SHAPING ELITES AND CHILDREN AT RISK: PUBLIC DISCOURSE ABOUT THE RESIDENTIAL CARE FOR CHILDREN AT RISK IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRNO[1]

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SUMMARY. The long lasting tradition of creating huge institutions of residential care for children at risk in the Czech lands and Moravia in particular may be traced back to the needs of nineteenth-century philanthropic elites and the discursive presentation in the local press of the "best kind of care." In Brno, several aristocrats and representatives of the higher clergy cooperated with a small but wealthy middle class elite when organizing care for children with audial and visual impairments as well as children endangered by "moral negligence." Political connections of those civic philanthropists allowed gaining public funding for expanding expensive institutions of residential care. At the same time, public discourse presented the institutes as important meeting places of the local old and new elites. The compromises of socially, religiously, and ethnically heterogeneous but cooperating sectors moulded social careers, promoted religious tolerance or equal linguistic rights of two Moravian nations in the public discourse.

The taste and gifts of local philanthropists also shaped the care that children received. The help itself was ever more strongly presented as the duty of the society; this duty was fulfilled under the leadership of those "on top." The help was presented by metaphors of "raising up." The child would be taken away from its original surrounding in order to be "raised up" to a productive, free, or even "noble" individual. The long-lasting need of providing proofs that the care was effective was satisfied by the means of preselection of children for the institutes. Somewhat exaggerated optimism about the effectivity of philanthropy resulted in an original tendency to reject the pessimism of rising eugenics concerning the handicapped in Brno philanthropic circles.

The prestigious publicity that those institutes received allowed medical doctors and pedagogues to build their individual and collective careers. Newspapers praised them for volunteering, professional know-how and their ability to bring fame to the region. Professionals also contributed to the image of effective residential care by presenting their exclusive ability to help children at risk and to show the native environment of children to be unsuitable or dangerous. While gaining ever more public financing, the institutes were gradually turned into domains for professionals.

KEYWORDS: Nineteenth-century Moravia, urban elites, civic philanthropy, children at risk, institutions of residential care.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1892, while reporting on the visit of Emperor Franz Josef at the institute for the blind in Brno, the Brno official daily *Brünner Zeitung* noted the following dialogue:

> "How big is your institute?" asked the emperor. "The Moravian Silesian institute for the blind is the biggest in the monarchy and the third biggest in Europe", answered the curator of the institute von Bochner.[2]

What were the reasons for the particularly tendency for huge institutions of residential care for children with handicaps that became a long lasting tradition in the Czech lands in general and Moravia in particular? The answers may be found in tracing the needs of local philanthropic elites and the discursive presentation of the "best kind of care" in the local press. As Thomas Adam wittily noted, nineteenth century elite philanthropy shared many elements with Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption. Both were a display of accumulated wealth, both were a public performance, and both helped in defining the class structure of nineteenth-century society. The involvement in the creation of major public institutions in nineteenth-century cities offered philanthropists an opportunity to define the public sphere according to their desires and value systems.[3] Philanthropy offered a huge arena for careers of still marginalized social groups, such as women and Jews. Ascending professional elites gained most from the public exposure of philanthropic institutions: until the last decades of the century, it presented the most regular occasions to read in newspapers about the achievements of local doctors and teachers.

The praxis and discursive presentation of Brno institutes were certainly influenced by all-European trends. The enlightenment reforms in Habsburg lands initiated both the striving for universal education as the means of ensuring civic utility as well as preventive measures against social pathologies. The nineteenth-century system of public schooling never managed ensuring universal primary education.[4] Particularly the education of children with disabilities or endangered by poverty and "moral negligence" was left to civic initiatives. Moravian philanthropists' choice for the institutes conceived as boarding schools may be explained simply as

[2] Im Blinden Institute. *Brünner Zeitung. Brünner Morgenpost,* 1892, nr. 150, 2.

[3] Adam Th. *Buying Respectability – Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational perspective, 1840s to 1930s.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009, 8.

[4] Halířová M. *Sociální patologie a ochrana dětství v Čechách od dob osvícenství do roku 1914. Disciplinace jako součást ochrany dětství. Monographica* 10. Pardubice: Universita Pardubice, Fakulta Filozofická, 2012, 46–51.

transfers of existing forms. The Institute for the Deaf[5] (founded in 1832) and the Private Institute for the Education of the Blind[6] (founded in 1835 and since 1847 transformed to the Moravian Silesian Institute for the Blind[7]) were inspired by their counterparts in Paris and neighboring Vienna, Prague, and Pest. The Institute for the Rescue of Neglected Youngsters (1848)[8] and Aloisia Braun's Foundation for the Upbringing of Poor Orphan Girls from Moravia (1856)[9] were modelled on the *Rauhes Haus* of Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808-1881) in Hamburg.

The expensiveness and limited capacity of the first institutes for the disabled, run as boarding schools, compelled European philanthropists to seek alternatives, such as education of the handicapped in popular, industry, or special schools.[10] Moravian philanthropists were rather reluctant to embrace these alternatives and expanded their institutes instead. National movements everywhere discovered children as the potential for national strength and prosperity, which led to an emphasis on prevention of social pathologies, medical surveillance of population, and finally eugenics. Moravian philanthropists brought the nationalist perspective to the forefront of their striving relatively late in view of the rapid development of the national movement in Moravia from the 1860s[11] and originally were rather sceptical to the pessimistic attitudes of eugenicists towards the disabled.

The focus on public philanthropic discourse in Brno may illustrate that the social prestige and hierarchy, aspirations and compromises among participating old elites (clergy and noblility) and newcomers from business and professional circles were a considerable factor in shaping residential care. Presented as a "noble" enterprise by its leadership and purpose, the philanthropic arena itself moulded local social careers. Keeping up the prestige and persistence of philanthropic institutions was a matter of concern for many interested individuals. As Rudolf Kučera has demonstrated, philanthropy, art patronage, and the merits for developing industry in the country were the most common reasons for nineteenth-century imperial

5 *Taubstummen-Institut – Ústav pro hluchoněmé.*

6 *Privat-Erziehungsanstalt für Blinden in Brünn – Soukromýústav pro slepce.*

7 *Mähr.-schles. Blinden-Institut -Moravsko-Slezský ústav pro* slepé.

8 *Rettungsanstalt für die verwahrloste Jugend - Ústav pro zanedbanoumládež.*

9 *Aloisia Braun'schen Stiftung zur Erziehung armer Waisenmädchen Mährens - Braunova nadacezábrdovické hosirotčince pro výchovuchudýchosiřelýchdívekmoravských.*

10 Möckel A. *Geschichte der Heilpädagogik, oder Macht und Ohnmacht der Erziehung (Konzepte der Humanwissenschaften 2)*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2007, 147–162.

11 Tara Zahra took up the theme of the nationalization of children at risk in the Czech lands in the first decades of the twentieth century: Zahra T. *Kidnapped Souls. National Indifference and the Battle for Children in the Bohemian lands 1900-1948.* Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2008.

ennoblement in the neighboring regions of Bohemia and Silesia.[12] Seeking nobilitation by engagement in civic initiatives brought its symbolic awards to newcomers among Brno elites as well. The long-lasting dependence of those institutions on the support of civil society made it necessary to keep those activities public. The press granted prestige and popularity to these philanthropic enterprises.[13] This persisting need projected its values on the inmates of the institutes, showcasing residential care as the best achievement in the field of philanthropy.

Historical works on the development of social care for children in the region with a wider perspective on civic philanthropic movements are few. Recently Elisabeth Malleier's book concentrated on civic philanthropic organizations in Vienna and was particularly attentive to the participation of women. While dealing with the social structure of the organizations, the author tended to seek professional and occupational interest among their managements including the titled nobles in the leadership.[14] Those initiatives, however, were characterized generally as "middle class" projects, by which upper classes socialized working class children for humble acceptance of their social destiny. Then again, turning to a wider European context, Lesley Hulonce in her research on philanthropic institutions in England and Wales described philanthropic care for neglected children as projecting middle-class values and expectations on the charges. What was imagined as goals to which a child had to be led, were middle-class values, but without middle-class advantages. Class-appropriate employment rather than 'gentlemanly' careers was

[12] Kučera R. "Philanthropy and Public Donation Striving for the State Recognition. The Bohemian Ennoblements 1806-1871." In Hlavačka M. (ed.*) Collective and Individual Patronage and the Culture of Public Donation in Civil Society in the 19th and 20th Centuries in Central Europe*, 194–209. Praha: Institute of History, 2010; *Ibid. Staat, Adel und Elitenwandel: Die Adelsverleihungen in Schlesien und Böhmen 1806-1871 im Vergleich. Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft* B. 205. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012.

[13] Literary and cultural review *Moravia, ein Blatt zur Unterhaltung, zur Kunde des Vaterlandes, des gesellschaftlichen und industriellen Fortschrittes*(1838-1848), was the first enthusiastic supporter. *Moravia* was edited among others by Jan (Johann) Ohéral (1810-1868), a journalist of Czech origin and occasionally an editor of Czech papers. He was also a member of several philanthropic committees and an enthusiastic propagator of the institute for the rescue of neglected youngsters. Brno official daily *Brünner Zeitung,* and Liberal *Neuigkeiten* (since 1851) were another regular place to publicise the civic engagement for the children at risk. Philanthropic activities were propagated in Moravian teachers' periodicals, particularly *Učitelskélisty: časopisučitelstvanaMoravě a Slezsku* [Teachers' papers: periodical of teachers in Moravia and Silesia] (1867-1889, further *Učitelskélisty*). Since 1905, Brno had its journal, which was focused exclusively on civic philanthropic activities: *Das Rote Kreuz: Zentral-Organ füralleWohlfahrts- und Wohltätigkeitsbestrebungen. Offizielle Zeitschrift des patriotischen Landes- und Frauenhilfsvereines vom Roten Kreuze für Mähren, des Vereines Kaiser Franz Josef-Mädchen-Blindenheim in Brünn und des Landesvereines zur Bekämpfung der Tuberkulose in Mähren*. (Further, *Das Rote Kreuz.)*

[14] Malleier E. *„Kinderschutz" und „Kinderrettung": Die Gründung von freiwilligen Vereinen zum Schutz misshandelter Kinder im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert.*Insbruck, Wien, Bozen: Studien Verlag, 2014, 14–15.

sought for working-class lads.[15] English institutions for the deaf and blind attracted extensive philanthropic support from royalty, the nobility, and their vast local and nationwide networks of supporters. The institutes "conformed to perceived rules of educating blind and deaf children and imposed upon their charges what was imagined as normal for their disabilities, gender and class. Nevertheless, the children were offered wider opportunities for education, vocational training, and companionship",[16] Hulonce concluded. Philanthropy in nineteenth-century England and Wales differs from that in Central Europea with regard to the impact of the British Poor Law, which insured the power and public funds to place poor children in philanthropic institutions. Nevertheless, the projection of values of philanthropists to the upbringing of children in residential care may be in some aspects comparable with the development in Brno as described in this paper.

My argumentation will proceed from pointing to the specific social circumstances in the Moravian capital. I will describe the social structure of institute managements and their contacts with political elites as factors in the maintenance and expansion of expensive residential care. I will show how prestigious publicity for fundraising campaigns was created on a discursive level by articulating the philanthropic scene from the perspective of old elites. I will describe the discursive presentation of the buildings as places where prestigious publicity could be gained and which were shaped according to the taste and gifts of the philanthropists. Then I will point to some value compromises among heterogeneous elites that shaped the institutes and the upbringing of their charges. This part will shed some light on the "belated nationalism" among Moravian philanthropists. Then I will analyze how the aspirations of each social group participating in philanthropic activities shaped the discursive construction of the situation and the needs of children at risk and revealed residential care to be the best and (later) "the true homes" for the disabled. This part will also explain the distaste with which Brno philanthropists confronted the pessimism of eugenics. Finally, I will point to the gains for professionals from the long-lasting public exposition of their work at the institutions, and the changes in their public presentation after they were transformed to public institutes dominated by specialists in the field.

[15] Hulonce L. *Pauper Children and Poor Law Childhoods in England and Wales 1834-1910*. Proudly self-published with Kindle, 2016, 90.

[16] *Ibid.*, 113.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF POPULATION IN BRNO

Nineteenth-century Brno was a melting pot of old and new elites. As the center of Moravian regional administration, it demanded some steady presence of aristocracy. As the center of a bishopric and of theological education as well as an agglomeration of Catholic convents, the city was a permanent seat of high clergy. Adjacent Vienna, however, lured most of the Moravian nobility away, thus leaving a vast space for the influence of the middle class. Since mid-century Brno was considered a stronghold of German Liberalism, the carriers of which were business and free professional circles. The rapid development of a textile industry, which caused the town to be given the name of a "Moravian Manchester," not only accelerated the advance of a rich middle-class, on the one hand, but also confronted the city with vast social problems in the industrial outskirts, on the other. There were about 23,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century; 50,000 in the middle; and this number doubled during the second half of the century. The vast majority of the population was Catholic. Since the textile industry needed skilled professionals, about a hundred persons of Protestant denominations were granted an exceptional right to found a Lutheran community.[17] The regulations governing Jewish settlement allowed only the more affluent families of entrepreneurs and free professionals to move in. According to statistics on national composition in 1880, 32,142 inhabitants indicated Czech as their language of communication and 48,951 indicated German. The percentage of the German population had a tendency to grow up to WWI.[18]

The mid-century municipal reform in the Habsburg lands gave suffrage only to 7.5 percent of the population, which secured the domination of German speaking elites.[19] Since 1861, the curia system of suffrage to Moravian Diet regulated the election of envoys to the second curia by twice higher property threshold than that for the rest of Moravian towns. A relatively high property threshold for entering communal and regional elites created a rather small, socially heterogeneous but wealthy political and administrative elite, which established close links with the philanthropic scene.

[17] Vodička J., Vytiska J. Industrializace a národní obrození (1765-1848). In Dřímál J. (ed.) *Dějiný města Brna* D. 1. Brno: Blok, 1969, 206–207.

[18] Fasora L. *Svobodný občan ve svobodné obci? Občanské elity a obecní samospráva města Brna 1851-1914.* Brno: Matice moravská, 2007, 29.

