures like the demand for secularization of public schooling held a prominent place in petitions and demands. While many of these reforms and reform movements disappeared in the post-revolutionary repression period, the issues they raised did not disappear. The progressive program for the establishment of free, secular and obligatory elementary schooling was official policy in both France and Baden within a few decades. The more fundamental question of whose interests were served by public schooling was a thornier one, one with which middle class reformers were distinctly less comfortable. The battle for the principle of subsidy had been too recently won, after generations of struggle. That government subsidy was often in practice undemocratic seemed impossible to those for whom open access

to schooling and careers seemed to be an established fact. Challenges from a more egalitarian perspective of the virtue of public subsidy of secondary schools called into question political and economic principles to which even the more liberal members of the middle classes were perforce committed. While the more radical position, partially articulated during the Revolutions of 1848, had been spelled out by some even during the first French Revolution, and was implicit in popular behavior during the interim, it was not a position that found support among most middle class progressives in the middle of the 19th century. It was a challenge that remained, and remains, to undermine claims that publicly supported education is the institutional means of creating equality in a society of unequals.

CHAPTER EIGHT FOOTNOTES

[1]ADV: T, I. A., 63.

[2]ADV: T, Collèges, 2.

[3]AN: F^{17} 8125.

[4]ADV: T, Collèges, 6.

[5]GLA: 356/696.

[6]GLA: 435/871.

APPENDIX

EVIDENCE ABOUT SCHOOLING IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Any attempt to explore social history in periods prior to those for which the systematic statistical evidence is available is complicated by the dearth of evidence and by the gaps in that which does exist. The field of educational history is no exception. Historians of education have often avoided the problem by concentrating their efforts on the more accessible aspects of schooling history--central policy making, national trends, etc.--or by writing anecdotal accounts which describe the educational scene as it appears from the rather randomly gathered tidbits of information to be found in local sources. While any attempt to do local social history entails hunting around in a variety of sources, the search can be made more systematic. It was with a view toward systematization of data collection and analysis that the research design for this study was formulated. The bulk of the analysis rests upon a fairly exhaustive exploitation of the sources about schooling available for a pre-selected set of sample communities; research centered around a pre-determined set of questions. The communities were selected randomly from among all communities within given size categories in each region and should

thus be typical of all communities of their size within the regions. Before beginning research, I had a fairly clear idea of the kind of questions for which I needed answers. Actually finding the requisite information meant culling a variety of sources and the search was not always fruitful. Gaps in the existing data had, on occasion, to be filled by interpolation from or manipulation of series data. The problem of interpretation of contemporary statistics proved to be a difficult one. While I often found direct information in the archives concerning, for example, school-aged population, it sometimes became clear that such information was unreliable. In this Appendix, I will discuss in more detail the types of sources used to compile the data set for the sample communities, and also outline the procedures used to estimate values for missing or unreliable information.

Sources of Information about Schooling

The earliest evidence about schooling in north Badenese communities comes from records of ecclesiastical administration. For the sample communities, these records were kept until the turn of the 19th century under the auspices of the Kurpfälzisch state churches, the Catholic Bishopric of Speyer, the Diocese of Mainz, and other small territorial authorities; many of these

records have been collected in the Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe, where they are catalogued in special collections. These early records usually concern the hiring and payment of schoolteachers, and much valuable information about other aspects of schooling can often be gleaned from them as well. The most systematic of these are the Kompetenzenbücher which list, parish by parish, the total income each teacher was receiving and the various conditions of his appointment. These reports often indicate the amount of tuition fees and the number of pupils enrolled as well. Church visitation records are also useful, although irregularly available. After the incorporation of the region studied into the Badenese state, school records were collected at various levels of administration: Kreisregierung, Bezirksamt, Ministerium. The Bibliography gives a complete list of the various archival sections consulted. The most complete account of community-level schooling conditions for the early 19th century is the set of reports submitted by each community in 1836, at the time of legislative reform. Collected in the Generallandesarchiv in the various communal and Bezirksamt sections, these reports indicate enrollments, fees, salaries, and so forth. Records about educational institutions other than elementary schools are also scattered through various levels of administrative archives; many are still preserved in local archives.

For compiling the data set on Badenese primary schools, the most useful Abteilungen for the period before consolidation (i.e., prior to 1802) were Abteilungen 63/1, 63/74, 63/77, 63/131, 63/138 and 77/6087, all of which contain documents taken over by the Badenese government at the time of consolidation. For later periods, most information was found in the communal archives gathered in Karlsruhe (Abteilungen 204, 213, 229) and in the Bezirksamt records (Abteilungen 356, 362, 377 and 388).

