

### The teachers of the Volksschule in the Grand Duchy of Baden in the societal developments and political movements of the Vormärz and the revolution of 1848-9

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## current research

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### THE TEACHERS OF THE VOLKSSCHULE IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF BADEN IN THE SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENTS AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE VORMAERZ AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1848-9

To establish the extent and ways of the social/political commitment of teachers, quantitative methods are used for analysing data won from archives. To determine causes and effects of the teachers' action, the results are seen in the context of long-term developments in society, politics, and in the teachers' situation in society.

#### 1. State of Research and Statement of the Problem

Among the numerous publications on Germany in the time of the Vormärz and the revolution of 1848-9 there are few focusing on the teachers of the Volksschule, their political role in the German revolution of 1848-9, and of their professional, social, and political history of the preceding decades. (1) There are not many more of these considering the aspects mentioned in the context of, either systematically or chronically, broader studies. (2) This should cause surprise as there is considerable agreement regarding the teachers' contribution towards the revolutionary events, both among contemporary observers and historians. The famous remarks made by Prussia's Friedrich Wilhelm IV, when addressing a meeting of directors and teachers of Prussian teachers' training colleges in early 1849, (3) may serve as an example of a way of "analysing" the causes of the revolution of 1848-9, which layed much emphasis upon the influence of teachers. This seems to have been a current opinion in those days, not only in reactionary government circles.

Closer examination produces at least two varieties of this view: The Prussian King's remarks, for example, can be translated into a contention saying that, in the classroom, during the course of the regular lessons, teachers disseminated religious/political attitudes causing, or at least supporting, popular tendencies of disloyalty towards the monarchic government. This long-term multiplicative effect cannot be tested in the study presented here, if at all. (4) In contrast, most contemporary and historiographic statements regarding the teachers' impact on the revolution of 1848-9, refer to direct political activity during the time of the revolutionary events.

A few authors do not share this view, claiming that teachers' participation in revolutionary activities was negligible: Zieger regarding

Saxony (5), Friederich regarding Wuerttemberg (6), and Meyer regarding Prussia (7). According to Skopp "beteiligte sich wahrscheinlich nur etwa 1 % der Lehrer aktiv an den tatsächlichen revolutionären Bewegungen. Für die meisten Lehrer erschöpfte sich die Teilnahme darin, den Volksvereinen als Sekretäre zur Seite zu stehen, oder gelegentlich eine Petition zu verfassen, die die Trennung von Kirche und Schule in Deutschland forderte." (8)

In the present state of research on this subject, without even one empirically based study for a single German country, statements generalizing for the whole of Germany, like the one quoted above, do definitely overstrain the material available, and should be left aside for the time being. Even with a sounder empirical basis available differentiation will be appropriate. Fischer made an attempt to explain the differences between Prussia and Saxony with regard to the teachers' participation in the revolution. (9) We should not fall back behind this stage any more!

So, the study presented here aims at producing a detailed description of the way, and of the extent of the teachers' (10) participation in the revolution and contributing to the sociological explanation of teachers' commitment. The latter purpose is responsible for the choice of the temporal scope of the study: Both the general social change and political conflicts are significant for the revolution of 1848-9, and the developments affecting the teachers in a specific way (educational system, teachers' training, professional situation, etc.) can be traced back to the beginning of the century, or at least to the time of the Vienna Congress. It can be assumed, that of the teachers active in 1848-9, approximately 90 % obtained their training and made their professional and other experiences during the time of Vormärz.

Eventhough the choice of the study's geographical scope, the Grand Duchy of Baden, was to some extent influenced by pragmatic motives, (11) the Baden case seems to be promising in several aspects:

- In Baden, we find none of the economically advanced regions of Germany. The country as a whole was rather traditional, with only a small sector of capitalist industry.
- At the same time, there was a political life more vivid and more differentiated than in the rest of Germany. In the revolution, the Grand Duchy was the only German State whose army changed over to the side of the revolutionaries, whose monarch had to leave the country, and where there was something like a revolutionary state, at least for a couple of weeks until the Grand Duke got "His" country reconquered from "His" subjects by Prussian troops.
- With this background (as crude economic lines of explanation should be ruled out) it appears to be the more urgent, and the more rewarding, to ask the question: How did this revolution happen?

