

changed. Austrian Silesia became highly urbanized, industrialized and well-developed in the second half of the 19th century, which was widely used by all social groups. Practically everyone could afford to buy factory goods, which mass-produced and thus cheaper. The services offered by Gypsy blacksmiths or coppersmiths were less and less desired. Gypsies did not disappear from Austrian Silesian roads, but were there less frequently, gradually becoming more an attraction for children than a significant social group.

TEACHER' UNIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION (ON THE EXAMPLE OF AUSTRIAN SILESIA TILL 1918)³⁰³

Marzena Bogus

Abstract

The article deals with the teachers' unions and their role in the process of modernization. It shows the position and the importance of these unions in the process of education in Austrian Silesia till 1918. At the turn of centuries, elementary school teachers were a well-educated and organized group, which was considered prestigious in their local communities. Gradually, teachers' unions got their position of a partner in all the aspects concerning education. Elementary school teachers were gradually starting to be a local elite in numerous communities.

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The crucial changes towards the transformation of the feudal world into a modern society, in which the majority of social phenomena occurs at a mass scale, took place in the 19th century. There were numerous factors influencing that situation, starting from demographic changes and the general growth of efficiency in agriculture, which was able to feed the dramatically increasing population of Europe. The qualitative changes, the shaping of new social groups and the various relations among them were also important.³⁰⁴ What is more, everyday life was getting more and more diversified and required from an average person

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304 Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780—1914* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Andrzej Chwalba, *Historia powszechna. Wiek XIX* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2008), 19—189; Andrzej Skrzypek, *Historia społeczna Europy XIX i XX wieku* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2009); *Město a městské společenství procesu modernizace*, ed. by Pavel Kladiwa and Aleš Zařický (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita v Ostravě), 2010.

more and more complex life competences. Many factors influenced the European lifestyle, such as the development of science and industry,³⁰⁵ yet undoubtedly schools were one of the most important factors of modernization. The recently-developing interdisciplinary research of the social life in Europe has precisely shown a lot of aspects of its influence.³⁰⁶ Focusing on the significance of schools for the cultural, social or even political changes of the 19th century, the role of teachers as a specific social group is often neglected in the implementation of those changes. It is seen that high school and higher education teachers participated in modernization processes due to the fact that they were perceived as an intellectual elite and they created the ideologies aiming at showing citizens the directions of conduct and desired manners of behaviour.³⁰⁷ However, elementary school teachers are totally excluded despite the fact that they had direct contact with subsequent generations of young people and introduced them to the life in the changing society.³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, it is by the prism of those teachers' knowledge

305 Stressed by Herbert Spencer, "What Knowledge is of Most Worth," Westminster Review, July 1859, 41.

306 Fritz Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979); *Schule und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert. Sozialgeschichte der Schule im Übergang zur Industriegesellschaft*, ed. by Ulrich Herrmann (Weinheim—Basel, 1977); *Bildungsbürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Werner Conze, Jürgen Kocka, Bd. 1—4 (Stuttgart, 1985—1992); *Bildungswesen und Sozialstruktur in Mitteleuropa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Victor Karady, Wolfgang Mitter (Wien—Köln—Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 1990); Milan Myška, "Vzdělání a kariéra. Kariéry absolventů Vyššího montanistického učiliště / Báňské akademie v Příbrami 1849—1918 [Education and Career]," in: *Nacionalismus, společnost a kultura ve střední Evropě 19. a 20. století. Pocta Jiřímu Kořalkovi k 75. narozeninám*, ed. by Luboš Velek, Alice Velková and Jiří Pokorný (Praha: Karolinum, 2007), 395—404.

307 Konrad H. Jarausch, "Higher Education and Social Change: Some Comparative Perspectives," in: *The Transformation of Higher Learning 1860—1930. Expansion, Diversification, Social Opening and Professionalization in England, Germany, Russia and the United States*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 9—36; Gary B. Cohen, *Education and Middle-Class Society in Imperial Austria 1848—1918* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1996); Lumír Dokoupil and Petr Kadlec, "Středoškolský profesor daleko od centra – pedagog, badatel, veřejný činitel [Secondary School Teachers far from the Centre—Teachers, Researchers, Public Officials]," in: *Vzdělanec nad hranicemi „provincionalitu“ / Uczony ponad granicami „prowincjonalności“*, red. by Aleš Zářický, Jana Davidová Glogarová, Michaela Zavodná (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita v Ostravě, 2014), 72—83.