[19] *Ibid.*, 26.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF MANAGEMENTS, FINANCING PRACTICE, AND THE EXPANSION OF INSTITUTES

The ever-weaker presence of nobles in town and the social and political modernization of a rapidly growing Moravian capitalist class did not result in nobles' withdrawal from the leadership of civic philanthropic initiatives. On the contrary, though ever fewer in number, the nobles managed to assure their own leading role, which they took up as representatives of regional government, influential private organizers of fundraising campaigns, and from the 1860s onwards, as Moravian Diet deputies at the first curia.

During the first half of the century, the middle class might appear to be more active in initiating and founding. In 1813, Franz Eß, a textile manufacturer, provided a founding capital share for the institutes for the deaf and the blind by his testament. In the middle of the century, Aloisia Braun, an official's widow settled in Vienna, donated foundational capital to the institute for small neglected girls in her native town. Since 1857, the business entrepreneur, banker, and communal government member Alexander Franz Suchanek (1821-1907) distinguished himself as an extremely active and enterprising curator of the deaf.[20]

These philanthropic initiatives, however, enjoyed vigorous support from the regional government, church, Moravian Estates, and nobility. Moravian Governor Count Antonin Friedrich Mittrovský (1770-1842, gov. 1815-1827) took over the propagation of institutions for the blind and deaf and assigned curators with the task of collecting and publicizing all the donations. Curatoria, consisting of a few influential people, stood in the forefront of all four institutions and were apt to promote an even greater "aristocratization" throughout the century, something that may be clarified by their history of fundraising.

Originally, the institutes for the deaf, blind, and small orphan girls were financed by private donations, dividends from founding capital, and fundraising campaigns. First, the curators attempted to gain the support of the imperial family. The foundation for the blind and deaf was significantly supported by a donation of 30,000 guilders by the imperial couple Franz I and Caroline. Braun's Foundation possessed the capital of Saxon Queen's foundation for four placements, and another placement was financed by the Prince Rudolph Foundation, established by the Moravian government on the prince's birth.[21] Archduchess Elisabeth Franciska

[20] In 1882, Suchanek was nobilitated and awarded the title Edler von Hassenau.

[21] *31. Jahres-Bericht über die Verwaltung der Obrowitzer Waisen-Anstalt, Aloisia Braunschen Stiftung zur Erziehung armer Waisenmädchen aus Mähren für das Jahr 1887.* 1888, 2.

Maria of Austria (1831-1903) took up the role of the patroness of the institute for the blind and Braun's foundation.

Beginning with the 1840s, newspapers depicted the institute for the blind as the most successful philanthropic project. Due to vigorous fundraising campaigns by Counts Zdenko Žierotin (1812-1887) and Michael Bukuvký (1808-1882) and with Count Wilhelm Chotek (1803-1850) as the leader of provisional management since 1842, the institute got its modern building in 1846. "The pressure of modern times in the field of economy,"[22] as the principal Franz Pawlik (František Pavlík, 1851-1944) put it, meaning the conventional complaint about the reduced success of philanthropic fundraising, resulted in lobbying for regional subsidies. The composition of the newly appointed curatorium in 1866 reflected the belief that the capacity to raise funds was a prerogative of the nobility. The representative of one of the most influential noble families in nineteenth-century Moravia, Count Wladimir Mittrovský (1814-1899) shared his obligations with Johann Ritter von Chlumecký (1834-1924, Baron since 1880), Alois Edler von Janeček and Edmund Bochner, Edler von Stražisko (1832-1903). The last three stood for a newly nobilitated administrative and industrial elite. In 1871, the Moravian administration approved significant subsidies and the number of subsidized placements gradually rose.

The institute for the deaf, run predominantly by clergy together with some regional and communal officials, and receiving much less coverage on the part of the press, lagged behind. In the 1850s, its public accounts pleaded for funds in order that children not sleep in unheated rooms; the institute was reported not to have enough beds and bedlinen. From 1863 on, the curator of the institute and Benedictine prelate, Günther Kalliwoda (1815-1883), regularly appealed to the Moravian Diet to transform his institute into a public institution, but succeeded only in gaining more subsidies from the regional government.[23] After Count Emanuel Dubský (1806-1881) replaced Kalliwoda in 1873, all four of the institutes had at least one aristocratic curator at their forefront. Massive fundraising, organized by Suchánek and supported by the Archbishop of Olomouc and the Bishop of Brno, brought enough funds to undertake vast reconstructions and an expansion. Supporting some philanthropic institutions became a family tradition for the Mittrovskýs, Žierotins, and Dubskýs. Newly ennobled or ennoblement-seeking elites from business and professional circles took places right next to the aristocrats in curatoria and exploited their connections in communal and regional politics.

[22] Pawlik F. *Festschrift zur fünfzigjährigen Jubelfeier des mährisch-schlesischen Blinden-Institutes in Brünn.* Brünn, 1896, 7.

[23] Siegmund F. *Das mähr. Schles. Taubstummen-Institut in Brünn. Eine Denkschrift anlässlich der feierlichen Eröffnung des Neubaues dieser Anstalt*. Brünn, 1876, 19.

A civic organisation, the Society for the Protection of People Released from Prison and Detention[24], founded the institute for the rescue of former inmates and financed it both from the annual fees paid by society members and from private donations. Counts Josef Schaafgotsche (1792-1866) and Bukuvký, Baron Adalbert Widmann (1804-1888), and later subsequent Moravian governors led this philanthropic initiative, which united noble, clerical, and bourgeois philanthropists from 1844 on.[25] Widmann founded a branch at his family estate in Plaveč. There were three categories of membership in the Society. Paying members were predominantly representatives of old elites. Paying and working members paid a fee and volunteered in providing spiritual guidance, education, medical care, individual surveillance, and support for inmates after their release as well as other services necessary for running the institution. They were predominantly rich entrepreneurs, officials, and free professionals; two aristocrats (Bukuvký and Schaafgotsche) were among them. Working members, mainly doctors, clergy, officials, and craftsmen provided services for free.[26] This type of funding provided stable support for twelve to thirty placements in Brno and Plaveč in 1848-1887, but did not allow radical growth.

Braun's Foundation was opened in Zábrdovice near Brno in 1856 and invited the nuns of St. Vincent de Paul to take care of small neglected girls. Despite the bourgeois origin of the founder, its leadership was most explicitly elitist in its public presentation. According to the statutes, the office of the highest Lady Patroness (taken by Archduchess Elisabeth) should always be held by a lady "distinguished by her rank, position, wealth, and influence."[27] In case of inability to carry out her obligations, she should be represented by another lady, but always by one of a distinctive social position. This office was usually taken by the wives of Moravian governors, such as Countess Lažanský in the late 1850s, Baronesses Pochein in the early 1860s, Widmann in the 1870s, and Spens-Booden in the 1890s. Six assistants were recruited from lower nobility and higher bourgeois circles. This predominantly female committee accepted male members, too; besides funding, they provided some volunteer work for the institution as medical doctors, economists, or public account writers. Insofar as the placements were funded from foundation capital, donations, and fundraising campaigns, it was understandable

[24] *Mähr. schles. Schutz-Verein für aus Straf- und Verwahrungs-Orten entlassene Personen-Moravsko-slezskýochrannýspolek pro osobypropuštěné z trestnic a vazby.*

[25] Trapl, Miloslav. *Novinář Jan Ohéral: Nástin jeho života a díla se zvláštním zřetelem k působení na Moravě.* Ostrava: Profil 1969, 39–40.

[26] *Statuten des mähr. schles. Schutz-Vereins für aus Straf- und Verwahrungs-Orten entlassene Personen*. Brünn, 1844, 9–13.

[27] *Statuten für die Verwaltung der Braun'schen Stiftung zu Obrowitz Nr. 64 für arme, verwahrloste Mädchen*. Brünn, 1858, 1.

that the foundation not only was eager to win noblewomen from influential circles for its leadership but also took explicit joy in this, as reflected in its annual reports.[28]

In the 1860s, the foundation was the biggest philanthropic institution for children in town. It provided residential care for approximately a hundred little girls, and education for a similar number of girls from the near surroundings. In the last two decades of the century, due to financial shortages, the number of residential placements began to diminish and cheaper close-to-home help for local children prevailed. Nevertheless, a public campaign was mounted to collect funds for a hundred residential places.[29] This goal was reached when the spouse of Moravian governor and future Imperial minister of justice Baron Alois Spens-Booden (1835-1919) took up the obligations of Lady Patroness's representative. "Using the law which was prepared in the circles close to her",[30] as a periodical found it important to note, she began supporting her institute with the public regional funds for orphans. The close-to-home care was then reduced to ten children.

In three cases, the Moravian government took full responsibility for financing the care by establishing so-called regional institutes (*Landes-Anstalten*). In 1887, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of Franz Josef's reign, the Moravian Diet decided to establish the Regional Franz-Josef Rescue House,[31] which became reality in 1892. The Society for Protection gave over its property and agenda to this new institution, except for the funds for the projected Rescue House for girls, which were transferred to Braun's foundation.[32] Three other regional rescue houses were established in Moravia in the next two decades. In 1889, the Moravian Diet consented to establish regional institutes in Ivančice and Lipník for the deaf whose maternal language was Czech (they were opened in 1894). The other two for Czech and German children were established before WWI. In 1909, the government took over the institute for the blind.

The following table registers the growth of the institutes in response to public subsidies and transformation to regional institutes:

28 6. *Jahresbericht über die Verwaltung der Braun'schen Stiftung,* 1862, 9.

29 41. *Ibid.,* 1897, 2.

30 Die Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Mädchen-Waisenanstalt für Mähren in Jundorf bei Brünn, vormals Obrowitzer Waisenanstalt (Aloisia Braunische Stiftung zur Erziehung armer Waisenmädchen aus Mähren). *DasRote Kreuz*, 1908, nr. 3, 5.

31 Mährischer Landtag (17. Sitzung). *Brünner Zeitung*, 1887, nr. 285, 1.

32 44. *Jahresbericht des mähr.-schles. Schutzvereines über das Vereinsjahr 1887*, 1888, 13–14.

	Private financing	**Mixed financing**	**Public financing**
Children with audial impairment	15 (1832), 30 (1865)[33]	55 (1866)[34], 100 (96 in resid. care, 4 attending the school, 1876)[35]	220 in Brno (partly private), Lipník and Ivančice (1896)[36] 316 (1909)[37]
Children with visual impairment	15 (1847)[38], 23 (1866)[39]	1 (1877),[40] 580 (1887), 116 (1896)[41]	7 (1909)[42]
Neglected youngsters and offenders	12 (1848), 30 (1887)[43]		182 (1893)[44], 454 (in four Moravian institutes, 1909)[45]
Neglected and orphan girls	ca. 100 in resid. care, 100 attended the school (1861-1880),[46] 85 in resid. care and 72 attended the school (1887),[47] 56 in resid. care and 120 attended (1896)[48].	120 in resid. care and 10 attended the school (1908)[49]	

As the regional government took over the financial burden of established institutes, philanthropists, usually led by some titled persons, took up new philanthropic goals. Close to the institute for the blind was the Society for Establishing the House for Blind Educated Girls[50] in the late 1890s; the house was opened in 1898. In 1908, all the philanthropists in the field of child protection united when the regional government initiated the creation of the Regional Committee for Child

33 Siegmund F. *Ibid*., 22.

34 *Ibid*.

35 Z moravskéhoústavu pro hluchoněmé v Brně [From the Moravian institute for the deaf in Brno]. *Učitelskélisty*, 1877, č. 18, 285.

36 Taubstumme in Mähren am Schlusse des Jahres 1896. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1897, nr. 294, 1.

37 Das Volksschulwesen in Mähren im Jahre 1909. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1910, nr. 179, 2.

38 Pawlik F. *Ibid.*, 7.

39 Z moravsko-slezkéhoústavuslepců [From the Moravian-Silesian institute for the blind]. *Učitelskélisty,* 1880, č. 23, 405.

40 Moravsko-slezkýústav pro vychovánízlepců [Moravian institute for the deaf]. *Učitelskélisty*, 1878, č. 16, 255.

41 Pawlik F. *Ibid.*, 16.

42 Das Volksschulwesen in Mähren im Jahre 1909. *Ibid.*

43 44. *Jahresbericht des mähr.-schles. Schutzvereines*,1888, 4.

44 *Brünner Zeitung*, 1894, nr. 183, 3.

45 Das Volksschulwesen in Mähren im Jahre 1909. *Ibid.*

46 *Jahres-Bericht über die Verwaltung der Obrowitzer Waisen-Anstalt*, 1861-1880.

47 *Ibid.*, 1888, 1.

48 41. *Ibid.*, 1897, 2–3.

49 Die Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Mädchen-Waisenanstalt für Mähren in Jundorf bei Brünn. *Ibid.*, 6–7.

50 *Kaiser Franz Josef-Mädchen-Blindenheim.*

Protection and Youth Care. The committee subsequently split into Czech and German national sections, each taking the support of disabled and neglected youth as its major goal. The leaderships of both committees were designated from delegates of relevant sectors in regional government and administration, Brno communal officials, local churches, more important professional and national organizations. These were joined by members elected by the general assembly and members co-opted by the management of the committee; this gave opportunities for the personalities prominent in child protection efforts. In the end, the committees' managements consisted mainly of officials and professionals: lawyers, teachers, doctors, and journalists. The leadership, however, reflected symbolised the success of nobility in remaining on top. A noble and a lawyer, Count JUDr. Karl Deym became the president of the German section, and Moravian Governor Baron JUDr. Reinold Udyński was asked to become the honorary president of both the German and the Czech sections.[51]

Leaving the task of financing to public resources, private philanthropy kept its leading position in initiating and propagating novelties. In 1913, Franz Mézl, a judge and Czech child-protection activist, summed up all the merits of Moravian private philanthropy, when he argued for greater attention being given to youth matters on the part of the regional government:

> Our success in the field of modern youth welfare in Moravia is cause for joy. It is particularly *private* efforts on behalf of youth welfare that attracted the attention of Austrian professional circles to our land. Our public youth welfare is not insignificant; however, it keeps up certain restrains until now.[52]

MORAVIAN PATRIOTISM

Mézl's statement dwelled on a century-lasting discursive habit to place the prestige of philanthropy on its ability to "bring fame" to the region and to evaluate achievements in a comparative perspective. The situation of a provincial capital with relatively scarce resources was what helped consolidate regional (Moravian) patriotism of the late Enlightenment as a common ground for the cooperation of people from different social, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. The comparative perspective of a much-travelled cosmopolitan became intrinsic to public discourse: arguing for institutes, it led either to scolding the native land for lagging behind, or

[51] 1. *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Landeskommission für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge in Mähren für das Jahr 1911*, 1912, 14; Mézl, F. Die Jugendfürsorge in Mähren. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Wirksamkeit der dortigen Böhmischen Landeskomission. *Zeitschrift für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge*, 1913, nr. 8, 233.