The study presented here does not aim at answering this latter question, but will (hopefully) contribute to answering it by determining: To what extent, how, and why, did the teachers of the Volksschule in the Grand Duchy of Baden participate in political activities, and what im-

pact did this commitment have on the development of political conflicts?(12)

## 2. Source Material

### 2.1 Source Material Used

Apart from published literature, which is used almost exclusively to analyse the general societal and political developments of the time,(13) the following sources (14) were used for this study:

1. A number of local school histories, written by the respective local teachers as teachers' conference works around 1890. They supply some relevant information on the conditions of the Volksschule, the financial situation of teachers, their social position in the rural community etc. - On the teachers' political activities, however, there is nothing to be found, and also the revolution of 1848-9 is generally ignored in these school histories.
2. For the pre-revolution period there are official files on the setting-up and the incorporation of teachers' associations as well as
3. files on several petitions to the Zweite Kammer (the lower house of the Grand Duchy's Parliament) signed by teachers. A content analysis of the petitions allows for the establishment of changes in the aims of the teachers' movement. The quantitative analysis of the lists of signatures shows the extent of participation and allows for differentiations according to region, religious faith, urban/rural, income and size of community (the size of the income depending on the latter). A memorandum added to an 1846 petition provides a table of the distribution of teachers in the four salary groups, segregated according to religious faith, for 1843.
4. For the time of the revolution there are official files covering the teachers' political behaviour: After the suppression of the revolution the catholic and protestant Oberkirchenräthe (15), by order of the Ministerium des Innern, instructed the Bezirksschulvisitatoren and Bezirksämter (district offices) to supply reports on the behaviour of their respective district's teachers during the time of revolution, and these were meant to serve as material for eventual disciplinary measures against the teachers incriminated. Of these district reports summarizing the reports of the respective Ortsschulinspektoren, approximately 25 % of the catholic ones are still available; the protestant and jewish equivalents are obviously lost or destroyed. - Some of these files supply rather detailed and concrete reports of the teachers' activities.
5. The limitation in the possibility of inter-confessional comparison caused by the inaccessibility of the protestant district reports, is partly made up for by two registers compiled by the catholic and protestant Oberkirchenräthe. They contain the names of all the teachers involved in disciplinary investigation in the wake of the revolution. These registers are complete and supply data aggregated

for the whole Grand Duchy, but the descriptions of the incriminating activities are mostly restricted to a catchword, and often to general juridical termini ("high treason") allowing for little conclusion of the concrete activities in question.

6. This qualification equally applies to an official table containing all persons involved in judicial investigation in the wake of the revolution.
7. A number of judicial files provide detailed information on the activities of a limited number of teachers during the revolution.
8. A table of all the members of the Volkvereine allows us to determine the extent of teacher participation in these important associations.

## 2.2 Appraisal of the Source Material: An Example (16)

A critical assessment of the informational value of certain sources has to consider the context of the sources' genetic process in confrontation with the questions asked by the researcher. If, as in the case of the group of sources described under 4. in chapter 2.1, the files in question are to be used as sources of information on the teachers' actual political activities during the time of the revolution, establishing the probable distortions in recording the teachers' behaviour is a necessity. Will counter-revolutionary activities be represented in the same measure as revolutionary ones? Will activities in support of the revolution be exaggerated or rather extenuated? Will certain kinds of activities be represented more strongly than others? Such are the questions to be asked in this context.

The inquiries into the teachers' behaviour were conducted on the instruction of the Oberkirchenräthe. The respective circular letter by the catholic Oberkirchenrath (17) asked for reports on teachers' activities in support of the revolution. Consequently, the records hardly mention counter-revolutionary activities, which, it can be assumed, must have occurred, too. This means that an evaluation of these records has to proceed on the assumption that conservative/counter-revolutionary commitment is under-represented: The files can't be used as sources of the whole spectre of the teachers' political commitment, but only of its revolutionary aspect.