308 Cf. Helmut Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens. Erziehung und Unterricht auf dem Boden Österreich*, Bd. 3: *Von der frühen Aufklärung bis zum Vormärz*, Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1984; Bd. 4: *Vom 1848 bis zum Ende der Monarchie* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1986); Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, *Geschichte der Erziehung. Einführung in die Grundzüge ihrer neuzeitlichen Entwicklung* (Weinheim—München: Beltz Juventa, 4th edition, 2008), 122—181.

and believes that the most important ideas of the age managed to reach the majority of the population supporting (or blocking) modernization processes. By interpretation of the authorities' intentions and their own personal example, teachers greatly influenced the way in which the political program was perceived by their students and their local society. In this way they participated in shaping the new social reality, transforming themselves at the same time in a professional and social group whose goals were clear, interests shared and fighting at the same time for an autonomous place in the society.

Such processes occurred in all the nations of modernizing Europe. Austrian Silesia as a region is a good example of civilizational transformations, as in 19th century it experienced extremely fast and profound changes in all aspects. Since the second half of the 19th century Austrian Silesia was one of the crown countries of the Austrian Monarchy (from 1867 Austrian-Hungarian monarchy). It was a region that was diversified in the social, economic, national and religious aspects and it was possible to observe in this area the most important problems and dilemmas of the modernizing world, also those connected with various opinions.³⁰⁹ The well-organized network of schools enabled full literacy of the citizens in the second half of the 19th century, which consequently influenced the dynamics of the regional development.³¹⁰ There have been numerous works concerning the activity of the teachers' organizations, yet they mainly focus on professional matters, or even more frequently on the activities aiming at keeping the national identity. For example, when referring to Teschen (Cieszyn) Silesia or the eastern, Polish-speaking, part of the region, Polish authors write mainly about the Polish Pedagogical

309 Andělín Grobelný, "Období rakouského Slezska [The Period of Austrian Silesia]," in: *Slezsko v dějinách českého státu. Stav a úkoly výzkumu* (Opava, 1991), 89—181; Dan Gawrecki et al., *Dějiny Českého Slezska 1740—2000, I—II* [The History of Czech Silesia 1740—2000] (Opava: Slezská univerzita v Opavě, 2003); Andrea Pokludová, *Formování inteligence na Moravě a ve Slezsku 1857—1910* [Forming of the Intelligentsia in Moravia and Silesia, 1857—1910] (Opava: Slezské zemské muzeum, 2008); Janusz Spyra, "Śląsk Cieszyński w okresie 1653—1848," in: *Dzieje Śląska Cieszyńskiego od zarania do czasów współczesnych*, red. by Idzi Panic, t. 4 (Cieszyn: Starostwo powiatowe w Cieszynie, 2012); *Dzieje Śląska Cieszyńskiego od zarania do czasów współczesnych*, red. by Idzi Panic, t. 5 (Cieszyn: Starostwo powiatowe w Cieszynie, 2013).

310 Janusz Spyra, "Główne kierunki rozwoju szkolnictwa na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w XIX w. i na początku XX w. w świetle ustawodawstwa i statystyk," in: *Książka – biblioteka – szkoła w kulturze Śląska Cieszyńskiego*, red. by Janusz Spyra (Cieszyn: Książnica Cieszyńska, 2001), 167—216.

Association, stressing the influence of Polish teachers in keeping the national identity. Similarly, Czech authors write about Czech teachers' actions.³¹¹

Austrian Silesia is a good region to research the role teachers played in the occurring changes. At the beginning of 19th century village teachers did not constitute a large professional group, they were merely servants of the Church, later of the country, or districts that financed schools. Even at this time, a set of special requirements was formed for them, first of all, it was expected that they would educate loyal subjects of the Emperor and the Church. Even in the Political School Rules from 1805, which till 1869 regulated school activities in the Austrian Monarchy, it was required that a teacher should be a role model for his/her students in speaking, deeds and all behaviour. The ways in which teachers should behave and influence their pupils were stated. Only in higher grades were the teachers allowed to develop in pupils the ability to give opinions, which should be useful in a moral doing of one's profession. It was also expected that a teacher should watch the order as well as children's cleanliness and behaviour. What is more, teachers were obliged to look after pupils' health and their behaviour outside school.³¹²