[52] Mézl F. *Ibid.*, 232.

to presenting the excellence of its institutes in comparative perspective as the reason to keep up the tradition. For example, in 1863 Kalliwoda triggered the patriotic feelings of the Moravian Diet by stating that the contemporary institute for the deaf was "not equipped in the way that could be shown as a good example".[53] This long-lasting scheme of thinking entrusted the elites with the mission to compare and to improve, and presented the imperial family as the best example. None of the nineteenth-century histories of the institute for the deaf omitted the support of Josef II for the education of the deaf, for which he was inspired in Paris.[54] The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Franz Josef's rule in 1908 was carried out under the slogan "For the child!" and presented the emperor as the inspiration for child-oriented philanthropic activities.

The public rhetoric of philanthropic campaigners appealed to potential contributors as members of a patriotic community and by the same token it discursively assured them a position "on top." While projecting the institute for rescue, Count Josef Schaafgotsche and the journalist Jan Ohéral addressed the public as "noble (*edle*) philanthropists," "highly intelligent compatriots," and "co-citizens"[55], thus presenting the yet controversial support for young delinquents as an entrance-ticket to the society of equals with the count. Imagining philanthropists as a patriotic community on top, the discourse nevertheless depicted them as cultivators of the whole of the society. The engagement of elites for the well-being of the lower classes was described as assuring a good moral atmosphere in town. The education and upbringing of poor girls, organized by higher circles and carried out by nuns, was supposed to be particularly beneficial for the moral situation in Brno with its numerous industrial workers. *Brünner Zeitung* in 1859 wrote:

> Huge is the charity, which is provided not only for the charges themselves but also for their poor families; important is the influence, which this well-directed institute makes on the moral situation of the lower classes of the population and by the same token on everyone in town.[56]

The engagement of the upper classes for the disabled and poor contributed to the city's "fame" in the European philanthropic press. Christian Matthias, the director of the institute for the deaf in Friedberg, praised in his *Organ* the attempts to assure social harmony in Brno by the engagement of elites for the well-being

[53] 13. Sitzung des mährischen Landtages am 19. Febr. 1863. (Schluß). *BrünnerZeitung*, 1863, nr. 42, 336–337.

[54] For example, Siegmund F. *Ibid.*, 6–9.

[55] Schaafgotsche J., Ohéral J. Aufruf! *Moravia*, 1846, nr. 86, 341.

[56] Die Braun'sche Stiftung zur Erziehung armer Waise in Obrowitz. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1859, nr. 243, 2061.

of the disabled. Mentioning the contemporary curators of the institute, Matthias wrote:

> We inform you about this in order to provide a new example that in some places the highest estates engage themselves already in reducing the suffering of deaf fellow human beings, and by this they show themselves to be deserving the same extent of love.[57]

The esteem of the institutes was raised by other forms of international acknowledgment: in 1862 the artifacts of blind inmates were awarded a diploma of acknowledgement in the London Industrial Exhibition, and in 1865 and 1867 they received medals in the Paris Exhibition.[58]

BUILDINGS

Promoted as patriotic projects and transmitting the images of a patriotic community, the institutions soon became the objects of general public concern and of local and regional pride. As *Moravia* wrote in 1846, "the institutes are here to decorate the town, the humanity of which they glamorously witness."[59]

The prestige was in the practice and the discourse created by the patronage of old elites. As a Viennese philanthropic journal put it, "it belongs to the *bon ton* of the higher circles once in a while to honor humanitarian institutes by their visit," adding that the visits of crowned persons were occasions of special importance.[60] Empress Caroline's attendance at the public exams of the deaf in 1833 and 1834 made the first generation of these pupils "lucky."[61] Franz Josef's visit in 1853 was described as a high point in the history of the Institute for the Blind.[62] The *Brünner Zeitung* wrote in 1866 that Archduchess Elisabeth surprised everyone by her unannounced visit during the public exam and expressed her satisfaction with the progress of students as well as the management of the institute, led by Bukuvký.[63]

Curators, surrounded by philanthropically minded elites, regularly attended public examinations. The interest for the one held at the private institute for the blind was heightened in 1841 when aristocrats started their fundraising for the

57 *Organ der Taubstummen- und Blinden-Anstalten in Deutschland und den deutschredenden Nachbarländern. Herausgegeben von Dr. Ludwig Christian Matthias, Direktor des Großherzoglich hessischen Taubstummen-Instituts zu Friedberg*, 1861, nr. 7, 112–113.

58 Jahresprüfung im Blinden-Institute. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1868, nr. 170, 1049.

59 *Moravia*, 1846, nr. 157, 696.

60 Kronprinz Rudolf. *Der Heilpädagog:Zeitschrift für Erziehung taubstummer, blinder, schwachsinniger und besserungsbedürftiger Kinder*, 1871, nr. 7, 121.

61 Siegmund F. *Ibid.*, 15.

62 *Brünner Zeitung*, 1855, nr. 104, 675.

63 *Ibid.*, 1866, nr. 6, 37.

proposed Moravian Silesian Institute. *Moravia* appreciated that the gymnasium in the city center was chosen for this purpose. The report noticed the presence of "distinguished guests" and emphasized the importance of public attendance at such events for popularizing philanthropy by reasoning that not shallow words but the confrontation with the unfortunate child alone could stir up one's pity and motivate one to help.[64]

Since the new institute was built, newspapers continued informing about the intensive public interest and usually named the most prominent attendees at relevant functions. In 1868, *Brünner Zeitung* wrote that in the same year the festive event at the Institute for the Blind attracted a numerous audience, including the institute's Curatorium and many town notables from the ranks of clergy and administration. The reporter explained the popularity of those events by citing the compassion generally felt for the unfortunate and added that seldom did other events of that kind embrace so many themes and artistic skills. The audience was pleased by "really splendid" musical performances and particularly delighted by a string quartet. The visitors could convince themselves that the children were brought up in a manner appropriate for the higher circles: "The sparkling cleanliness makes a pleasant impression of freshness in all the spaces, and the outer elegance matches the real method of upbringing, to which the blind owe good principles for life after leaving the institute."[65]

The press construed the needs of inmates according to the gifts and tastes of their patrons. As public life became ever more connected with the institutes and occasions to visit the institutes were extended, the public discourse gradually embraced the sentimental perception of childhood with its particular needs for joy. Feasts were organized on birthdays of the imperial family or religious holidays, and besides festive decorations, a mass, and thanksgiving to patrons these feasts included better meals for the children. In 1857, a newspaper depicted orphan girls celebrating the day of St. Vincent's de Paul, the patron of their caregivers. The mass was celebrated by prelate Kalliwoda with the assistance of four priests in a festively decorated house chapel and attended by many ladies from the management of Braun's Foundation. The orphan girls "participated in the holy mass with their pious childish singing and sent to heaven their sincere prayers for the founding and patronizing ladies." The prelate donated money for delicious meals for children that day.[66]

64 Prüfung der Zöglinge der Privat-Blinden-Institutes. *Moravia*, 1841, nr. 66, 265.

65 Jahresprüfung im Blinden-Institute. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1868, nr. 170, 1049.

66 *Brünner Zeitung*, 1857, nr. 164, 1178.

In 1858, Alexander Suchanek introduced Christmas tree celebrations to the institute for the deaf. This was commemorated as an act of attentiveness of higher circles for the children's need for joy and a stimulus to their Christian faith:

> While thousands of children look up to this day with joyful hearts, why should poor deaf children not be reminded that baby Christ came also to them; why should they not find a single candle burning on the Christmas tree nor a present, which would bring joy to their hearts? Mr. Alexander Suchanek won many donors and philanthropists to organize the celebration and to take part in it.[67]

The fest became the institute's tradition and remained connected with the name of the first organizer: according to the annual account for 1900, the celebration was organized by Imp. Councillor Alexander Suchanek v. Hassenau, "as he is the known patron for decades".[68] Other institutes also accepted this new fashion for gaining sympathies and highlighting the patrons.

New or renovated buildings reflected the taste and the needs of elites. The institute for the blind contained the hall of "founders, donors, and patrons", in which the portraits of distinguished philanthropists hung beside that of Archduchess Elisabeth in the centre.[69] Since 1876, the institute for the deaf was reported to have „the tasteful and spacious Hall of Examinations"[70]; the formulation disclosed the intention to host appropriately numerous observers from higher circles of society. In addition to its primary purpose, the hall of examinations at the institute for the blind hosted other prestigious social events. In the mid-1850s a series of classical music concerts was organized there for charity purposes by curator Bukuvký.[71] Curator Heiterer and local music instrument makers Bachmann and Hess supported the institute with exclusive pianos.

In 1880, the institute for the blind was extensively renovated. The public report praised the alleged improvements from the perspective of a much travelled elite, even though not specifying what exactly was meant: "all the experiences, which director J. Schwarz gathered by visiting the institutes in Austrian lands, were exploited." The big size of the building itself was another reason for pride: the second floor enabled it to accept as many residents as there were educable blind in Moravia and Silesia, and this should be accomplished as soon as finances were found for their placement.[72] Bigness was also celebrated after the renovation of the

67 Siegmund F. *Ibid.*, 18–19.

68 Mähr. schles. Taubstummen-Institut in Brünn. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1900, nr. 81, 2.

69 Pawlik F. *Ibid.*, 19–20.

70 *Ibid.*, 27.

71 Beilagen. In D'ElvertCh. *Geschichte der Musik in Mähren und Oester. –Schlesien mit Rücksicht auf die allgemeine, böhmische und österreichische Musikgeschichte*. Brünn: Rudolf Rohrer, 1873, 61.

72 Z moravsko-slezkého ústavu slepců. *Ibid.*, 405.

institute for the deaf, in concordance with the idea of universal education of disabled in residential institutions.[73]

When establishing the institute for rescue, Count Schaafgotsche provided fruit trees for the garden, Count Bukuvký donated a cow, and an untitled member of the society, Březa, allowed using his field near the institute for free.[74] This was the beginning of a collective campaign which equipped the institute with an exemplary farm. Ohéral wrote about the healing effect of agricultural labor for the body and mind in 1848.[75] Count Sylva Taroucca built a chapel for the institute. In 1853, Baron Widman could state with satisfaction that this institute in Brno was outstanding among similar institutions in the Habsburg lands, because it possessed a farm as a splendid measure of upbringing. He himself visited the rescue houses in Hamburg and Berlin, and other members of directorium those in Vienna and Prague, and all agreed with pride that their institution could honourably compete with the others and had its specific advantages.[76]

Braun's foundation also represented the nobility's taste for upbringing in the countryside. The institution possessed cows, pigs, poultry, and baked bread for its own needs.[77] At the turn of the century, under the energetic leadership of Spens-Booden, a new house for orphan girls in Jundrov was built. She designated the opening ceremony as a celebration of the approaching emperor's seventieth anniversary. Since then, the institute abandoned the name of its middle-class founder and was renamed to Franz Josef's Institute for Orphan Girls. The feast was attended by the highest representatives of the bishopric and the regional government. *DasRote* wrote:

> The new building of the institute is situated in a healthy, tranquil and beautiful environment near the Pisárky forest (*Schreibwald*) near Brno. It was built by Brno town master-builder Franz Pawlu according to the project of Mr. architect and state engineer Josef Karasek in a solid way, so that the spatial relations, disposition, ventilation, water supply, and gas illumination completely fulfil the regulations of the regional government.
>
> A beautiful chapel is harmoniously connected to the institute's building.
>
> The building together with its front garden is surrounded with an iron grating resting on a high stone wall. A motor driven by water and wind supplies the building with water.[78]

73 Siegmund F. *Ibid*., 24.

74 *Rechenschafts-Bericht der Direction des mähr. schles. Shutzvereines für aus Straf- und Haftorten entlassene Personen,* 1850, 12.

75 Ohéral J. *Ibid.*, 1848, 246.

76 *Rechenschafts-Bericht der Direction des mähr. schles. Shutzvereines für das Jahr 1852*,1853, 1.

77 25. *Jahres-Bericht über die Verwaltung der unter dem Schutze Ihrer kais. und kön. Hoheit der durchlauchtigsten Frau Erzherzogin Elisabeth stehenden Braun'schen Stiftung*, 1881, 2.

78 Die Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Mädchen-Waisenanstalt für Mähren in Jundorf bei Brünn. *Ibid*., 3.

The report also mentioned the vegetable garden nearby, the lot for which was donated by a Brno citizen. Thus the newest philanthropic building embraced all the values of cooperating elites: the regards were paid to regional government as well as to philanthropic donors and skilled professionals; it embodied modern values of sanity and technical progress as well as piety and an idyllic upbringing of children on the land, so dear to aristocratic patrons.

ELITE COMPROMISES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOCIAL NEEDS OF THE CHILDREN

Mid-nineteenth-century reports presented the socially diverse company of contributors as if taking the perspective of old elites. The leading role of nobility was emphasized and the rest of the followers were discursively nobilitated. Socially heterogeneous philanthropists in their turn projected their aspirations onto social aspects of care in those institutions in a twofold way. On the one hand, in the spirit of "noble patriotism" they took over the traditional obligation of old elites to patronize the poor. On the other, the newcomers managed to bring in some sensitivity to the needs of diverse social groups in Moravia.