It seems more difficult to determine whether the teachers' activities in support of the revolution were portrayed in a manner more favourable or more unfavourable to them (under the conditions given). Considerations of the more general context of the files' origin lead in opposite directions.

The reports were written immediately after the suppression of the 1849 May-insurrection. As the executive power was again firmly in the hands of the reactionary forces (the country still being under Prussian military occupation), conservatives, not having dared to come out openly during the insurrection, but now able to lift their heads again, might

have made use of the circumstances by producing incriminating material in revenge for suppression and inconveniences suffered.

On the other hand it has to be considered that the power of the guns that had brought the political change, even if effective in suppressing the acting-out and demonstration of revolutionary attitudes (which was not totally the case), probably did not change these attitudes immediately. The existence of revolutionary and pro-revolutionary attitudes among lower officials engaged in the investigations (18) could have led to partial sabotage, which for the purposes of this study means the partial suppression or lessening of information on teachers' revolutionary activities in the files in question. If the local authorities shared the Oberkirchenrath's view, that incriminating items should be collected "mit allem Fleisse", the existence of revolutionary and pro-revolutionary attitudes among the population in general, could have led to a partial withholding of incriminating information, as the officials themselves were sometimes not sufficiently informed and had to refer to popular sources. According to this point of view it seems probable that the files do not supply a full coverage of the teachers' actual revolutionary activities.

Such general considerations are, of course, not sufficient for the evaluation of a certain record, but they can direct the researcher's attention when analysing the documents. Indeed, in quite a number of files there are indications to be found allowing for the qualification of the respective document. Qualifications have to be made in either direction, so that of the general assumptions stated above, none applies to all the documents in question.

The files contain one or two letters obviously so full of hatred against the "rothen Schulmeister", that the information supplied should not be used without further consideration. But there is a lot more supporting the hypothesis of a minimizing bias in this group of sources. The Hüfingen district and Mannheim town files (19), for instance, are highly instructive with respect to political contradictions within the post-revolutionary state bureaucracy impeding action against supporters of the revolution.

In the Hüfingen case it was the Bezirksamt that quite openly sabotaged the investigations, and most other local officials do not seem to have shared the Oberkirchenrath's strict view of how the investigations should be conducted, except for one Ortsschulinspector who sent a letter complaining of the Bezirksamtsvorstand being sympathetic with the "Democraten" and accusing him of leading the investigations in such a way as to ignore the facts most gravely incriminating.- In the end the Oberkirchenrath asked a special government commissioner to do the investigations in the Hüfingen and two neighbouring districts because the respective Bezirksamter had not produced satisfactory results.

In Mannheim it was the Bezirksschulvisitator who did not lead the investigations strictly enough, and in his report tended to summarize and extenuate his teachers' commitment, whereas the local Stadtdirector insisted on the dean reporting all details that might be incriminating. From the Blumenfeld and Achern districts we have complaints of the dif-

ficulties in obtaining information from the population and in finding witnesses for official testimony.(20)

It can be concluded that the group of sources as a whole give rather an incomplete coverage of the teachers' activities in support of the revolution, than an exaggeration of what really happened. But this conclusion must be qualified in two ways:

- As it states a tendency for the whole group of sources, it cannot replace the evaluation of each single document.
- The bias stated cannot be quantified. It will not be relevant for statistical analysis itself, but will influence the interpretation of statistical results.

### 3. Transforming the Information Obtained into a Machine-Readable Data set: A Methodological Attempt

Of the source material described under 2.1 not everything has been worked through to date. Still left are groups 2., 3., and 7. The register of the members of the Volksvereine (8.) is currently being worked on.

The information drawn from the other sources (groups 1., 4., 5., 6.) has been coded, stored on tape, and transformed into a systems file to be statistically analysed under Statistical Analysis System (SAS). The data set contains more than 1.000 cases (=teachers). Of these, roughly 500 had been mentioned in connection with incriminating activities during the revolution of 1848-9. For the others there is often only a minimum of information available, e.g. that person A was teaching in B-village in the year Y. Such cases were still included in the data set, as the evaluation of sources had not yet been completed, leaving some chance that for one or two cases further information might be found.