Such expectations exceeded the possibilities of folk school teachers. They were virtually deprived of their rights and social prestige and their poor salaries were hardly sufficient to get by, sometimes they were not able to perform their basic duties—namely teaching children reading, writing and counting.³¹³ Naturally, there were some individuals who influenced their communities to a larger extent,³¹⁴ yet in the province

even lower-secondary school teachers were treated with disrespect till 1848. This situation was changed after the reform of secondary schools in 1851, when they became an important element of the reforming society. Not only did they enable to acquire knowledge at a certain level, but also the promotion to the intellectual and social elite, which required having a certain type of education in a specific field, which had to be certified by a diploma. However, there were not many secondary schools in Austrian Silesia³¹⁵ and the teaching staff there consisted of approximately 100 people. The influence of high school professors on modernization changes was important, still it was limited mainly to cities and initially to more affluent and most often German-speaking social circles.³¹⁶

The burdensome work connected with the preparation of the community of Austrian Silesia, especially village citizens, who were in minority, was given to teachers working in folk schools. Their number was growing fast after 1848 from approximately 300 to 2180 in 1916.³¹⁷ The quantitative increase demonstrates that this time witnessed the appearance of a new social group that was to become an important factor in the further country modernization, which was in fact the authorities' intention. The school bill from 1869 (together with its update from 1883) entrusted teachers not only with the task of being a teacher at school, but also with being the educator of a given community, a kind of connection between the ruling class and the nation. Teachers were obliged to serve social progress, but in the way desired by the authorities. They were required to be conscientious and eager in their professional activities and they were forbidden to belong

311 Pavlína Běrská, "Učitelé z Frýdecka a jejich povolání do období První republiky. (Příspěvek k dějinám školství v bývalém soudním okrese Frýdek) [Teachers from the Frýdek Region and their Profession before the First Republic]," *Práce a studie Muzea Beskyd* 20, (2008): 148—163.

312 *Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den kaiserl. königl. Deutschen Erbstaaten* (Wien, 1806); Marzena Bogus, "Prawne uregulowania zawodu nauczyciela szkół elementarnych w ustawodawstwie Śląska Austriackiego w XIX wieku," in: Zdeněk Jirásek a kol., *Slezsko v 19. století* (Opava: Slezská univerzita v Opavě, 2011), 297—310.

313 Marzena Bogus, "Nědza z bidą w parze idą. O sytuacji nauczycieli w XIX wieku," in: *Język—Szkoła—Przestrzeń jako determinanty rozwoju kultury Śląska Cieszyńskiego / Jazyk—škola—prostor jako determinanty kulturního vývoje Těšínského Slezska*, ed. by Marzena Bogus (Czeski Cieszyn: Kongres Polaków w RC, 2012), 57—101.

314 Józef Londzin, *Stan szkół ludowych w Księstwie Cieszyńskim na pocz. XIX w.* (Lwów—Warszawa—Cieszyn, 1902), 33—35.

315 In the half of the 19th Century there were only 3 lower-secondary schools (two in Cieszyn, one in Opava). Before First World War there were 11 lower-secondary schools, 5 real schools and 3 female secondary schools in Austrian Silesia.

316 Stefan Król, "Szkoły średnie na Śląsku Cieszyńskim," in: *Język—Szkoła—Przestrzeń jako determinanty rozwoju kultury Śląska Cieszyńskiego / Jazyk—škola—prostor jako determinanty kulturního vývoje Těšínského Slezska*, ed. by Marzena Bogus (Czeski Cieszyn: Kongres Polaków w RC, 2012), 118—141; Petr Kadlec, *Střední školy a jejich studenti. K formování inteligence na severní Moravě a ve Slezsku ve druhé polovině 19. a na počátku 20. století* [Secondary Schools and their Students. About Intelligentsia Formation in the Territory of the Northern Moravia and Silesia in the second Half of the 19th and at the Beginning of the 20th Century] (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita v Ostravě, 2013).