As Count Chotek stated in the ceremony of initiating the work of building the Institute for the Blind, the misery of the blind was doubled when it was joined by poverty, and therefore it was "the noblest and most urgent obligation" to help these people.[79] The statutes of Braun's foundation dwelled on Catholic values when stating that the institute was called upon "to fight the misery, so visible in modern times. The greater the misery, poverty, and neglect of the girl, the more abundant the blessing for the institution relieving it."[80]

Curators were supposed to realize those 'noble' and 'pious' goals by raising funds for children with certifications of poverty from local authorities. The representatives of the rich bourgeoisie could compete with the nobility by means of their generosity and contacts, and particularly by their enduring engagement. Not that these people, mostly imperial, regional or communal officials were short of chances to appear on the pages of newspapers. Philanthropic engagement, however, provided a very specific occasion of expressing informal esteem for "the very elite of Brno society."[81] Charity had to attract followers, thus flattering on this occasion was not held to be improper exaggeration.

[79] Nachträgliches zur Feier der Grundsteinlegung. *Moravia*, 1844, nr. 45, 174–175.

[80] *Statuten für die Verwaltung der Braun'schen Stiftung*. *Ibid.*, 12–13.

[81] Concertkränzchen. *Brünner Zeitung.Brünner Morgenpost*, 1877, nr. 30, 119.

Volunteerism also granted favorable publicity to professionals. The first public report of the institute for the blind in *Brünner Zeitung* began the list of the teaching staff with the catechist Wawra and music teacher Adalbert Rotter, who were said to be working for free. The director and employed teachers were listed below.[82] Volunteering priests, doctors, and pharmacists regularly appeared in public reports: their nobleness, unselfish self-sacrificing engagement, and generosity were frequently captured in one sentence: "Med. Dr. Johann Habrisch and Dr. Schüller provided the medical services for the Institute for the Deaf without payment and in a really noble manner."[83]

Newspaper reports on charity events ordered their lists of contributors and participants hierarchically, so that old elites appeared on top, but all were thanked as part of a "noble charitable" community. Such an occasion for a socially heterogeneous society to appear together was fundraising for the Institute for the Blind projected by Count Žerotin and wholesale merchant Carl Heiterer in 1841. Their thanks to "all charitable patrons" who contributed to a dancing-ball and a lottery of women's craftwork began with stressing the continuous philanthropic engagement of the Empress Mother. The list continued naming Moravian Governor Count Ugarte, then high clergy, titled regional and military officials, communal officials, the management of imperial north-railways, etc. A special thank you note to the ladies' committee, which gathered artifacts for the lottery, mentioned Countess Žerotin first who was followed by six countesses and baronesses, then by the wives and daughters of non-noble police, military, and land officials. Among the untitled women in the lower part of the list there appeared the names of Lutheran entrepreneurs (Schoeller, Herring and Gottlieb), and also Miss Gomperz, representing a prominent Jewish family.[84] The religious or ethnic diversity of contributors was not mentioned explicitly. The public of this relatively small city was sure of the religious background of the participants and their engagement in national activities, and got the idea that this tacit cooperation of all was an example to follow.[85]

Religion, however, was presented as an essential human value when specifying the goals of the enterprises, such as providing measures for the deaf and blind to receive spiritual guidance or religious upbringing for neglected youngsters. Prayers opened and closed public exams, which was commented on as proof that this part

82 Erste Bericht über das Wirken des mähr. schles. Blinden-Instituts nebst einer skizzirten Geschichte seiner Entstehung bis zum 1. November 1854. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1855, nr. 104, 675.

83 Siegmund F. *Ibid.*, 31.

84 *Maravia*, 1841, nr. 38, 152.

85 Beresnevičiūtė-Nosálová H. Silent Tolerance. The Discursive Presentation of Religious Diversity in 19th-Century Newspaper Reports on Charity in Vilnius and Brno. In Hüchtker D., Kleinmann Y. and Thomsen M. (eds.) *Reden Und Schweigeneige religiöse Differenz. Tolerieren in epochen-übergreifender Perspektive*, 179–206. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2013.

of mankind was won back to humanity. As another report stated, the answers of blind pupils to their teacher of religion "demonstrated how eagerly and deeply they grasp the teachings of religion, which brings comfort and sublime light to everyone and for the blind particularly is the only ray that can enlighten their inner worlds."[86]

The people who provided access to religious education for the handicapped of non-Catholic denominations were cherished explicitly. Josua Hirsch Kolisch (1780-1866) was introduced to the readers of *Moravia* as the man who established the institute for Israelite deaf children in Mikulov. The visitor of a public exam in this institute wrote:

> Already at the very beginning we experienced a soul-stirring moment, when the small orphans of nature raised their hands trustfully to God and one of the deaf uttered the prayer quite clearly and understandably, and the rest repeated it in half-voice.[87]

The institutes for the deaf and blind as well as Braun's foundation proclaimed educating in Catholic religion.[88] Jewish children with audial impairment could study in Mikulov and from 1852 on in Vienna, where the institute was moved.[89] Other denominations were not excluded from the institute for the blind, however. In 1876, the report on the examination noted that an Israelite girl who was leaving the institute held a very moving speech.[90] More explicit religious tolerance was practiced in the Society for Protection, in which Karl Offermann, a Lutheran textile industry owner, was a member of management and the members included Lutherans as well as Jews.[91] ¨Thes tatute declared the institute for rescue to be open to youngsters of all religious denominations.[92] The wider public was informed that "a teacher of religion of inmate's denomination will provide instruction and guidance free of charge".[93]

Despite an ever stronger struggle for schooling in national languages in the second half of the century in Moravian towns and Brno as a town with German schools in particular,[94] the institutes demonstrated exceptional eagerness to educate

86 Prüfung der Zöglinge der Privat-Blinden-Institutes. *Ibid.*, 266.

87 *Moravia*, 1847, nr. 108, 422.

88 Pawlik F. *Ibid.*, 45.

89 Wien's Heil- und Humanitäts-Anstalten. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1855, nr. 247, 1691.

90 Jahresprüfung im Blinden-Institute. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1876, nr. 160, 643.

91 *Jahresbericht des m. schl. Schutz-Vereins für aus Straf- und Verwahrungsorten entlassene Personen für 1846*, 1847, 13.

92 *Grundsätze bei Errichtung der Rettungs-Anstalt für sittlich verwahrloste Kinder. (Als Manuskript gedruckt für die Mitglieder des mährisch-schlesischen Schutzvereines).* [Brünn, 1848], 2.

93 Ohéral J. *Ibid.*, 1848, 246.

94 Kladiwa P., Pokludová A., Kafková R. *Lesk a bídaobecnýchsamosprávMoravy a Slezska 1850-1914*. II. díl, 1. svazek, *Muži z radnice*.Ostrava: FilozofickáfakultaOstravskéuniverzity, 2008, 117–134, 584–589.

in maternal languages. The institute for rescue had this fixed in its statute.[95] Public accounts of Braun's foundation found it important to repeat: "the education is provided according to the established plan for elementary schools and with the use of prescribed textbooks and keeps up the principle of language equality."[96] Inmates spoke maternal languages on public exams and festivities, such as a Christmas celebration in the institute of rescue, when inmates pleased the audience by singing a Christmas song in German and performing a Czech play.[97] Besides the presence of Czech professionals among the stuff, this benevolence may be explained by the conservative attitudes of nobility in curatoria, which moderated the nationalism of Liberal German elites.

The institute for the deaf made a kind of exception, educating only in German until 1857, providing special classes for Czech pupils from 1863 onward and being the first to segregate according to nationality in 1894. After sending all Czech pupils to Ivančice and Lipník for further education, the Brno institute remained German.[98] Within the period of education in both languages, this was presented as a proper service for society: as a report emphasized in 1871, education is "provided in both regional languages, according to the family to which the pupil will return."[99] Publications do not reveal any ethnic tensions; this is curious in the context of its curator Alexander Suchanek's opinions, which he held as a communal politician, against establishing Czech schools in Brno.[100] The debates in the Moravian Diet in 1889, as reproduced in the press, argued for building the regional institutes closer to the homes of Czech children in Moravia, and thus one in the northern part of the region, another in the southern, and insisted that the Brno institute should keep German as the language of instruction.[101] The provision itself was made in order to soften the protests of the Czech minority in the Moravian Diet against providing public regional financing for twelve German secondary schools in partly German Moravian towns.[102]

A more open national animosity broke out in 1908 during the debate on the transformation of the institute for the blind to a public institute. Even though no envoys in the Moravian Diet protested against the idea itself, the German

95 *Grundsätze*. *Ibid.*, 14.

96 25. *Jahres-Bericht über die Verwaltung,* 1881, 1.

97 Christbaumfeier in der Rettungs-Anstalt. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1882, nr. 294, 3.

98 Souček, V. *Hluchoněmí v Československu. Školství a péče o hluchoněmé*. Praha: Svaz spolků učitelů hluchoněmých v ČSR 1928, 6.

99 Das Taubstummen-Institut. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1871, nr. 173, 1234.

100 Gemeindeausschuß-Sitzung am 4. Februar 1862. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1862, nr. 31, 243.

101 Mährischer Landtag (16. Sitzung). *Brünner Zeitung*, 1889, nr. 253, 1.

102 Výmola K. Dějinyvýcovy a vzděláníhluchoněmých. *Úchylnámládež. Časopis pro výzkum a výchovumládeženeslabomyslné, hluchoněmé, slepé, mravněvadné a zmrzačelé*, 58-70. 1925, seš. 2, 69.

minority expressed their anxiety that the Czech majority might nationalize the institute, which was built by, and run predominantly on, German resources, and thus deprive poor blind German children of an education. This lead to deliberations on creating another institute and dividing them according to nationality. This idea was rejected. The latter parliamentary quarrel was most dramatically reflected in the liberal *Neuigkeiten,* prophesying the suffering of Germans and diminishing the remaining love between the two nations in Moravia.[103] The official *Brünner Zeitung* stayed reserved,[104] the Czech *Lidové noviny* laconically reported the demand of a Czech envoy that inmates should have the example in their superiors at the institute, which they had not until then in respect of nationality as well as religion, and that national equality should be assured.[105] This incident may be the reason why the number of residents decreased at the institute now considered as "Czech" in 1909.[106]

Since the opening of the institutes for boys, successful campaigns were organized to make similar philanthropy accessible to girls. In 1851 Carl Heiterer initiated the ladies' committee for blind girls.[107] Due to the patronage of Archduchess Elisabeth and the engagement of ladies from aristocratic, official, and business circles, the institute for the blind began accepting girls from June 1853 on.[108] Until 1866, the institute for the deaf accepted girls for education but not to the boarding school. Kalliwoda complained in the Moravian Diet that many children and particularly girls were left without education and eventually to their fate as beggars and vagabonds after the death of their parents. His speech was met with bravos in the diet hall[109] and led to approving the needed subsidies.

The Society for Protection proclaimed that the only limitation for the acceptance of a neglected child was its age (8 to 15 years)[110] and started raising funds for enlarging the institute with a rescue house for girls, but this plan was not realized. This task, however, was taken up by Braun's foundation, which provided care for younger girls (5 to 10 years).

[103] Mährischer Landtag. *Neuigkeiten*, 1908, nr. 510, 2.

[104] Mährischer Landtag (44. Sitzung). *Brünner Zeitung*, 1908, nr. 251, 1.

[105] Sněm markrabství moravského [Moravian Diet]. *Lidové Noviny*, 1908, nr. 298, 3.

[106] Das Volksschulwesen in Mähren im Jahre 1909. *Ibid.*, 2.

[107] *Brünner Zeitung*, 1851, nr. 23, 100.

[108] Erste Bericht über das Wirken des mähr. schles. Blinden-Instituts nebst einer skizzirten Geschichte seiner Enststehung bis zum 1. November 1854. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1855, nr. 104, 675.

[109] 13. Sitzung des mährischen Landtages am 19. Febr. 1863. (Schluß). *Brünner Zeitung*, 1863, nr. 42, 336–337.

[110] *Grundsätze*. *Ibid.*, 3.

THE CHILD AS A BURDEN, A VICTIM, OR A THREAT IN ITS ORIGINAL SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

At the peak of the philanthropic movement for the institute for the blind, Franz Donneh, a local poet, proclaimed that not a single little blind fellow should beg on Moravian roads and invoked all to join the "noble" society in building the institute.[111] Placements into institutes were frequently depicted as protective acts which moved children from their original dangerous environment to the safety of the protective institutes.

Nobility and clergy tended to present their philanthropy as a help to poor families, communities as well as children. Chotek depicted the contemporary situation of the blind as "living in eternal physical and spiritual night" and being totally dependent on the charity of their neighbors. The two institutions of this kind, built recently in the neighboring provinces (in Prague and Pest), according to the count served for cheering up the sad existence of the blind and saved their families from sorrow and concern.[112] As the institutes were created with the aim of preventing begging, the distrust of old elites to lower social strata was expressed in preventive measures against abusing philanthropy. The managers of Braun's foundation were obliged to make sure that only those really neglected and helpless were given priority, and that no girl was accepted to the institution "because those supposed to take care of her were lazy or unwilling or because someone paid for her admission." The ladies from management were entrusted by the administration of a certain area in Moravia to examine the applying child's situation and to collect necessary documentation. The admission proceedings took into consideration a priest's or police office's opinion if the acceptation of the child was necessary for its well-being.[113]

Pedagogues went further in their distrust of families and presented disabled children as victims of their social surroundings. When Zahra maintained that turn-of-the-century teachers in Bohemian lands were particularly suspicious about the characters of parents, she meant the national indifference that irritated the nationalist teachers mostly.[114] Nationalist activists certainly had a tradition in public pedagogical discourse on which to build those attitudes. Nineteenth-century pedagogic

[111] Donneh F. V. Prolog zur Eröffnung der am 6. Jänner 1841 in dem königl. städt. Redouten-Saale, zum Besten des zu errichtenden Blinden-Institutes veranstalteten musikalisch-deklamatorischen Akademie. *Moravia*, 1841, nr. 2, 5.