Designing a coding scheme is a decisive step in the process of research, deciding on the possibilities and limitations of data analysis. In this case, a fundamental difficulty lay in the fact that the scheme could not be developed alongside, or in critique of, coding schemes for similar purposes that had been applied before: There aren't any. Two major attempts of analysing documents of revolutionary origin that were made in recent years (21) have developed techniques of content analysis, that do not comply with the aim of my study. The focus of Volkmann's categories of Vormärz social protest (22), on which Wirtz based his more elaborate approach (23), is exclusively on collective and illegal action, whereas this study aims at describing and analysing both individual and collective, violent and non-violent, legal and illegal action.

With these objects in mind, the design was drawn under the following aspects:

- The inevitable loss of information was to be reduced to a minimum,

- the data was to be stored in such a shape as to allow for secondary analysis, eventually in comparison with equivalent studies on other German States, and
- the data was to be kept open to analysis under aspects not foreseen before coding and storage.

Trying to meet these requirements meant coding the information in a rather detailed manner, so that part of the data need further transforming for statistical analysis.

Describing the coding scheme in full would exceed the scope of this article (24), so that this presentation will be limited to a rough overall description and a choice of variables suitable to explain how the information was manipulated, and what difficulties were met in the course of the transformation.

The data set, containing more than 470 variables (25), is structured as follows: Besides

- a group of variables serving for identifying the cases (name etc.),
- a group of variables describing a general judgement of the respective person, e.g. by his Ortsschulinspector, and
- descriptions of the sources from which information on the respective case was taken,

the main body of the data is made up of

- a group of, statistically speaking, independent variables, i.e. dimensions that in the frame of reference chosen for this study are understood as possible determinants of the teachers' political actions (age, social descent, religion, teaching qualification, time and place of eventual teachers' training, ranks held; information on conditions in the different places of service, as: place and time of service, salary class, sidelines, general relationship with the community) and
- a group of variables describing the actions reported including eventual consequences. These variables are arranged in four sequences of actions, each sequence containing a maximum of three single actions together with consequences (disciplinary and judicial) related to these actions. This seemingly complicated structure had to replace a previous simpler one, as in the sources described under 5. and 6. (see 2.1 above) the consequences reported are often related to more than one action. In these cases attributing the consequences to each action would have resulted in a misleading picture of the severity of punishments imposed. As the description of each action within the sequence is comprehensive in itself, actions can also be analysed disregarding their being part of a certain sequence.

Each action is described in a series of variables:

- number of the event (if the teacher's action was part of an important collective action);

- time and duration of the action;
- kind of action (This variable has been coded very close to the source informations, ending up containing not less than 150 values. For statistical analysis, this number will have to be reduced drastically. But this way of coding does not limit the re-grouping of values under changing aspects);
- field of the action (describing the frame of reference in which the action was performed, e.g. classroom, local public);
- adress of the action (e.g. Ortsschulinspector, Zweite Kammer);
- individual/collective action (was the teacher's action part of, or meant to generate, a collective action?);
- initiative (did the teacher's action show an initiative role?);
- quality of participation in a collective action (e.g. passive, active, leading) (26);
- success of the action;
- teacher-specific (is the teacher's action characterized by his employing the specific abilities acquired as part of the teacher's training and during active service, i.e. mainly an above-average command of reading and verbal expression in speech and writing?);
- Whereas the variables above give a more "formal" description of the teacher's action, the following group of variables describe the action's thematical reference (e.g. religion, the teacher's financial situation, general politics).

From what has been said in reference to the variables describing the teachers' actions, it should be understood that rating these variables from the information supplied by the source material, involves a lot of interpreting under the aspects interesting to the researcher, and based on context information not obtained from the source itself but from other tradition. Interpreting the interpretation of what someone did in the past is what historians generally do. Coding the results in ciphers and connecting them through statistical formulae does by no means add to the output's "objectivity". Whether or not statistical results can be accepted depends (27) first and foremost on how the interpretation was done: Describing on what premises, and how the information was interpreted and transformed is a non-dispensible must for any study. If not to the results' "objectivity", quantitative methods can add to their precision.(28) Multivariate methods relating a dependent variable to several independent ones are simply not feasible without the use of statistical methods supported by a machine calculator.