For Vaucluse, information about schooling during the Ancien Regime is found mainly in Church records and municipal council minutes. There was no central agency of any sort responsible for the collection of such information, and except for an occasional mention by interested intendants, little word on schooling went back to Paris. It was only during the Revolution that a centralized state schooling bureaucracy was established. From this time on, however, data collection was more highly centralized in France than in Baden. Evidence about schooling during the Revolution is contained in Series L of the Departmental Archives in Avignon. Thereafter, Series T is the source of most information about schooling at all levels. Numerous surveys of the state of primary instruction were conducted by the national government beginning in the first decade of the 19th century. The results of these surveys are kept in Series F[17] of the

National Archives in Paris. Gaps in reporting, discussed in more detail below, and local misunderstanding or misreporting often detract from the usefulness of these national statistics. Only in the 1830's, when state inspectors began actually visiting community schools and reporting their findings to Paris, do the national reports become more reliable.

From the above sources the following information was collected for the sample communities, concentrating on three periods--the late Ancien Regime, the turn of the 19th century, and 1836 (the latter date was chosen largely because there were systematic surveys of schools undertaken in both France and Baden in this year):

School Enrollment
Tuition Fees
Communal Subsidy of the School
Contemporary Estimates of School-aged Population (not always available)
Teacher's Income

This evidence from schooling records was then supplemented with a variety of other types of information.

Estimates of School-aged Population

Because of contemporary estimates of school-aged population often either unavailable or unreliable, a means of estimating this population for the sample communities from their vital registers was employed. Vital registers for the Vauclusan communities were used in the

Departmental Archives, where copies have been collected; in Baden, use of vital registers entailed trips to various municipal and church archives since registers are not all collected at central depositories. For the school-aged population, birth or baptismal and death or burial registers were used. The number of births, and the number of deaths by age (<1, 1-9, 10-19, 20+) in five year periods at 20 year intervals were gathered for all the sample communities, for the period between 1760 and 1844. To simplify the estimation of school-aged population (age 6-13, for the sake of comparability), I assumed that mortality between ages 6 and 9 was equal to that between 10 and 13 (although, it is, of course, slightly higher). Thus the size of a school-aged population in a given year was estimated by assuming that an average birth cohort of ten years earlier, experiencing the mortality to age 10 characteristic of the community and time period, would be one-eighth of the surviving population between 6 and 13. While the method of estimation should in general produce fairly reliable results, there are two potential sources of error. In a situation where mortality rates could fluctuate dramatically from year to year, estimations based on average mortality over a five-year period may not be accurate enough to gauge the mortality experience of a cohort over 13 years. This fluctuation could be particularly marked in small com-

munities. In an attempt to minimize the error due to fluctuation in small communities, several communities were usually grouped together for purposes of analysis. The problem would persist, of course, if mortality fluctuated in a similar manner in all communities as a result of epidemics or other environmental factors. The second potential source of error in these calculations is the migration of families with school-aged children. Actually, the impact of migration was relatively small since typical migrants were single young adults. Nonetheless, some children were involved. In the cities of Sorgue, L'Isle-sur-la-Sorgue and Avignon, for example, which were communes with highly mobile populations, children born outside the commune represented the following proportion of child deaths:

Age Group	% Foreign Born
1	2
1-9	9
10-19	14

Since out-migration of children born in the communes probably compensated only in part for this increase due to in-migration of children, school-aged population estimates for communes which were growing as a result of migration may be too small by a factor of up to 10 percent or so; in areas of outmigration, of course, the

error would be in the opposite direction. The following table indicates the amount of discrepancy between estimates from vital registers and contemporary reports for two years for which such reports were available for the Vauclusan communities:

	1836		1848	
Size of Community	Estimates from Vital Records	Contemporary Estimates	Estimates from Vital Records	Contemporary Estimates
<500	173	210	178	183
500-2000	950	893	878	702
2000-1000	2854	3627	2760	2716
Avignon	6014	3980	6100	3173

The greatest discrepancy is obviously that in the city of Avignon. While projections from vital registers are bound to be less reliable for large cities with mobile populations than for more stable areas, I suspect that officials in cities also had more trouble estimating school-aged populations than did those in smaller towns. In a town like Avignon, the error in the vital register estimate schould actually be in the direction of underestimation, not overestimation, which leads me to suspect that the true figure is closer to the larger one. The drop in school-aged population reported between 1836 and 1848, when the overall population of the city was rising, is also suspicious and further suggests underreporting

in contemporary figures. The other major discrepancy, that in towns of 2000 to 10000 in 1836, is also puzzling, but seems to be a result of misreporting rather than dramatic population change. The estimate from registers for 1848 is actually quite close to the lower contemporary report of that year, which suggests either an improbable decline or substantial inflation of the earlier figures. In the absence of concrete information about the generation of contemporary figures on school-aged populations, I am inclined to accept the vital register estimates as the more reliable of the two. But without more concrete information about migration patterns in the sample communities, even these estimates must be interpreted with caution.