[112] Nachträgliches zur Feier der Grundsteinlegung zum Gebäude des m. sch. Blinden-Insitutes. *Moravia*, 1844, nr. 45, 176–178.

[113] *Statuten für die Verwaltung der Braun'schen Stiftung. Ibid.*, 12–13.

[114] Zahra T. *Ibid.*, esp. 30–31.

press juxtaposed discursively the teachers to the narrow-minded, cruel, and egoistic social environment of disabled children.[115]

In 1836, Antonín Doležálek (1799-1845), the director of the Prag and Pest institutes for the blind, and due to his Moravian origin a particularly respected authority, maintained that poor parents neglected the upbringing of their blind children and those of higher social status spoiled them by exaggerated care, and argued for institutes as the best places for their upbringing.[116] In 1879, the pedagogic periodical *Učitelskélisty* reprinted the opinion of director Eduard Partisch that his institute for the deaf "usually" accepted the children neglected in spiritual and corporeal respects, not able to engage in most ordinary activities, and used to various vices. He advised how to take care of a child at home in order to avoid such a disaster; nevertheless he insisted that as long as the child reached seven years, it should attend the school until its entrance to the institute for the deaf "which alone is able to provide proper education".[117] Partisch blamed parents for spoiling the child by their desperate love. Then again, *Učitelskélisty* in 1880 published the story of a teacher "which confirmed that parents of the unhappy deaf have very little love for their children."[118] In 1889, *Učitelskélisty* reasoned that the deafness itself was the mother's or both parents' "fault." A child would be born deaf after its mother was extremely frightened, or the disability could be the result of a disorderly, excessive, and dissolute parental lifestyle including alcoholism abuse by parents, trauma in childhood, or an unhealthy environment at home.[119]

An uneducated child, on the other hand, was depicted as a threat to society: the deaf were "easily recognizable by their cruel, bewildered, and/or shy look that reflected their life attitudes. … Weird and terrifying opinions about people were formed by observing surroundings, seeing parents who punish the children, brothers fighting among themselves, and heartless rogues torturing animals." Not understanding all the relations, the deaf child grew suspicious and rude. It should

[115] The stereotype, however, was internationally spread among special pedagogues. Matthias reported the complaints of the principal of the seminary for the deaf in Szczecin, Goltzsch, that some of his pupils were not allowed to stay a couple of years in his institute: deaf children were taken away by their parents, who could not bear living without the income from the alms for their deaf child. Every teacher would think while reading this story, that this was exactly as in our land, Matthias claimed. Matthias Ch. Schulzwang für Taubstumme. *Organ*, 1862, nr. 7, 97.

[116] Doležálek A. J. *Nachricht von der Verfassung des Blinden-Instituts in Pesth, mit den Gebeten und Liedern der Zöglinge dieser Anstalt*. Pesth, 1840, 9–10.

[117] Partisch E. O vychovávání a ošetřování hluchoněmých dítek v domácnosti [About the upbringing and care for deaf children at home]. *Učitelské listy*, 1879, č. 11, 159–164.

[118] Ondráček J. Něco o hluchoněmých [Some words about the deaf]. *Učitelské listy*, 1880, č. 23.

[119] Hluchoněmý ve škole národní [The deaf in national school]. *Učitelské listy*, 1889, č. 37, 595.

be the task of the teacher to gain the trust of such a child and to eliminate its prejudices by proper education,[120] the teachers' paper claimed.

In case of young offenders, the philanthropists depicted themselves as the rescuers of children's bodies and souls. The victims of youngsters' crimes (most frequently arson) would persecute them all their life, and the hatred which those children had to confront would toughen their vices.[121] The fate of a neglected orphan, who was expelled from the village for thefts and lived as an animal in surrounding woods, was another dramatic starting point for the story of rescue.[122]

Neglected youngsters were depicted as human beings, the potential of which would not be discovered and developed outside the philanthropic institution. The very designation of a young offender as a "neglected youngster" pointed to the belief that criminal inclinations developed as the result of a vicious social environment and negligent care. Accounts in local press sometimes mentioned the crimes committed, but more usually they specified the state of upbringing at the time of entering the institute: "Could speak so little, that it was impossible to tell what was his native language: Slav or German"; "systematically led to evil"; "experienced little upbringing at home"; "experienced only shallow upbringing of his mother";[123] or "gave proof of how deeply an eight-year child can fall because of the situation in the family".[124] The cliché of an 'innocent' child harmed by its social surroundings was common in contemporaneous European pedagogical thought. Even the clergy at the institute shared this view. They used metaphors of illness and cure, thus stressing the perception that good character was the original and normal state: "was cured from his deep moral disability" or "progressed so far in the road of badness, that it is very difficult to cure him."[125]

On the other hand, the philanthropists presented themselves as the protectors of society. A common argument was the need to isolate the vicious, so that the vicious example should not be spread. In the early 1850s, *Neuigkeiten* supported philanthropists in their striving to break prejudices against helping young delinquents, by showing the philanthropic intervention as extending a helping hand to

120 *Ibid.*, 596.

121 Bericht der Direction des mähr. schl. Schutzvereines und der Rettungsanstalt für die verwahrloste Jugend an die General-Versammlung über die Wirksamkeit derselben in Jahre 1856 und 1857. *Brünner Zeitung. Amtsblatt zur Brünner Zeitung,* 1858, nr. 134, 945.

122 *Rechenschafts-Bericht der Direction. Ibid.* 1850, 16.

123 Bericht der Direction des mähr. schl. Schutzvereines. *Ibid.*, 1858, 945.

124 Jahresbericht der Direction des m. schl. Schutzvereines in Brünn, über die Vereinswirksamkeit im Jahre 1854, vorgetragen in der General-Versammlung desselben für das Jahr 1855. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1856, nr. 78, 557.

125 Jahresbericht des mähr. schles. Schutzvereines für das Jahr 1853, vorgetragen in der General-Versammlung des Vereins am 30. Juli 1854. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1854, nr. 211, 1547.

desperate local communities, in which parents and mayors asked to save their children and property from local scoundrels, who were in consequence placed in the institute and turned into orderly and diligent boys.[126] Their attendance of public school was not recommended, despite the fact that two boys tried this, the cooperation with the school was remarkable, and no bad incidents happened. The practice was abandoned because sufficient surveillance for the pupils outside the institute could not be procured.[127] In 1863, the management of the institute claimed being successful in eradicating the vices, which "spread in the society like cancer".[128]

Braun's Foundation was focused on very young girls and thus presented itself as doing preventive work. Every report contained a sentence in which the donors were thanked for saving little girls from falling deep into poverty and moral vice.

THE INMATES AS PROOFS OF SUCCESS

Fundraising campaigns needed the "proofs" of the success of philanthropic efforts. The press provided them particularly when depicting public examinations at the institutes and describing the skills of professionals at realizing philanthropic goals.

An extensive report on an examination of the blind in 1841 showed children demonstrating their knowledge and skills in religion, reading, writing, counting, and geography. The merit for all that was worthy of admiration here was given to "the highest endurance and never-ending effort of the principal" Raphael Beitl.[129] Then the children showed their skills in crafts, shoemaking, manufacturing from straw, etc. In the end, pupils together with their music teacher and two musicians from the local military band played some pieces from operas and in conclusion of the event, the national anthem. The musical production of inmates emphasized the patriotic quality of the event and proved that philanthropists succeeded in bringing the children up to be part of a cultured patriotic community. The article concluded, that

> none of those present left the place without having recognized how much charity is done for the blind by the suitable instruction, which enables them to contribute to the common good of society and to prosper from the knowledge and religion and at least partly to maintain themselves in their lives. Numerous friends, benefactors, and supporters of Mr. Beitl's institute for the blind convinced themselves that their donations were used effectively and already bear the desired fruits.[130]

126 *Neuigkeiten*, 1851, nr. 71, 283; *Ibid.*, 1851, nr. 184, 732.

127 Prüfung der Zöglinge der Privat-Blinden-Institutes. *Moravia*, 1841, nr. 66, 265.

128 Aufruf. *Brünner Zeitung. Intelligenzblatt zur Brünner Zeitung*, 1863, nr. 44, 258.

129 Prüfung der Zöglinge der Privat-Blinden-Institutes. *Ibid.*, 266.

130 *Ibid.*

The need for proofs created the image of the handicapped as a child with special talents that would be discovered and cultivated exclusively in a specialised institution. In the early 1840s, the newspapers were enthusiastic in providing examples of "wonderful children" among the blind. A boy with extraordinary memory and counting abilities astounded the public during public examinations in the Private Institute for the Education of the Blind.[131] Doležálek also contributed to that discourse of the "special potential of humanity" within the blind. He admired the musical skills and extraordinary space orientation of his pupils. The dramatic experience of a flood in Pest allowed him to tell the story of outstanding moral discipline, the deepest Christian humility, and almost supernatural capacities to find lost things in the ruins of their former institute.[132]

Much exposed were the careers of blind musicians, Leopold Balzar[133] and Hrbek,[134] former students of the Institute for the Blind in Prague. Their special talent for music was depicted as the compensation of their handicap. The loss of sight was said to be replaced by an extended ability to grasp the spiritual, which had to explain high artistic qualities and philanthropic inclinations of these artists. The two musicians were presented as the ideal goal of philanthropic aid: self-sufficient men, who joined the philanthropic activities at the very beginning of their artistic careers.[135] The residents of the local institutes were supposed to make similar progress. The third annual account announced that pupil Robert Bauer showed great progress in violin playing during the public examination, and pupil Conrad Sturm presented good musical compositions which were suitable for publication.[136] For several decades, the institute educated blind children according to the taste of high society. Besides splendid musical performances by talented residents, elaborate fancy craftworks attracted particular interest. Literature and creative writing was another field in which the excellence of the blind was expected. From 1907 onwards, the principal Anton Rappawi (1873-1948) published almanacs of the poetry of the blind.[137]

Resident children were depicted as taking over the moral imperatives of their supporters. From 1855 on, annual charity concerts of the blind pupils were arranged for the benefit of the institute.[138] The altruism of former inmate Andreas

131 Ein Besuch im Blinden-Institute. *Moravia*, 1841, nr. 60, 240.

132 Doležálek A. J. *Ibid.*, 1840, 15–16.

133 Leopold Balzar. *Moravia*,1841, nr. 22, 85–87.

134 Concert des Hrn. Hrbek. *Moravia*, 1842, nr. 20, 80.

135 *Ibid.*

136 Das mähr. schl. Blinden-Erziehungs-Institut. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1857, nr. 161, 1155.

137 Die Kunstwarte. *Brünner Zeitung. Brünner Morgenpost*, 1908, nr. 287, [3].

138 *Brünner Zeitung*, 1856, nr. 102, 721.

Mikler, for whom the curatorium procured a place in the Viennese Institute for the Support of the Blind,[139] inspired the pupils. He printed six books for his former inmates in his free time, and the pupils were currently printing another six,[140] the *Brünner Zeitung* reported.

The curatorium was presented as taking care of the professional education, which fitted the individual skills and inclinations, and of employment for the blind.[141] Principal Pawlik presented the outcome of his institution after fifty years: from amongst 285 pupils 181 were still alive and most of them were employed. The institute had educated two *virtuosi* musicians, eight teachers of music, three teachers of crafts and technics, three organ players, one female organist and music teacher, fifteen piano tuners, 21 musicians, 26 wicker workers, twenty brush makers, one masseur, thirty female craftworkers, five businessmen, one salesman of pianos, three manufacturers from straw, two day labo rers, and one helping staff member in business. Thirteen private persons were living in their parents' house, two in an asylum and ten were mentally weak. The fate of twelve was unknown. Many of former pupils were married, two blind men married blind women, and none of their children inherited blindness, Pawlik noted.[142]

A philanthropic mission to educate productive individuals and not mere charity was also the goal of the institute for the deaf, as prelate Kalliwoda emphasized to the Moravian Diet[143]The institute, originally run by clergy, had an ambition to provide education for more children rather than to make outstanding artists of the bulk of its students. The boys were trained as shoemakers and tailors, the girls in the arts and crafts of knitting, sewing, embroidering, etc.[144] Moravian Governor Count Gustav Chorinský went even further when he stated that the deaf constitute an unrevealed potential labor force for crafts, factories, and households, and this potential can only be awakened by education in the specialised institute, which educated currently only twelve percent of the deaf of schooling age.[145]

All of the deaf children at the institute were reported as making progress: "Many children showed a surprising easiness in articulation, and also among the weaker pupils one could see striving, great attention, and intelligence," wrote *Brünner Zeitung* in 1871. The reporter also praised boys for their remarkable quality in gymnastic exercises and girls for their handicraft. The exam ended with a prayer.

139 *Wiener Blindenversorgungs-Anstalt.*

140 Das mähr. schl. Blinden-Erziehungs-Institut, *Brünner Zeitung*, 1857, nr. 161, 1155.

141 Pawlik F. *Ibid.*, 8.

142 *Ibid.*, 34.

143 13. Sitzung des mährischen Landtages am 19. Febr. 1863. (Schluß). *Brünner Zeitung*, 1863, nr. 42, 336.

144 Das m. sch. Taubstummen-Institut. *Brünner Zeitung.BrünnerMorgenpost*, 1868, nr. 40, 162.

145 Kundmachung. *Brünner Zeitung.Amtsblatt zur Brünner Zeitung*, 1862, nr. 1, 5.

The way of praying was said to be not only touching, but also "noble": "It was in sign language, but the children considerably spoke in an understandable way; the expressive mimic and sign language were noble and touching."[146]

The general impression about the handicapped as children with special gifts or at least very capable of learning was created by means of preselection. In the middle of the century, the idea that the institutions should help those who deserved it was taken for granted. Principal Beitl pleaded for the financial support for a blind boy because he visited the child and "saw that he was especially gifted."[147] The announcements about void places demanded the certification of good health and capability of learning. The institutes in fact could select pupils: at the turn of the century, only seven percent of all blind children aged from five to fourteen years in Moravia and Silesia were educated at the institute.[148]

The institute for young offenders was intended to change the behavior and destiny of youngsters by means of an appropriate education. It had to be made sure that pupils should have enough time for an ordinary education. In this field the institute was presented as even exceeding expectations. The first account of the Society for Protection reported about the public exam, which was held in the presence of Moravian Governor Count Lažanský, superior supervisor of schools and canon Ritter v. Hoffman, prelate Napp, town-mayor dr. Stella, the members of Society's management, and many guests:

> The inmates showed encouraging progress. They showed knowledge not only in the subjects required in public schools, but also in geography, technology, and natural history, what gave particular satisfaction to the attending guests, and they demonstrated fitness in gymnastics. While the physical training and growth of those children is often belated, it requires particular attention.[149]

An article about the examination in 1882 noted:

> Handsome boys with round faces, aged between ten and eleven make an impression of clever smart lads, who, according to their exhibited exercise books and pictures, are not short of talents."[150]

As drawing was not an ordinary part of public schooling, the pupils thus were shown again to be benefiting from some extra curriculum.