These general remarks in favour of using quantitative methods do not answer the question whether the coding scheme described above is appropriate for the analysis of the available source material. In this respect, doubts would be perfectly justified: The coding scheme was designed for an optimal source situation, but up to now some relevant information has not yet been found in the sources. If this situation cannot be improved, parts of the coding scheme might turn out to be unnecessarily sophisticated. So one of the results of this study will be a

contribution to the methodological issue of adjusting the instruments of investigation to the material investigated.

#### 4. First Results (29)

##### 4.1 The Teacher's Situation: Caught between State, Clergy, and Community (30)

The system of popular education was implemented by the Grand Ducal Government as part of the extension of the modern state's centralized apparatus superseding feudal, as well as traditional communal forms of public organization and power.(31)

The implementation of the system of popular education can be described as having two aspects: On one hand the government provided for teachers' training facilities and set up an administrative structure for the school system. On the other hand, the government issued certain obligations, financial and behavioural, that were to be followed by the subjects.

Training facilities were established in the form of teachers' training colleges (Lehrerseminare) offering a two years' course and a final examen which, until 1829, was open to non-seminarists, too. The syllabus comprehended an amount of knowledge exceeding what was to be taught in the Volksschule, as well as of educational methods and skills based upon the educational concept of Pestalozzi.(32) This kind of teachers' training had a long range effect with regards to the teachers' self-assessment: They began developing a professional consciousness, seeing themselves as educational experts in their own right, i.e. not depending on clerical advice, and, under the influence of Pestalozzian illuminative ideas, as professional enlighteners of the traditional, backward rural population.

Regarding the administrative structure of the system of popular education, it continued to be part of the clergy, with one significant change: The school was no longer regarded to be the "daughter of the church", but a sphere of state activity transferred to the churches by delegation. Consequently the catholic and protestant Oberkirchenräthe and the Jewish Supreme Council were subordinated to the Ministerium des Innern, and the church officials formed part of the school administration not in their capacities of dean and pastor, but as Bezirks-schulvisitator and Ortsschulinspector respectively. The latter was the teacher's immediate superior, supervising his professional performance as well as his general conduct: The teacher was the last link in the clerical/educational hierarchy chain. Moreover, the teacher was usually subject to the local pastor as his sexton. As to his legal status he was subject to all the liabilities of a public servant without enjoying the corresponding privileges.(33) Even though the teachers were functioning as agents of the central state, this state was not prepared to fully accept the teachers as part of the state apparatus, neither in legal status nor fiscally.

The latter equally applies to the school system as a whole. Hence the financial liabilities imposed on the communities: Under the Volksschulgesetz of 1835 (34) the communities were committed to supply a school building, or at least a class room, and to pay a teacher's salary. Ultimately the bulk of the costs was taken from the pupils' parents, who had to pay school fees, and the rest from the communal budget. Parents of children between 7 and 14 years of age were bound to send their children to school regularly.

These liabilities imposed by the government meant a serious interference in communal life, both economically and culturally. Under the difficult economic conditions of most of the Vormärz, many rural economies, both in agriculture and trade, had to struggle for survival and were not able to produce a surplus. So the contribution to the school costs was for many families a restriction in their means of reproduction. Moreover, compulsory school-attendance meant a restriction in productive capacity for many rural economies. In agricultural family economies school age children were traditionally employed for herding livestock, collecting wood in the forests etc.: They accounted for a certain amount of the labour force available to these economies. Also in cases where part of the family income was gained by doing out-work for capitalist entrepreneurs, much of this work usually was the children's task. These sources of income were partially drawn off through the enforcement of compulsory school-attendance. The usefulness of school education itself was in many cases not so obvious: For a farmer, for instance, who had learned farming from his father and expected his son to take over, there was no cogent reason why his son should spend a couple of years learning how to read and write.(35)

Cultural contradictions contributing to popular reservations against schooling were twofold: What was to be taught in schools according to the official syllabus was, to a varying degree, in contradiction to popular weltanschauung, and often more so were the teachers' attitudes expressed verbally or through their behaviour. Possibly not the least factor was the fact that the enforcement of compulsory school-attendance meant transferring a considerable part of children's education, which traditionally had taken place within the easy-to-overlook framework of family, relatives, and neighbours; to a secondary system, the school; and what happened in the classroom was beyond the parents' control.- The traditional right of a community to employ its own teacher was abolished in favour of the authorities' right to decide who was to become a teacher and where he should do his service.