Infant and Child Mortality

Vital registers were also used to calculate infant and child mortality indices. The index of infant mortality is the number of deaths to children below the age of one year in a given five-year period, divided by the number of live births in that same period. In the earliest periods, stillbirths were not always clearly identified as such in Vaucluse, therefore the denominator is slightly inflated and actual mortality would thus be a bit lower. (Births and deaths in institutions for

unwed mothers were kept separately since mortality levels there were considerably higher than average.) Child mortality indices were calculated by dividing the number of deaths to persons aged one to nine and 10 to 19 by the number of survivors to age one during five-year periods. These are rough estimates whose precision is diminished by the fact that the births at risk have actually been occurring over a period of 20 years, and by the factor of child migration which was discussed above.

Literacy

As was discussed in the test (Chapter 5), inferences about literacy were drawn from variations in the ability to sign series of documents, generally marriage registers. Beginning with the establishment of civil registration in 1792, registers for all the sample communities in Vaucluse were available in the Departmental Archives. Prior to that, signed registers were available only for those communities in the arrondissement of Apt, since the Papal State did not require signatures on marriage acts. Most of these early registers are also available in the Departmental Archives, since they were made in duplicate, but for Protestant communities the only existing registers are usually in communal archives. Data on the ability to sign was gathered for three to

five year periods (depending on the size of the community) at 20 year intervals. In addition, some information about occupation of groom and bride (or lacking that, bride's father) was collected for a subgroup of the sample communities. Badenese marriage registers were unsigned until the beginning of civil registration in the early 1870's. Thereafter, registers are closed by law to all but direct descendents of those mentioned in the acts. The only series of signed documents found for the Badenese communities were contracts made on the occassion of interfaith marriages and acts of paternity acknowledgment (Vaterschafterkenntnisse).

Supplemental Information

Population - Information about the population of the sample communities came from a variety of sources. For Vaucluse, manuscript censuses were available for An IV, 1806, 1836 and every five years thereafter. Earlier information was taken from Expilly's dictionary and from church surveys. The manuscript census was also used for information about reported child employment patterns. For the Badenese communities, a police census of 1807 gave population totals by religious and age divisions. Later figures came from Heunisch's published statistics.

Urban figures came from E. Kayser, ed. Badisches Städtebuch.

Industry - Since really precise information about the occupational breakdown of the populations of each community was not systematically available, a rough classification system was established which could be used on the basis of descriptive information. The extreme categories were 1.) communities which, in the absence of any information to the contrary, were assumed to be virtually completely agricultural, and 4.) those in which at least the majority of the population was engaged in occupational sectors other than agriculture. The intervening categories were more difficult to categorize: the classification 2.) was reserved for those where there was some minimal evidence of any non-farming population--where there were, for example, a few mills or a weekly market; category 3.) included those communities which were predominantly agricultural but which had clearly supported substantial populations in other industries like cottage manufacturing, artisanal production, mining, etc. Information for categorization was drawn from statistical memoires, regional dictionaries, marriage records and manuscript censuses.

Communal budgets - Information on budgets was used to supplement educational archives in determining the level of communal expenditures on schooling. For

Vaucluse, these budgets are in Series O, Departmental, for the 19th century and in Series H of the National Archives for earlier periods. For Baden, this information came from the published Beiträge zur Statistik des Grossherzogthums Baden.

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E - État Civil.
G - Archévêché d'Avignon.
H - Clergé Régulier.

J - Documents Extraordinaires.

L - Administration Révolutionnaire:
1L - Budgets Communaux. Écoles Centrales.
2L - District d'Apt.
4L - Instruction Publique.

M - Rencensements.

O - Archives Communales.

T - Instruction Publique:
Fonds 1 - École Normale Primaire d'Avignon.
Fonds 2 - Instruction Primaire.
Fonds 3 - Instruction Primaire. Organization. Fonctionnement. Salles d'Asile.
Fonds 5 - École Centrale, Lycées, etc.
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U - Archives Judiciaires
8U - Notaires.

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R - Instruction Publique.

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65 - Handschriften.
74 - Akten. Baden.
77 - Akten. Pfalz. Generalia.
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213 - Stadt Mannheim.
229 - Akten Kleinerer Ämter und Städte und der Landgemeinden.
231 - Landtag.
233 - Staatsministerium.
235 - Kultusministerium.

236 - Innenministerium.
313 - Kreisregierungen.
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