The press praised the institute as being very special among institutes of this kind, because it provided youngsters with an opportunity to try out and learn a

[146] Das Taubstummen-Institut, in *Brünner Zeitung*, 1871, nr. 173, 1234.

[147] Aus Neutitschein. *Moravia*, 1843, nr. 88, 354.

[148] Pawlik F. *Ibid*., 35.

[149] *Rechenschafts-Bericht der Direction. Ibid.*, 1850, 7.

[150] Prüfung in der Rettungsanstalt. *Brünner Zeitung. Brünner Morgenpost*, 1882, nr. 150, 3.

variety of occupations.[151] The institute for rescue possessed some craft workshops, and inmates were urged to try them all as well as to work on an agricultural farm.[152] The professional education was chosen at the end of the stay according to individual inclinations. No one had to be "compelled to dedicate one's life to the craft to which one was not inclined nor to become something that one could not reach."[153]

In 1853, *Jurende's Vaterländischer Pilger* described the stories of all seven youngsters who were already released from the institute for rescue and were learning crafts under the surveillance of the members of the society. The transformation from the misery of a beggar's child who was cultivated in all respects at the institute and learned all crafts to a diligent pupil of the butcher, and similar stories were given as proof of the philanthropic success.[154] Even those pupils who were somewhat reluctant to improve were reported to be making progress at least in some respect. The institution was depicted as a place which brought out the true nature of the boys, and contrary to quick judgments based on the children's original environment, gave them a chance to develop their best:

> He came neglected in general, without any education and had the reputation of a liar, thief, and vagabond; he is very little talented, during lessons he speaks dim-wittedly and makes only little progress. But his behavior is calm, polite, and courteous.[155]

The pedagogues were depicted as eagerly making enormous efforts to meet and develop every sparkle of good will:

> He entered the institute in a much neglected state, filthy in the highest degree and almost without any school education. It will cost much effort for him to catch up; he shows, however, diligence and good will, so there is hope.[156]

After fifteen years of activity, the management could proclaim that a hundred of their former inmates were making a living honestly as solders, craftsmen, and workers.[157] In 1879, the Society for Protection estimated the results of thirty years of work as quite successful: 252 inmates were accepted, 48 were given back to families after having improved, 148 were sent to professional education, ten died, ten escaped and five were given back to families without having improved.[158]

151 Ein Spaziergang in die Schwarzen Felder. *Neuigkeiten*, 1851, nr. 184, 732.

152 Ohéral J. Das Rettungshaus für die sittlich verwahrloste Jugend in Brünn. *Jurende'sMährischer Pilger*, 1848, 246.

153 *Grundsätze*. *Ibid.*, 13–14.

154 Retungsanstalten.*Jurende'sVaterländischer Pilger für das Jahr 1853*, 1853, 217.

155 44. *Jahresbericht des mähr.-schles. Schutzvereines*, 1888, 4.

156 *Ibid.*, 8.

157 Aufruf. *Brünner Zeitung. Intelligenzblatt zur Brünner Zeitung*, 1863, nr. 44, 258.

158 Mährisch-schlesische Schutzverein. *Brünner Zeitung. Brünner Morgenpost*, 1879, nr. 115, 459.

This success was also aided by pre-selection. The guidance for the acceptation to the institute stated that because of the great demand for placements, those pretenders should be given a priority who were at particular risk for falling deep into vice, but also had good chances for improvement, and they had to be in good physical condition.[159] The great competition for a void place was itself presented as proof of success: after having seen their good results, requests for acceptance were coming from official and private persons, or so a public report claimed.[160]

After the institute for rescue was taken over by the land government, the rules of acceptance gave priority to boys sentenced to the institute by a court order.[161] The extent of preselection may be illustrated by a rapid change of the figures for inmates: with 182 inmates in 1893 the Franz Josef Rescue House provided care for six times more inmates than did the Society for Protection.[162]

Braun's foundation presented itself as successful at upbringing in the spirit of diligence and thrift. The education of the girls was limited to three years of elementary school and a year of so- called "work school." The proficiency of the pupils in handiworks was demonstrated in the public reports of the 1860s: these contained lists of clothes and linen produced by the pupils both for the inner need and external orders.[163] In later decades, the reports stressed daily training in all ordinary female tasks in the household and on the farm. The girls participated in all works that provided their daily meals, according to their individual physical condition and capacities.[164]

Annual accounts emphasised the low mortality and good state of health of the girls in care. One may follow the growing value of the medical profession in them throughout the century. In the 1850s and 1860s the medical services of Dr. Čermák (Czermak) were appreciated, but the lucky survival from epidemic illnesses was attributed at least to an equal extent to the blessing from heaven and explained as the evidence of nuns' self-sacrificing care for children. The epidemic of small-pox in 1859 was reported to be handled without death-casualties despite five cases being very severe, "thanks to Divine Providence, the untiring efforts of the highly-deserving house physician Dr. Czermak, and the devoted loving care

159 *Grundsätze*. *Ibid*., 4.

160 *Jahresbericht des mährisch-schlesischen Schutz-Verein für das Jahr 1853*, 1854, 1–2.

161 *Statut moravské zemské polepšovny pro nedospělé hochy (ochranovny císaře Františka Josefa) v Brně*. Brno, 1901, 1.

162 *Brünner Zeitung*, 1894, nr. 183, 3. In neighboring Bohemia the upbringing in private and public institutes for rescue showed very similar results: roughly fifty percent of inmates were considered as having successfully improved. Halířová M. *Ibid.*, 206–209.

163 7. *Jahresbericht über die Verwaltung der Braun'schen Stiftung*, 1863, 8.

164 25. *Ibid.*, 1881, 2.

of merciful sisters."[165] In 1886, the account proclaimed that the "neglected state of health" of the children who came from the poorest families and often entered the institute with "inherited illnesses" could now be characterized as good; the children did not catch epidemic illnesses nor suffered from serious cases of cold in the autumn. For this time, even though there were not many cases of medical cure, it was the doctor whose medical skills and human qualities were specified and flattered more extensively:

> The merit for this belongs to the exemplary care for the children as well as to the wise orders and fervent efforts of Med. Dr. Franz Herzel, who dedicates his medical services to the institute with a readiness that is worthy of acknowledgement and without any material reward. The administrating-committee sees a guarantee of the further good state of health of the orphan girls in the good reputation of this brave doctor as well as in his true humanity.[166]

Braun's foundation claimed credit for raising the moral and physical condition of the working class. The charity of Braun's Foundation was not accessible to all the miserable, however. The acceptance was limited by age: the institute accepted girls of five to ten years, which assured greater educability. The exclusions because of behavior problems were exceptional. Another criterion of preselection was the will of the founder to educate poor neglected girls to be honest chambermaids and workers. Therefore, before the acceptance, the doctor of the institute had to examine the child if it did not have any physical contraindications for this goal and if its state of health did not endanger the institute.[167] Since the good state of health was one of the demonstrated achievements, this criterion made the work of doctors and nuns easier.

In order to "stimulate inmates' diligence and thrift," the money earned for selling the products of inmates at all institutes was put in individual accounts in a savings bank, which also had to popularize the modern way of saving among the working class. The productivity of children then was demonstrated by reporting the general sum acquired for their sold products or the general sum of money in children's accounts in a savings bank.[168] Young offenders could also use some part of this income as pocket money or to cover occasional material damages made in the house. Consultation with their superiors was necessary before receiving money, and pedagogues were advised to encourage inmates to help their families, the victims of their former crimes, or use the money for some altruistic purposes.[169]

165 4. *Jahresbericht über die Verwaltung der Braun'schen Stiftung*, 1860, 8.

166 30. *Ibid.*, 1886, 4.

167 *Statuten für die Verwaltung der Braun'schen Stiftung*. *Ibid.*, 12.

168 Jahresbericht des mähr. schles. Blinden-Institutes. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1877, nr. 45, 259.

169 *Grundsätze*. *Ibid.*, 20.

Decades of publicly advertised excellence in bringing up children at risk, be it real or alleged, made Brno philanthropists somewhat reluctant to accept all ideas of eugenics, which were spread in German and Czech professional circles at the turn of the century. Always sensitive to trends in Vienna, local philanthropists surely had registered a sharp exchange of opinions between Lydia von Wolfring, a prominent Viennese child protection activist, and her Bohemian colleagues in 1908. Wolfring reproached the Czech Committee for the Protection of Children for dedicating a million for the help of each group of disabled children: lamed by scrofulosis and mentally ill or weak. By the same time Vienna was full of healthy neglected children of Bohemian origin, which, regarding their potential in Wolfring's opinion, should be given the priority. Prague pedagogic press responded that the inability of the rich metropolis to prevent the negligence of children among the working force that it allured from provinces was the shame of Vienna alone.[170] Meanwhile, Moravian philanthropic circles remained unimpressed by Wolfring'snewly fashionable point of view. Instead, they went after their lately acquired ambition to educate all the disabled. In 1912, German Moravian Committee for the Protection of Children and Youth Care, when deliberating about the goals of private charity in the field of child protection, listed the numbers of lame, deaf and weak-minded German children who still were remaining without education and emphasised that institutes for mentally disabled and epileptic childrenwere still wanted.[171]

Coherent with this ambition was the paper of Brno city physician(*Stadtphysicus*) Heinrich Kokall at the 5. Austrian conference on the care for the feeble-minded, which Brno hosted in 1912. Kokall expressed his distaste for considering mentally ill from the point of view of inheritance, degeneration of masses and racial hygiene, which ledto the dream about Greek solution of Taigetos. He argued by the examples of remarkable poet Nikolas Lenau, painter Menzel and physician Birhow, who in some stage of their lives suffered from mental diseases, and claimed, that some kind of geniality may dream in every mentally weak child. He pleaded therefore not to fall into pessimism considering the perspectives of the "feeble-minded". Ending his speech, he supported the increase of medical supervision on children through the institutions of school doctors andpledged for helping every child with mental problems to reveal its best potential.[172]

[170] A. V. *Pedagogické rozhledy: věstník literárního a pedagogického odboru při Ústředním spolku jednot učitelských v Čechách*, 1908-1909, č. 6, 637.

[171] 1. *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Landeskommission. Ibid.*, 55–57.

[172] Die geistige Minderwertigkeit von Standpunkte des Arztes, Fortschritt oder Rückschritt? In *Bericht der fünften österreichischen Konferenz der Schwachsinnigenfürsorge in Brünn am 1. und 2. April 1912. Das schwachsinnige Kind im Lichte der neueren Forschung* B. 3. [Brünn, 1912], 61–64.

Donneh's poetical invocation that not a single little fellow should beg on Moravian roads after building the new bigger institute for the blind, proved soon to be naïve. The ambition to solve the situation of the disabled by the residential institutes remained valid for the whole of the century, however.

Nineteenth-century pedagogic imperatives to assure universal civic utility questioned the accepted boundaries of educability and urged to find cheaper alternatives to residential forms of education.In the 1840s, special pedagogues in Habsburg lands attempted to find the solution in providing education for the disabled children in publicschools and instructing teachers how to do this. In 1840, Franz Hermann Čech (1788-1847), the teacher in the institute for the deaf in Vienna, insisted for the compulsory elementary education for the deaf. "The education of the deaf is not a mere act of sympathy, but the justice towards the part of the civil society in the state, and as such should not be left for private charity alone", he stated.[173] The same justice should be done to the deaf from the part of the Church. The priests should be obliged to teach the handicapped the basics of religion in cooperation with local teachers.[174] Another Viennese pedagogue Johann Wilhelm Klein (1768-1848), argued for the same for blind children six years later. Exemplary solidarity of all classes in supporting the institutes for the blind was praiseworthy but not enough, Klein argued.[175] The institutes had been essential for rejecting the prejudice that blind children were not educable, but they had a shortcoming in very limited amount of placements. In his opinion, the potential of those institutes should be the education of the teachers for the blind.[176] The education of blind children should be moved back to their families and schools in their places of living. Teacher's sympathy to the misfortune of blindness was extended now to the frustration of the child, who in early age should be taken away from home. The economic argument followed: what the sense was to educate such children in expensive institutes, which hardy covered one sixtieth part of the demand, Klein asked.[177] Both Viennese teachers wanted the local communities to take over the costs for the education as well as for employing the handicapped after their education. Doležálek, a fervent adherent of residential education as a principal in

[173] Czech F. H. *Nothwendigkeit der allgemein einzuführenden Elementar-Bildung der Taubstummen, aus den Verhältnissen derselben zum Staate und zur Kirche*. Prag: Gottlieb Haase Söhne, 1840, 10–11.

[174] *Ibid*., 14.

[175] Klein J. W. *Anleitung blinden Kindern der nöthige Bildung in den Schulen ihres Wohnortes und in dem Kreise ihrer Familien zu verschaffen*. Wien: In dem k. k. Blinden-Institute und im Verlage bei A. Pischler's sel. Witwe, 1846, 3–4.

[176] *Ibid*., 28–29.

[177] *Ibid*., 31–32.