In this context it was not surprising that the implementation of the educational system met a lot of popular obstruction, both on the financial and the behavioural level. The system's functioning was enforced by means of increasingly severe sanctions. With regards to the way of the government's imposing the system of popular education on the population, the extension and structural formation of this system may well be described as a repressive reform. (36)

The teachers' being part of this system was decisive for their situation in society. Summing up the teacher's social situation within his

(usually) rural service community, can be described as highly precarious: With his professional self-image just in the process of being moulded, the teacher was the more dependent on positive responses from his surroundings. In his self-styled role of enlightener of the traditional population, and in his officially ascribed role of modernizing agent, the teacher was more or less, not accepted by the rural community. Being part of an educational system established by the state authorities and often extended and enforced against the population, the teacher was practically imposed on the rural community, and at the same time had to live within this community of which he was not an integral part. In the context of a dominantly agricultural rural community with comparably little horizontal mobility, the teacher, who usually was not native to his locality of service, and sometimes was transferred from one end of the country to another, must have been a kind of uprooted outsider. With regard to his low salary (57) his utter financial dependence on his service community, and his subordinate position within the educational/clerical system, he was not the kind of outsider interesting for upward mobility aspirations.

Generally there were three ways out of this precarious social situation: A stronger affiliation with the clergy, with the state, or with the community. In spite of a number of clergymen being favourable to the teachers' aspirations, the clergy in general, and particularly so the lower clergy to whom the teachers were directly subordinated, were the group most massively impeding the teachers acquiring a new social role, the role of the "new teacher", that was not compatible to sweeping the church on the pastor's order or carrying the chasuble after the priest to a neighbouring village. Basically, the teachers' aspirations were more favourable to a stronger affiliation with the state: Seeing themselves as professional enlighteners of the backward rural population, they were more inclined to act as the state's modernizing agents than to affiliate themselves with the rural community, whose resistance against the state's repressive reform, to a considerable extent, took the form of resistance against the local teacher. But by not providing the teachers with privileges sufficient to make them independent of communal recognition, by externally attributing a superior social status to his agents, and by not providing them with a sufficient state salary to make them independent of communal pay, the state, during the time of Vormärz, barred this road of social orientation

It was in this context that the teachers, in the revolution of 1848-9, temporarily took the road of integrating in the rural community by acting as popular enlighteners spreading ideas that to themselves were highly acceptable, also with regards to their own professional role (38).

#### 4.2 The Teachers' Political Commitment in the Revolution of 1848-9

In a revolution, the persons most conspicuous are those playing an outstanding role in the revolutionary movement. So it is plain to see that among the "elite" of the Baden revolution, among the Hecker, von Struve, Fickler, Goegg, von Brentano etc., there were no teachers (but conspicuously many lawyers). The Constituirende Versammlung, Baden's revolutionary Parliament, counted only few teachers among its deputy members. Looking for names of revolutionary fame among teachers seems to be futile; if at all, the following two should be mentioned: Philipp Stay from Maisbach, who had been a leading politician for his profession through the forties, and in 1849 edited and published the "Volksführer", the leading radical paper of the time, in Heidelberg. More posthumous is the fame of Carl Höfer from Altnesdorf who, leading a patoon of people's militia in the Reichsverfassungskampagne of 1849, entrenched himself at Zollstock (in the Odenwald north-east of Heidelberg) to bar the way of Prussian troops advancing on Heidelberg. The militia had to fall back, Höfer was caught, sentenced to death by a Prussian court-martial, and executed.