317 *Statistische Handbuch für die Selbstverwaltung in Schlesien*, Bd. 10 (Troppau, 1919), 186—197.

to any political associations as well as to agitate or even express their views in an open way.³¹⁸

Teachers were trying to satisfy the extra expectations, which were imposed on them by the bill itself or other cases, agreeing that they constitute the sense of their social vocation. Initially, it was under the influence of the authorities (church authorities and after 1869 also the government), however, gradually teachers started to form their postulates and proposals. It was only possible when they organized their own associations which fought for financial benefits but also joined the social debate about the role of school and other crucial social problems of this age.³¹⁹ The beginnings of teachers' associations in the Austrian Monarchy were connected with the idea of organizing teachers' conferences, which were supposed to enable the exchange of experience and shared actions and consequently to improve teachers' competences, which had not been so high up to that point. It was possible only during the People's Spring in 1848.³²⁰ The conferences that were imposed by the ministry of education only partially satisfied teachers' expectations (extra qualifications) because they ignored the problem of teachers' economic situation and giving them the right to decide in school matters³²¹. After the end of the People's Spring and together with the end of the bill concerning associations (4 March 1849), it was impossible to have any kind of a shared activity, unless it was a charitable one and under the auspices of the Church. The proper development of teachers' associations started only in 1862 when the bill about associations from 1849³²² was brought back to life again. Taking into consideration the whole monarchy, the beginning of the teachers'

movement was the start of the association *Die Volksschule* in Vienna in 1863, which for example organized the first general congregation of Austrian teachers in 1867.³²³ Teachers' activities were fully developed after the bills from December 1867 and the school bill from 1869,³²⁴ partially because it abolished the religion-based division of schools and it allowed to shape one social group of teachers.

The first three associations were created in Austrian Silesia in 1868,³²⁵ and generally the process of the establishing of teachers' associations in this region had three stages:

1. the creation of so called general associations whose program was available to all teachers. Their aim was to focus on important matters, mainly directly connected to schools. The inside procedures used the official language, which was German, but they were supposed to be apolitical and treat all nationalities and languages equally, which remained only a postulate.
2. the establishment (since 1880/1890) of national teachers' associations: Polish, Czech and finally German associations.
3. the creation of associations of highly-specialized teachers' teams (since the beginning of the 20th century), according to the types of schools in which they were employed.³²⁶

It should be stated that the Austrian law did not allow teachers' unions to work at schools, that is why teachers were forced to start associations. Some of them adopted a wider scope by grouping not only teachers, but also other people connected with education. In 1868 the Pedagogical Society was created in cities Bielsko and Biała,³²⁷ which was founded due to Alexander Pape's initiative, a teacher coming from Germany. This association was efficient and active and frequently addressed

318 Leo Schedlbauer, *Handbuch der Reichsgesetze und der Ministerial-Verordnungen über das Volksschulwesen mit Benützung amtlicher Quellen*, t. 2 (Wien, 1911), 106. See Marzena Bogus, *Nauczyciele szkół ludowych Śląska Cieszyńskiego w XIX i na początku XX wieku* (Czeski Cieszyn: Kongres Polaków w RC—Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo im. Stanisława Podobińskiego Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, 2013), 270—292.

319 Hans Peter Hye, "Zum Vereinswesen in den Habsburgermonarchie," in: *Organisierte Privatinteressen. Vereine in Österreich*, ed. by Emil Brix, Rudolf Richter (Wien: Passage Verlag, 2000), 33—53.

320 Rainer Bölling, *Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Lehrer. Ein Überblick von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 44—52.

321 *Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* 1851, No. 41, Pos. 146, 428—429; Marzena Bogus, *Nauczyciele szkół ludowych Śląska Cieszyńskiego*, 235—240.

322 The new bill concerning associations started to work in 1867.

323 Helmut Engelbrecht, *Lehrervereine im Kampf um Status und Einfluss. Zur Geschichte d. Standesorganisationen d. Sekundarschullehrer in Österreich* (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1978).

324 "Gesetz vom 14. Mai 1869, durch welches die Grundsätze des Unterrichtswesens bezüglich der Volksschulen festgestellt werden," in: *Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrath vertretenen Königreiche und Länder* 1869, No. 29, Pos. 62, 277—288.

325 Namely the Regional Teachers' Association in Opava, Teachers' Association in Cieszyn and Pedagogical Association in Bielsko and Biała.