Pest, changed his mind at the end of his life. Following Klein, he argued for the need to provide education for the blind in public schools and to train teachers for this task. Only 300 blind pupils received their education in Austrian institutes at that time, while more than 30,000 remained without any education, he stated.[178]

Those voices were heard in Brno but did not argue for abandoning the goal of residential care for all the children with disabilities. Up to the end of the century, the principals of the institutes encouraged the preparation of children for entering institutes in ordinary schools and emphasized the need to expand the institute for the blind in Brno. Schwarz maintained that the heart of every philanthropist should bleed upon seeing a child rejected by the institute, and therefore pleading for further resources should never end.[179] The institute was also considered to be the best choice and the best possible solution by his follower, Rappawi, who otherwise instructed families to develop the skills of their blind children for self-sufficiency and learning.[180] In 1882, the principal Partisch (?-1895) greeted the steps taken by the central and regional governments towards compulsory education of disabled children. His booklet for elementary school teachers gave instructions on how to teach the deaf in elementary schools and how to prepare them for further studies in the institute.[181]

After having doubled its capacity in 1876 (the new building managed to provide education for 140 children of both genders), the institute for the deaf still could not provide education for the estimated 450 deaf children of school age in Moravia and 100 in Silesia.[182] Such was the Institute's declared ambition: to educate in its spaces all of the deaf in the two regions. Even after having developed their institution to be the biggest and the best-equipped institute among all similar ones in German-speaking lands, the Curatorium "could not comfort itself by reaching the ideal of providing a sure asylum for all the deaf children in Moravia and Silesia."[183]

The view of residential care as impending need was shared by the political elites and philanthropic press. In 1889, during the Moravian Diet's session on the topic of building new regional institutes for the deaf, Count Guido Dubský was concerned that only half of the children would be helped in the projected institutes. He considered this project of highest importance and reasoned that the expansion of

178 Doležálek A. J. Ueber die Erweiterung des Blindenunterrichtes und die Nothwendigkeiten der Einführung desselben in die gewöhnlichen Schulen. *JurendeŝMährischer Pilger*, 1848, 241.

179 Schwarz J. Parallela mezi školním vychováváním a vzděláváním děti vidoucích a slepých [Comparisonbetween the schooleducation of seeing and blind children]. *Učitelskélisty*, 1879, č. 13, 443–444.

180 Rappawi A. J. *Die Erziehung des blinden Kindes im Elternhause*. Brünn: W. Burkarts, 1913, 1–2.

181 Partisch E. *Kurze Anleitung zur Vorbildung taubstummer Kinder in Volksschulen für die Taubstummen-Anstalt*. Brünn: Taubst.-Inst., 1882, 4.

182 Siegmund F. *Ibid*., 24.

183 *Ibid*., 28.

care would allow extending the contemporary program from four to six years. His speech was greeted by general applause, as the reporting newspaper found it important to note. Two other speakers made remarks leading to alternative solutions, and were not that successful. Dr. Merores wished the regional committee to investigate and comment on the experiences in different countries about the organization of education for the deaf – a proposal possibly inspired by the new movement for special schools for the handicapped in German lands.[184] The envoy Peřina insisted that the institutes should be built near existing teachers' seminaries, so that more future teachers got a chance to practice teaching the deaf.[185] In 1909, *Das Rote Kreuz*, reflecting the latest regulation of the imperial ministry of education, urged all providers of public schooling to take the initiative in education of the blind themselves. The regions should cooperate by establishing new public institutes for the blind, and communities should find funds for placing children in private institutes, in case the public ones were unavailable. The establishing of day-schools for the blind was said to be a solution in emergency.[186]

The promise of general schooling for the disabled, with its usual argument that the child should be educated close to its home, was answered by efforts to present the institutes for the disabled as "true homes" for their pupils. The institute for the blind could build on Doležálek's tradition. In his books, Doležálek depicted himself and his wife, after they lost their own children, as becoming father and mother to the blind.[187] He stressed the necessity of close and continuous relationships between educators and pupils. The teacher should proceed from good knowledge of the character and skills of the pupil; the children should be led toward possession of moral qualities, diligence, an orderly life and healthy habits by the steady surveillance, advice, and example of the teachers.[188] According to the journalist Siegmund, by choosing Partisch for the first secular principal of the institute for the deaf, the *Curatorium* paid regards to the fact that

> the institute is a boarding school and should bear the character of a big family. In addition to intellectual education, it should raise every pupil to a free and open individual. Insofar as the main tasks of the principal are teaching and upbringing, he has to be penetrated by the family spirit and to manage the principles of modern school.[189]

184 Möckel A. *Ibid.*, 147–162.

185 Mährischer Landtag (16. Sitzung). *Brünner Zeitung*, 1889, nr. 253, 1.

186 Förderung des Blindeswesens. *Das Rote Kreuz*,1909, nr. 12, 7.

187 Doležálek A. J. *Ansichten über die Erziehung, Ausbildung und Versorgung der Blinden.*Pesth: In Comission bei Gustav Heckenast, 1840, 1–5.

188 *Ibid.*, 52–76.

189 Siegmund F. *Ibid.*, 23.

Thus after completing their education, the inmates were to be given back to society, but for training they had to be taken to a residential institution penetrated by a "familial spirit".

Curatoria provided aid and support for the pupils after they finished their education. In 1853, the foundation for supporting blind inmates after the completed education was established.[190] According to public accounts, the former pupils of the institute could stay connected with the services of the institute: the raw materials for their craft were provided either for a wholesale price or for free and their products were bought and later distributed by the institute. Only those unable to work and blind girls were supported by money because the demand for female handiworks was low.[191] Newspapers used the metaphors of familial care while expressing satisfaction that "the institute does not leave its former inmates without supervision and as a mother is concerned about their lives from a distance."[192] Referring to those measures, Franz Pawlik wrote that the institute became the true home for the blind, on which they could rely the rest of their lives.[193]

The public accounts disclosed that the training in female fancy handiwork did not assure a livelihood for educated blind women. This fact was a stimulus to found the House for Blind Girls. The inmates entertained Brno society by participating in concerts and arranging exhibitions of elaborate handiworks. One in 1908 presented numerous puppets in elaborate national costumes, crafts and sports dresses as well as clothes for women and children.[194]

The institute for rescue had the upbringing in a family spirit prescribed in its grounding principles, inspired by Wichern's pedagogic ideas. The successful upbringing was considered possible in groups as large as a family, that is, twelve inmates. No further inmate could be accepted until the house-father (the principal of the institute) got to know well the individuality of the last accepted youngster and assigned him to his "family." There he lived under surveillance of the "family father," a kind of social pedagogue.[195] The family atmosphere of love, forgiving, and trust was emphasized as an important experience: the youngster was told after the acceptance that all was forgotten and forgiven and now his reputation depended on his current behavior. Nobody was allowed to recall the child's past.[196]

190 Pawlik F. *Ibid.*, 8–9.

191 *Rechenschafts-Bericht des unter dem Schutze. Ibid.*, 1889, 10.

192 *Brünner Zeitung*, 1856, nr. 98, 694.

193 Pawlik F. *Ibid.*, 37.

194 Austellung in Kaiser Franz Josef-Mädchen-Blindenheim. *Das Rote Kreuz*, 1909, nr. 9, 6.

195 *Grundsätze*. *Ibid.*, 2–4.

196 *Ibid.*, 17.

Ohéral described the institute for the wider public as a normal building, not a prison, but the inmates there were living according to established rules and under constant individual and communal surveillance.[197] In difficult cases, at the beginning of upbringing "the helping hand had to be ready to help all through day and night." Punishments were scarce in order not to destroy the feeling of "childish joy" that an inmate discovered in playing with other children.[198] Preferably, the inmates had to be rewarded collectively for their good behaviour, so that the whole community was motivated to look after each other. Punishments were applied individually and very carefully with regard to the character.[199] The importance of human relations for the moral character was emphasized and inmates' relations with their relatives had to be encouraged. Attention should also be paid to friendships among inmates.[200] After being released and entrusted to professional training, the former inmates stayed under the surveillance of some working members of the Society for Protection until becoming self-sufficient in maintaining their lives and reliable from a moral point of view.

The management of Braun foundation was also obliged to care for the fate of inmates after they left the institution: they had to find a place of service or work for the girls as well as to cooperate with the parish clergy and communal officials in making sure that the new place was safe. While leaving the institute the girls were equipped with linen, clothes, and other necessary things.[201] Other charitable persons in town could contribute: regular lists of benefactors who donated money to public savings accounts.

THE INSTITUTES AS DOMAINS OF PROFESSIONALS: FROM PRIVATE AND *OPEN* TO PUBLIC AND *WITH LIMITED ACCESS*

"Open" was a popular word in the public self-presentation of private institutions; all of them were declared as open for visits of the curious and charitable. Each account of Braun's Foundation repeated the sentence about permanent openness to questions and visits.[202] The institute for rescue had understandably somewhat stricter regulations; nevertheless it was also declared as open for visits, only the visitors

[197] Kalina A. Th., Ohéral J. *Die Rettungsanstalt für die verwahrloste Jugend in Brünn*. Brünn. 1850, 1–2.

[198] Ohéral J., Kalina A. Th. *Rechenschafts-Bericht der Direction des mähr. schles. Schutzvereins für aus Straf- und Haftorten entlassene Personen*, 1850, 16.

[199] *Grundsätze*. *Ibid.*, 19.

[200] *Ibid.*, 17.

[201] *Statuten für die Verwaltung der Braun'schen Stiftung. Ibid.*, 14.

[202] For example, 24. *Jahres-Bericht über der unter dem Schutze Ihren kais. und kön, Hoheit der durchlauchtigsten Frau Erzherzogin Elisabeth stehenden Braun'schen Stiftung*, 1880, 4.

were required to obtain the permission of the management.[203] Public examinations, visitations, festivities, and public reports kept up intensive contacts between the philanthropic institutes and Brno society and brought many advantages to both sides.

Besides the care for the good health of the children on the part of volunteering doctors, the accounts in the second half of the nineteenth century showed the growing respect for expert opinions and pieces of medical advice. An account of the institute for the blind reported that Med. Dr. Adolf Kofrannyi took over the obligations of the doctor. The new physician's opinion that the inmates were cared for well and appropriately to their age was emphasized and his recommendation to serve more meat dishes in the evening was said to be immediately fulfilled. The account also paid respect to the predecessor, the chief-doctor in the local children hospital, Dr. Janka, who had provided free services for eleven years. Accordingly, the Moravian Governor expressed his thankful acknowledgement to the doctor.[204]

With the advance of medical knowledge, the physicians took over the leading role as those who brought in the knowledge necessary for philanthropic purposes. In 1908, the management of the Society of the House for Blind Girls petitioned the general assembly to approve its decision to change the statutes in a way that the society should also take care of small girls with curable eye diseases. Until then the society had to accept the state of their inmates as it was, without the possibility to change their state of being, reasoned the speaker from management, but the Society now could change this:

> Especially I emphasize the opinion of our most respected Co-Councillor [in the council of the management] MUDr. Ludwig Schmeichler that the eye illnesses which appear in childish age and cause blindness can be cured by the right-time intervention of specialists in full scope or at least to bring considerable improvement and to spare poor ill children from full blindness.[205]

In concord with the growth of the idea of the therapeutic state, doctors were claiming their power to organize prevention and administrating the health of the population. At the eve of WWI, the Viennese philanthropic press praised Brno as an "exemplary" city much ahead of other Austrian towns in this respect. Among those progressive measures were daily consultations with the school doctor-ophthalmologist. Following the recommendations of physicians, the city municipality took over the costs for glasses for poor children, as well as those for orthopaedic

[203] *Grundsätze*. *Ibid.*, 20.

[204] *Rechenschafts-Bericht des unter dem Schutze. Ibid.*, 1889, 8.

[205] Protokol über die am 3. Mai 1908 im Sitzungsaale der k.k. BezirkhauptmannschaftStattgefundene XIV. ordentliche Generalversammlung des Vereines Kaiser Franz Josef-Mädchen-Blindenheim in Brünn. *Das Rote Kreuz*, 1908, nr. 5, 5.

gymnastics. It also financed special teachers for children ill with or endangered by tuberculosis, warm baths for children with infectious diseases, and provided for many other hygienic arrangements in communal schools and nurseries. With the support of the mayor of the city, school doctors planned to introduce obligatory inspections of flats, to arrange special classes for children with hearing problems, sanatoria, extra-curriculum activities, and sport-playgrounds for children.[206] To a great extent, the claims of Brno doctors for this prerogative were supported by their vigorous and much heralded participation in philanthropic movements.

The attentiveness with which the press treated the merits of teachers and showed their skills also grew. In the 1860s the newspapers carried notable and numerous publications admiring the work of teachers of religion, of general subjects, of music, gymnastics, and crafts, all identified by name and praised for their skills;[207] in the 1880s the public was delighted by the pedagogical results achieved by every teacher, including the industrial female handiwork tutor Miss Dundalek.[208]

The press highlighted the capacity of teachers to introduce modern systems of communication and mechanical inventions to compensate handicaps.[209] Technical inventions of local teachers were another occasion for the attention of the foreign philanthropic press. In 1861 *Organ* quoted the annual report for 1859 of the institute for the blind, according to which the institute got new printing types from Vienna State Printing House. These were designed by Principal Schwarz, and due to their simple clever construction allowed printing scripts for the blind in German and in Moravian (Czech) in two sizes. This deserved the greatest attention, *Organ* wrote, and asked Schwarz for the detailed description of his invention for publication in the journal.[210] This was not left unnoticed. In 1880, *Učitelskélisty* praised Schwarz as "the authority in the education of the blind, who is known far beyond Austria." This allowed the teachers' paper to raise the principal's input above that of the noble curators: "The curatorium strove to raise the quality by expansion of the institute, but due to the efforts of principal Schwarz, the institute has been exemplary by its quality for a long time already."[211]

The statutes of the institute for rescue proclaimed that its principal, "the house father," has to be a pedagogue in the best sense of the word, especially gifted for his

[206] Dr. J.K. Schulhygienische Maßnahmen der Stadtgemeinde Brünn. *Zeitschrift für Kinderfürsorge*, 1915, nr. 10, 237.

[207] Jahresprüfung im Blinden-Institute. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1861, nr. 192, 1552.

[208] Prüfung im mähr.-schles. Blinden-Institute. *Brünner Zeitung.Brünner Morgenpost*, 1887, nr. 160, 2.