Closer examination will show that the teachers' impact on the revolutionary movement is stronger than suggested by the fame of single names (39), but that the activities of Stay and Höfer are not exactly typical of the teachers' political action in general. Neither was the Grand Duchy as a whole the single teacher's sphere of action, nor were military activities the focal point of the teachers' political action. Their domain was rather the village or small town where they were doing service, sometimes including a few neighbouring places. But, rather peculiarly, the main field of their political activities did not coincide with their professional sphere, but lay predominantly in the local public, i.e. in the revolutionary Volksvereine, where they served as secretaries and presidents, in the Volksversammlungen often held in that period, where they delivered speeches, or simply in public houses where local people met to discuss politics, and where the teachers' task was often reading the newspaper to his audience and commenting on the important issues.(40)

These actions are characterized by the teachers taking over functions that were comparably easy for a person with a teachers' training and professional practice, but were difficult for the average rural population which can be described as semi-illiterate.(41) The teachers' function was mainly imparting political ideas to the rural population, secondary was documenting and expressing communal opinion, e.g. keeping the minutes of a Volksverein meeting, writing a resolution or petition on behalf of the community.

A certain number of teachers took posts on the "Sicherheitsausschuesse", the revolutionary executive bodies on the communal or, more rarely, district level, and a smaller part were active in the people's militia, predominantly in staff and training functions. The government's suspicion that support for revolutionary aims was particularly strong among the Unterlehrer, (young teachers in subordinate positions who were not yet definitely employed) is not corro-

borated by my sources.

Whether catholics or protestants were more strongly committed to revolutionary action is difficult to determine, as this variable interferes with regional differences in the teachers' activities.(42) Local/regional differences are most marked. This indicates a close relation of the teachers' actions to local/regional political movements. The predominance of certain kinds of activities that do not make sense but in the context of a political movement does hint in the same direction.

Summing up, one can state that in the revolution of 1848-9 the teachers of the Volksschule in the Grand Duchy of Baden considerably contributed to the dissemination of political ideas of democratic/republican orientation among the highly receptive rural population. Thus, and by helping to organize the Volksvereine, the teachers had a substantial share in the ideological and organizational construction of the popular revolutionary movement. The temporary political integration of a great part of the teachers in the rural communities, disregarding existent social contradictions, was based on a demand for political instruction from the semi-illiterate rural population. The teachers were able to meet this demand because of their professional above-average command of cultural techniques. They were willing to serve as political instructors because the current revolutionary programme promised a better future also for the teachers, and because by doing tasks demanded by the people they became part of their communities, which was one way out of their precarious social situation. For many a teacher an old dream must have come true when people asked him to read a newspaper to them and listened to him explaining what he had read: He was accepted as the people's enlightener.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) Hertel 1929, König 1951, Ulbricht 1962, Kessel 1965, Eckhardt/Pohl 1975.
- 2) Kumm 1890, Fischer 1892, Kammel 1926, Kimmelmann 1926, Zieger 1932, Murtfeld 1934, Wulff 1950, Schmitt 1966, Günther et al. 1969, Meyer 1976, Nipperdey 1976, Trapp 1977, Friederich 1978, Skopp 1980.
- 3) Cf. e.g. Michael/Schepp 1973, S. 313.
- 4) Cf. Nipperdey 1976, p. 206.
- 5) Zieger 1932, p. 238.
- 6) Friederich 1978, p. 201.
- 7) Meyer 1976, p. 33f.
- 8) Skopp 1980, p. 400.
- 9) Fischer 1892, p. 272.