326 They were the Association of Department School Teachers and the Association of Female Craft Teachers.

327 *Schlesisches Schulblatt* 37, (1908): 11. The short history to 1896 *Pädagogischer Verein Bielitz-Biala*, in: *Fest-Schrift (1871—1896) zum Jubiläums-Lehrertage des österr.-schles. Landes Lehrervereines* (Troppau, 1896), 25—27.

the authorities in various matters that were crucial for education. The power of this association came, among others, from the professors of the local evangetic teacher college, who were Germans brought there by Volkmar Stoy, the disciple of Johann Friedrich Herbart. In 1908, when the Pedagogical Association in Bielsko and Biała was celebrating its 40th anniversary, it had almost 100 members (76 teachers, 8 foreign colleagues and 13 other members). In 1872 a similar association – the German Pedagogic Association was established in Teschen (Cieszyn), which consisted of 60 members by the end of this year. In the works of the association it was declared to eliminate all national discrimination, nevertheless German pedagogy³²⁸ was favoured according to its statute, especially Herbart's theories. Teachers of folk schools were the minority there, later teachers of department schools were the most active group. The statute which allowed to accept as members people outside teaching staff and women, caused that by the end of the 20th century the German Pedagogical Association was the most numerous teachers' organization, which had over 350 members, half of whom were women.

However, the majority of the newly-established associations grouped teachers, most often according to the administrative division into regions *powiat* and so called judicial districts. At the beginning of 1872 there were teachers' associations in Cieszyn, Bielsko and Skoczów and in Opava in Opava Silesia. Later new teachers' association were established, mainly regionally. Simultaneously there were preparations to establish a central teachers' association for the whole region, which took place on the first general congress of Austrian Silesia teachers. Over 300 teachers participated in the congress and the Austrian-Silesian National Teachers' Association (*Österreichisch-schlesische Landes-Lehrerverein*) located in Opava was established. The statute was signed on 10 December 1871 and the first authorities were elected on 3 January 1872, in which the people strongly connected to the authorities, such as school inspectors appointed by authorities and the headmasters of teacher colleges had the main power to decide.³²⁹ Later, headmasters and teachers of district schools started

328 *Schlesisches Schulblatt* 1, (1872): 214; *Ibid.*, 2, (1873): 34. As stated in the statute the main goal was to support teaching and education according to German pedagogy (*Satzungen des Deutschen pädagogischen Vereins in Teschen* (Teschen, 1897).

329 *Schlesisches Schulblatt* 2, (1873): 259.

to dominate. The most important organ were delegates' meetings and general meetings, which were similar to teachers' congresses. The goal of the National Teachers' Association was to support the needs of folk schools, especially by increasing the spiritual and material well-being of local teachers. Silesian teachers and various Silesian corporations were allowed to be its members. The National Teachers' Association was an organization which included different registered and formally independent teachers' associations.³³⁰ From the very beginning it was extremely active in lots of fields, for example by postulating teachers' pay rises. However, only the subsequent initiatives were efficient, probably due to the fact that for a long time the National Teachers' Association represented the whole organized teachers' movement in Austrian Silesia. It was joined by all the locally active teachers' associations, which functioned from now on as its subsidiary associations. It had 744 members in 1885.

Similarly to other association created after 1869, the National Teachers' Association in Opava was an organization grouping all the nationalities. However, it was in fact an institution dominated by Germans, who rejected the postulates for languages different than German. Consequently, at the end of 19th century separate Polish and Czech associations started to appear. The Association of Eastern Cieszyn Silesia Teachers (*Spolek českých učitelů Východního Slezska*) was registered as the first one in 1888. The Association of Czech Teachers of Cieszyn Region (*Spolek českých učitelů hejtmanství těšínského*) was founded in 1894 and it was initially placed in Pražmo and in Frýdek from 1903. Then, its name was changed to *Učitelská Jednota* in Frýdecko. The above-mentioned associations demanded the introduction of the native language in school and represented Czech teachers' matters, and after 1906 they protested against clerical influence in schools. These two organizations joined the Central Association of Czech Teachers in [Austrian] Silesia in Opava (*Ustřední spolek českých učitelů ve Slezsku*) as subsidiary associations. This association was founded in 1894, when the National Teachers' Association refused to include the Czech language during its proceedings. In 1897 there were 261

330 The short history to 1896 Mx, "Der österreichisch-schlesische Landes-Lehrerverein," in: *Fest-Schrift (1871—1896) zum Jubiläums-Lehrertage des österr.-schles. Landes Lehrervereines* (Troppau, 1896), 2—24.