[209] Ein Besuch im Blinden-Institute. *Moravia*, 1841, nr. 60, 240.

[210] *Organ*, 1861, nr. 7, 115–116.

[211] Z moravsko-slezkého ústavu slepců. *Ibid.*, 1880, 405.

task with the qualities of heart, mind, and body.[212] Press reports about the sessions of the Society for Protection proclaimed the success of the institute for rescue as the merit of its teachers.[213] Newspapers showed the teachers being publicly thanked by the curators and notable guests after public examinations.[214]

The policy of openness changed with the gradual increase of the public subsidies, which meant emancipation from the need to appeal intensively for private charity. The status of public institutes also secured the situation of the staff by stabilizing their salaries, a measure already called for by Doležálek in 1840.[215]

The institute for the blind was the first to change its communications with the outside world. The rules, introduced in 1888, regulated the access to the building and were even stricter than those for the institute for rescue. The reason given for this was the need to keep up the order in the institute that had more than eighty inmates. The meetings could take place only in the dining-room of the institute. Relatives were forbidden to spend the night at the institute. Nobody was allowed to bring food and similar goods for inmates without the permission of the principal. Relatives and friends could take inmates away only on necessary occasions with the special permission of the principal. Relatives, friends, and other visitors were accepted only with the permission of the principal on Wednesdays, Sundays, and holidays from 2 to 6 PM. Only typhlo-pedagogues, the specialists in the education of the blind, were allowed to visit the institute at any time.[216] The institute was transformed into a domain of specialists, and their privileged position was highlighted.

After gaining predominantly public financing or being transformed to public institutions, the institutes tended to be marginalized in the city press. Reports on festive public occasions in the institutes became fewer and fewer. The extensiveness of care and big numbers of inmates were presented as the main pleasing result of effective governance.

Public interest was focused on the Franz Josef's Rescue House once again in April 1912, when Brno hosted the Austrian conference on the care for the feeble-minded. The institution then was presented as a Moravian contribution to the field, "with thirty percent of the institute's inmates being feeble-minded." The participants of the conference visited the institute on this occasion and expressed to its management their deepest acknowledgement.[217] While earlier at this institute children were shown as brought to normality and allowed to develop their talents

212 *Grundsätze. Ibid.*, 7.

213 For example, Mährisch-schlesischer Schutzverein. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1875, nr. 121, 485.

214 Prüfung in der Rettungs-Anstalt. *Brünner Zeitung.Brünner Morgenpost*, 1877, nr. 198, 791.

215 Doležálek A. J. *Ibid.*, 1840, 36–37.

216 *Rechenschafts-Bericht des unter dem Schutze. Ibid.*, 1889, 12–13.

217 Besuch des Landes-Erziehungshauses in Brünn. *Brünner Zeitung*, 1912, nr. 79, 3.

above the curriculum requirements in public schools, the institute now tended towards psychiatrization in its public presentations. For example, in 1913 the principal Ječmínek demonstrated to teachers participating at a hygienic training course the neurotic and psychotic illnesses of schoolchildren.[218]

CONCLUSION

The form of residential care for children at risk in the first institutions may be explained simply as the result of a cultural transfer, but their development into the biggest on a European scale and the reluctance of Brno philanthropic circles to accept alternatives which promoted day-time education need special explanation. One may be found on the social and political level: institutions emerged as the result of cooperation between aristocrats, clergy, and officials, on the one hand, and relatively small, heterogeneous, and wealthy middle-class elites, on the other. Nobles affirmed their leading position, as far as the need for prestige and contacts in regional politics for raising money was concerned. Nobilitated and nobilitation-seeking officials and businessmen took their places right after the aristocrats in the curatoria of the institutes. Close contacts between philanthropic circles and political elites led to ever greater subsidies from the regional administration and thus to the rapid expansion of the institutes. As time went by, the financial burden for expensive institutes was given over to the regional government, and philanthropic elites took the leading role in new philanthropic initiatives.

On a discursive level, the long lasting preference for residential care may be explained by the prestigious publicity which public discourse managed to create for presenting the efforts of philanthropists and the level of care provided by the institutes as the best possible. The language of Moravian regional patriotism, an ideology of the late enlightenment, was accepted as a common ground for socially, ethnically, and religiously heterogeneous elites. The discourse took the perspective of much travelled cosmopolitan elites and demanded to bring the achievements of civilization to the region and to earn fame for the region by civilizational work. The philanthropists were presented as the patriotic community "on top," while their activities were shown to be beneficent for the whole of society.

Promoted as patriotic projects, the institute buildings soon became objects of local pride. They were the places where old and new elites met to be presented in prestigious publicity. Public examinations were the occasions when philanthropists could confirm their success and attract followers. Other festive occasions to visit

[218] Ein hygienischer Kurs für die Lehrershaft in Brünn. *Zeitschrift für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge*, 1913, nr. 12, 358.

the institutes were invented; they brought to light the charity, piety, and patriotism of patrons as well as the need of inmates for childish joy.

The descriptions of the buildings of the institutes revealed the taste and gifts of philanthropic elites as well as their need for self-presentation.The Institute for the Blind was built and equipped to provide exclusive musical entertainment, and children there were presented as educated and brought up according to the values of higher circles. Good equipment (not always soecified) and the size of the institutes in a cosmopolitan comparative perspective and thus the ambition to educate all the children with impairments in Moravia and Silesia were praised after the renovations in the 1870s and 1880s. In case of the institute for rescue, the donations of landed nobility shaped the exemplary agricultural farm, which made the institute special among similar ones. The idyllic upbringing of children as well as piety were embraced in public presentations of the foundation for small neglected girls. The public presentations of the new building at the turn of the century added modern values of sanity and excellent technical equipment.

The prestige of philanthropic initiatives was created by articulating them as if from the perspective of the nobility, and presenting altruism, volunteering, and patriotic devotion as the values to be followed. Heterogeneous elites got multiple occasions to appear working on "noble and pious goals." In this respect, the residential care for children at risk in nineteenth-century Moravia may be seen as an outcome of the need of the old and ascending elites to affirm their position in a rapidly changing society and thus as the result of a mutually useful compromise.

Elite compromises also formed the help that the children received. Led by the ethos of old elites, the institutes provided help primarily for poor children. Due to the religious and ethnic diversity of the cooperating philanthropists, the institutions showed exceptional tolerance in some respects. Lutheran and Jewish members of the Society for Protection managed to introduce the rule of providing religious education according to the religious denomination of the inmates in the institute for rescue and together with other contributors from the ranks of minorities promoted some elements of religious tolerance in public newspaper discourse. An exceptional eagerness to educate children from the lower classes in their maternal languages may be interpreted as a value alliance of conservative nobility and the Czech staff at the institutions. Ethnically mixed managements and staff were the reason why the philanthropic discourse in this field was reluctant to embrace nationalism until the end of the nineteenth century.

Instead, in concert with the public discourse which presented the philanthropists as those "on top" of the patriotic community, the placement of children into the institute was described as a help from "above" to those who were "down," in order to "raise them up" to patriotic society. The perception of the child as a part

of the society, to which the churches and the state had to do justice by assuring its equal chances in life, grew stronger throughout the century. The public discourse, however, found specific reasons why it was necessary to remove the child from its original environment in order to "raise" it to be a productive, free, or even "noble" individual.

As the institutions provided occasions for very positive publicity, the public discourse presented the residential care as the best solution for the child. In case of children with audial and visual impairments, old elites were rather inclined to present it as help for poor families and communities. Teachers elaborated the discourse, which presented families as dangerous to handicapped children on the one hand and institutes as the only good place to develop the child on the other. Uneducated children with impairments were presented as a threat to communities. The institutions for neglected children were depicted as a rescue for their inmates, while their original social surroundings were accused of spoiling the 'innocent' child. Even though the statutes of the institute of rescue encouraged caring for the inmate's family and original surroundings, the descriptions of practice rather pointed to the isolation and surveillance at the institution as the way to improvement. Isolation of the ill-raised and those endangered by negligence was also seen as protecting society and particularly the youth from vicious influences.

The system of funding demanded proofs of efficiency and allowed many professionals to excel publicly by providing those proofs. The need for proof also revealed the handicapped as the children with special talents which could not be disclosed outside the institute. The inmates were shown as having been led to economic self-sufficiency, diligence, and thrift. Most of the children were trained for professions which were believed appropriate for their class and gender. Even so, particularly in the case of boys, the institutes were praised for paying regards to individual inclinations when choosing a profession. In case of children with visual impairment and neglected youngsters the public was informed that their school curriculum exceeded that of popular schooling and professional training. The taste of philanthropists influenced the educational programs, such as training the blind in music, literature, and female fancy handworks. Copying the values of their philanthropic supporters, the most talented were brought up to outstanding members of the "noble," altruistic, and philanthropic society.

The appearance of the institutes' excellence as well as the image of the child as a human being transformable and changeable to a great extent by the efforts of educators, were kept up by means of preselection. Despite the declared aim to help every child at risk, places in the institutes were rather scarce. Therefore, the acceptance into the institute was also seen as a help to those who deserved it by their special gifts or good perspectives to improve. Preselection by considering

the health condition on acceptance allowed doctors to excel publicly as proficient medical care-givers. For decades, the Brno public was confronted with somewhat exaggerated optimism regarding philanthropy's excellence. Therefore, at the turn of the century the town philanthropic elites continued promoting the goal to educate all children with handicaps and were restrained in accepting the pessimism of eugenics regarding their perspectives. The city, however, was particularly eager to entrust health professionals with the new task of administering the health of population by means of prevention and surveillance.

In the middle of the century, the public discourse oscillated between favoring residential care as the only suitable way to serve the special needs of the disabled, on the one hand, and urging to provide cheaper, more accessible, and closer-to-home education, on the other. In the end, the philanthropic circles favored the idea of institutions of residential care as "the true homes" of the disabled. The familiar metaphors used for depicting residential care were much in concord with the patronizing inclinations of the aristocratic curatoria looking after their former inmates.

The dependence on private charity supported intensive contacts between the institutions and the town society. The emphasis on the public interest benefitted particularly the professional careers of doctors and teachers. Doctors gained symbolic capital by presenting the good health of the inmates as proof of their own volunteer engagement, proficiency, and later their prerogative in shaping further philanthropic projects. Special pedagogues enjoyed the public acknowledgement of their skills and abilities while presenting the progress of inmates during public examinations.

The increase in public funding allowed the staff to limit the communication of inmates with the rest of society and to transform the institutions into a domain of specialists. The festive events at public institutes tended to get lesser space in newspaper pages, giving up their place to younger civic philanthropic activities. The-turn-of-the-century philanthropic interest for the "feeble-minded" led to the discursive "psychiatrization" of the institute for rescue by stressing its contributions to this field.

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(DISKURSYVUS) ELITŲ IR SOCIALINĖS RIZIKOS VAIKŲ KONSTRAVIMAS: INTERNATINIŲ SOCIALINĖS RIZIKOS VAIKŲ GLOBOS INSTITUTŲ XIX AMŽIUJE BRNO MIESTE VIEŠASIS DISKURSAS

SANTRAUKA. XIX a. Čekijoje ir ypač Moravijoje buvo paplitusi tradicija steigti didelius internatinius institutus socialinės rizikos vaikams auklėti. Vietinis visuomenės elitas ėmėsi šių pilietinių filantropinių iniciatyvų, o vietinė spauda vaizdavo jų auklėjimo modelius kaip „geriausius įmanomus“. Brno mieste keletas aristokratų bei aukštesnės hierarchijos dvasininkų bendradarbiavo su nedideliu, bet turtingu vidurinės klasės elitu. Filantropai turėjo gerų politinių ryšių, padėjusių pritraukti viešų lėšų brangiems internatiniams institutams plėsti. Savo ruožtu viešasis diskursas instituto pastatus vaizdavo kaip svarbią vietinių senų ir naujų elitų susitikimų vietą. Socialiu, religiniu ir etniniu požiūriu heterogeniškų elitų kompromisai formavo socialines karjeras, padėjo propaguoti religinę toleranciją, abiejų Moravijos tautų kalbų lygiateisiškumą viešajame diskurse.

Vietinių filantropų skonis bei poreikiai formavo taip pat ir vaikų auklėjimą. Rizikos grupėms priklausančių vaikų auklėjimas buvo vaizduojamas kaip visuomenės pareiga; ši pareiga buvo atliekama vadovaujant iš visuomenės „viršaus“. Rašant apie pagalbą vaikams dažnai vartota „kėlimo“ metafora. Vaikas turėjo būti paimtas iš savo skurdžios socialinės aplinkos, kad būtų „pakeltas“ ir taptų produktyviu, laisvu ar netgi „kilniu“ individu. Keletą dešimtmečių trūkęs poreikis pateikti viešų įrodymų, jog ši veikla duoda gerų rezultatų, buvo patenkinamas specialiai atrenkant į institutus priimamus vaikus. Kita vertus, kiek perdėtas optimizmas filantropijos efektyvumo atžvilgiu vertė Brno filantropus neigiamai reaguoti į pesimistinį eugenikos požiūrį į vaikų, turinčius negalią ar kilusių iš socialinės rizikos šeimų, perspektyvas.

Viešai demonstruojamas filantropinių institucijų prestižas itin prisidėjo prie gydytojų ir pedagogų individualių bei kolektyvių karjerų. Laikraščiai gyrė jų savanorišką darbą be atlyginimo, profesines žinias ir gebėjimą kurti gimtojo krašto „šlovę“. Profesionalai taip pat kūrė internatinių institutų efektyvumo įvaizdį, kai eksponavo savo išskirtinius gebėjimus padėti vaikams, turintiems negalią ar kilusiems iš socialinės aplinkos, kurią profesionalai vaizdavo ne tik nepajėgią padėti vaikams, bet netgi jiems pavojingą. Augant viešajam finansavimui, institutai pamažu virto profesionalų domenais.

RAKTAŽODŽIAI: XIX a. Moravija, miesto elitai, pilietinė filantropija, vaikai, turintys negalią, socialiai apleisti vaikai, internatiniai vaikų auklėjimo institutai.