- 10) By "teachers" I mean the teachers of the German Volksschule. As the Volksschule comprised classes 1 to 8 it does not seem appropriate to talk about elementary or primary teachers.
- 11) The author lives in the respective area of the Federal Republic.
- 12) At the same time this study will contribute to neutralizing a certain Borusso-centrism predominant in the historiography on 19th century Germany.
- 13) From publications, data is obtainable only on a few teachers who played a major role either in the teachers' movement or in the general political public.
- 14) From Badisches Generallandesarchiv in Karlsruhe, which from now on will be referred to as GLAKA, with the two following numbers defining the archives' division and the number of the respective file.
- 15) By law, the supreme church councils functioned as heads of the school administrations, with the deans serving as district school visitators and the local pastors as local school inspectors.
- 16) This problem is dealt with in a more comprehensive scope in Freund 1979, pp. 12-20.
- 17) Intus GLAKA 135-29562.
- 18) Local school inspectors, district school visitators and district officers.
- 19) GLAKA 235-21006; GLAKA 235-22830.
- 20) GLAKA 235-16383; GLAKA 235-20303.
- 21) One is Concrete Analytic Coding, designed for analysing the cahiers de doléances of the French Revolution (described in Jaraus 1976), the other is a scheme for analysing the petitions concerning trade and tariffs submitted to the Deutsche Nationalversammlung of 1848 (described in Best 1977).
- 22) Volkmann 1977.
- 23) Wirtz 1981.
- 24) A comprehensive description of the coding scheme, along with definitions of dimensions and values and a case example demonstrating in detail how the information was transformed into data, is given in Freund 1979.
- 25) This number of variables is a maximum frame that had to be chosen for some cases with many activities reported. As for processing under SAS data must be organized in a square format matrix, the scheme had to be used for all cases even though not needed for most of them.
- 26) The values were defined with reference to Volkmann's categories (Volkmann 1977, p. 168f.).
- 27) Supposed that the underlying questions are sensible and the statistical methods applied are appropriate!

- 28) The statement that A was "rather" caused by X than by Y is obviously not less quantitative, but considerably less precise than a statement saying that X accounts for 55 % and Y accounts for 9 % of the variation in A.
- 29) Currently a raw version of the thesis is being worked on, so that hypotheses for statistical analysis can be put more precisely. Even though quantitative results are not yet available, intensive working at the source material, together with consulting the relevant publications, produced a rough picture of what must have happened.
- 30) In this sub-chapter an outline is given of the main points of reference used to explain for the grounds and motives of teachers' commitment. Its impact on political processes will be assessed mainly with regards to the development of popular political culture; this latter aspect will not be considered here.
- 31) Cf. Wunder 1974, p. 464.  
Popular education had been around since the 17th century as an appendix of the church. Disregarding differences between the territories that later became incorporated in the Grand Duchy of Baden, it can be said that schools had been present only in part of the communities, in those communities embracing only part of the school age population, with the courses usually not going the whole year round. The first half of the 19th century brought a new quality into popular education with the state taking the matter much more serious and developing a more systematic approach.
- 32) Like many other German governments of that time, the Grand Ducal Ministerium des Innern sent an official delegation to Yverdon to pick up Pestalozzi's educational method for dissemination through teachers' training. (GLAKA 236-2478).
- 33) Cf. Gesetz über den Aufwand für Volksschulen und die Rechtsverhältnisse der Volksschullehrer (Regierungsblatt. XLV, 7.10.1835, pp. 307 ff.).
- 34) See footnote above.
- 35) That this scepticism was not altogether absurd was demonstrated by the high rate of secondary rural illiteracy still to be found around the mid-century.
- 36) The contemporary justification of this policy, which was implemented in an even stricter manner after the "liberals" had come to power in the early sixties (cf. Trapp 1977), said that education was in the people's own interest, which part of the population did not realize (because they were not educated enough). This line of arguing still seems to be predominant in educational historiography (cf. e.g. Nipperdey 1976, p. 210).
- 37) The teacher's salary was at the lowest point of the educational system's salary scale, and, what was even more important, it was generally at the lower end of the rural income scale.
- 38) Improvement of the system of popular education as well as raising

the teachers' status (including salaries) were parts of the radical programme.

- 39) Roughly one quarter of teachers became involved in revolutionary activities in a way leading to their official registration, and to inquiries into their behaviour.
- 40) Some 300 teachers had subscribed to radical papers, mostly Stay's "Volksführer", in 1849. (GLAKA 235-16383).
- 41) Around mid-century the bulk of the population had had some schooling, but as reading and writing was rarely used people fell back to a level that made writing a letter or reading a newspaper article toilsome tasks.
- 42) In those times there was no considerable confessional diaspora (apart from the Jews). Catholics and protestants settled in rather self-contained areas depending on what territory they had been part of before becoming incorporated in the Grand Duchy.

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