members in Central Association of Czech Teachers in [Austrian] Silesia in 6 divisions.³³¹

Polish teachers were the last group to create their organization when in 1888 a Pedagogical Club was established in Ustroń. After a few years (in 1896), the club was transformed into a formally registered Polish Pedagogical Association in Cieszyn and in the next year it had 144 members in five subsidiary associations.³³²

In 1897 there were 20 associations in Austrian Silesia³³³ and their number was still growing. In 1912, the Polish Pedagogical Association in Cieszyn consisted of 508 members. The Polish Pedagogical Association consisted of nine subsidiary associations. The central association of Czech teachers had 436 members in 7 divisions in 1912. However, the National Teachers' Association in Opava still remained the most numerous organization, as it incorporated 20 teachers' associations. Altogether, German and general associations belonging to the National Teachers' Association incorporated 1493 members.³³⁴

Generally, all the registered teachers' associations that were included in three union centres had 2437 members, which is more than teaching staff in all elementary schools. It is also worth to mention organization's supporters who were not teachers themselves. As it can be seen, the pedagogical environment from Austrian Silesia was well organized and active in their actions inside and outside schools.

A few fields where teachers directly contributed to modernization processes should be indicated:

1. preparation of the young generation to their life in the changing and more and more demanding society, according to top-down directives.
2. running a variety of trainings and courses; later helping with starting societies, folk libraries and savings and loan associations.
3. activities to make the didactic process, tools and teacher training more modern.³³⁵
4. indirect influence on economical development of the local community.
5. educating the region's population about their civic rights.

In the case of Austrian Silesia it is possible to research those processes not only thanks to well-kept archives, but also to the materials owned by the centres of these three national associations, including associations' press publications, as each of the centres published their own professional magazine: the National Teachers' Association in Opava *Schlesisches Schulblatt* (since 1872),³³⁶ the Polish Pedagogical Association in Cieszyn *Miesięcznik Pedagogiczny* (since 1892)³³⁷ and the Central Association of Czech Teachers in *Školský Věstník* (since 1904). These magazines discussed the most important problems of this age, from national matters, through the cases of democracy, liberalism, progress, the position of an individual versus the authorities, religion and the Church, the position of women and so on. These discussions clearly included all the most important dilemmas of the modernizing world (liberalism versus religion point of view, the scope in which religion influences the upbringing of the young generation, modern lifestyles including women's participation in public life versus traditional social roles, social reforms of the

331 Vladimír Škuta, "Osmdesát let od založení učitelského spolku na Frýdecku [80 Years from the Birth of Teaching Association in Frýdek Region]," *Těšínsko* 1, (1976): 18—21; Ivan Otcovský, *Soupis učitelských a školských spolků v Čechách do roku 1900* (Praha: Ústav československých a světových dějin, 1977).

332 Alojzy Waszek, "Polskie Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne na Śląsku Cieszyńskim (przyczynę do dziejów ruchu nauczycielskiego)," *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 1, (1963): 71—87; Antoni Zajac, "Polskie Towarzystwo Pedagogiczne na Śląsku Cieszyńskim," *Zaranie Śląskie* 3, (1964): 290—305; J. Król, "Ruch nauczycielski na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w XIX i na początku XX w.," *Rocznik Cieszyński* 3, (1976): 11—33.

333 *Schlesischer Schulschematismus* (Troppau, 1897), 188—193; *Schlesischer Schul- und Lehrer-Schematismus. Herausgegeben von österr.-schles. Landeslehrervereine*, red. by Franz Stalzer (Jägerndorf, 1906), 188—194.

334 Franz Stalzer, *Schlesischer Schul- und Lehrer-Schematismus in Verbindung mit dem Personal-Status der an den öffentlichen Volks- und Bürgerschulen in Schlesien wirkenden Lehrpersonen im Jahre 1912* (Jägerndorf, 1912), 135—139. See Dan Gawrecki, "Německé školy na Těšínsku 1848—1918 [German Schools in Teschen Region 1848—1918]," in: *Książka – biblioteka – szkoła w kulturze Śląska Cieszyńskiego*, red. by Janusz Spyra (Cieszyn: Kongres Polaków w RC, 2001), 265—283.

335 Jaroslav Kořán, "Učitelé v českých zemích na cestě k profesionalizaci [Teachers in Czech Lands on the Way of Professionalisation]," in: *Profesionalizace akademických povolání v českých zemích v 19. a první polovině 20. století*, red. by Petr Svobodný, Jan Havránek (Praha: Karolinum, 1996), 82—112.

336 Claudia Gerdenitsch, "Popular Education in Rough Terrain: The Educational Discourse in Austrian Teachers' Journals at the Turn of the 20th Century," in: *Lehrerbildung in Europa. Geschichte, Struktur und Reform*, ed. by András Németh (Frankfurt am Main—Wien, 2012), 61—73.

337 Edward Pasek, "Miesięcznik Pedagogiczny, czasopismo nauczycielskie w latach 1892—1939," *Przegląd Historyczno-Oświatowy* 2, (1975): 290—307.

working class advocated by social democracy) and also more and more visible national tendencies.³³⁸

As it has been already said, the social and historic role which modern education systems have played in increasing the level of knowledge, practical skills as well as in democratization and modernization of European countries in the 19th century has been widely known. Those countries changed their feudal and state structures into such societies where the status of individuals did not depend on their birth status, but more from acquired competences and beliefs.

It is also known that teachers played a role in the processes of influencing the young generation's awareness. It is visible in the works describing the development of national awareness in particular regions, whose leaders of all national parties stressed the need to develop education systems, especially in mother tongues. Various teachers' associations, which often competed with one another, acted in different communities. However, those associations were able to cooperate in certain areas and then a conflict did not weaken their influence on the local environment, but strengthened them and motivated to greater involvement³³⁹. At the turn of centuries, elementary school teachers were a well-educated³⁴⁰ and organized group, which was considered prestigious in their local communities. Gradually, teachers' unions got their position of a partner in all the aspects concerning education. Elementary school teachers were gradually starting to be a local elite in numerous communities.³⁴¹

338 Jana Brožovská Ondřeková, "Učitelé mezi patriotismem a nacionalismem. Příspěvek k historii školních knihoven v rakouském Slezsku ve 2. polovině 19. století [Teachers between Patriotism and Nationalism]," in: Zdeněk Jirásek a kol., *Slezsko v 19. Století* (Opava: Slezská univerzita v Opavě, 2009), 128—134.

339 Stefan Ludwig Hoffmann, *Civil Society and Democracy in Nineteenth Century Europe: Entanglements, Variations, Conflicts* (Berlin, 2005).

340 There were 9 teacher colleges in Austrian Silesia, some elementary school teachers manager even to get a university degree.

341 Marzena Bogus, "Inteligencja „od czarnej roboty” czyli rola nauczycieli szkół elementarnych w modernizującym się społeczeństwie Śląska Cieszyńskiego w 2 połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku," in: *Vzdělanec nad hranicemi „provincionalita” / Uczony ponad granicami „provincjonalności”*, red. by Aleš Zářický, Jana Davidová Glogarová, Michaela Zavodná (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita v Ostravě, 2014), 196—211.

THE WORKING CLASS IN AUSTRIAN SILESIA DURING THE PERIOD OF MODERNIZATION³⁴²

Stanislav Knob

Abstract

The Ostrava-Karviná mining district concentrated an enormous number of workers, especially mining, metallurgy and textile industrie. The numerous working class was relatively restless part of the population. This paper deals with the importance of working class in the process of modernization. It shows its political, economic and cultural participation,

Keywords: working class, Ostrava-Karviná mining district, modernization

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Definition of the territory

Austrian Silesia is a relatively small territory located in the north-east of the Czech Republic. However, its historical importance is disproportionate to its size. The province played a key role in the era of modernization, as it was an area that was strongly influenced by two important subprocesses associated with modernization—i.e. industrialization and urbanization. These processes transcend provincial boundaries, and so the most progressive part of the region—the Ostrava-Karviná coalfield—lies partly in Moravia. For the purposes of this study, this 'wedge' of Moravian territory will be included within the territory of Austrian Silesia.

Austrian Silesia had a strong tradition of textile manufacturing centred around the towns of Jägerndorf (Krnov), Freudenthal (Bruntál), Friedeck (Frýdek) and Bielitz (Bielsko), which had large working-class communities. Although textile production played an important role especially in the early stages of industrialization, other industries came to the fore in the later stages – especially coal mining

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