

## Love in parenting, upbringing and education of the infants (Contribution to the history of institutional pre-school education in the 19th century using the example of Trnava town)

**Abstract:** The establishment of pre-primary educational institutions, brought recognition to pre-schools in most countries as the most appropriate place for the preparation of a child for life and school. From the beginning of institutional or private efforts to educate young children in theory and practical subjects, there were efforts to conceive pre-school educational institutions on the principles of holistic development with a deep understanding of the world of children and their psyche, as well as to prepare suitable teachers for these children. The existence of a pre-school in Trnava, demonstrates that this was in place from the start of the 19th century, and especially in activities of teacher Anthony Rehlingen.

**Keywords:** pre-school education, education, teacher, history, love

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The birth of institutional pre-school education in Europe at the turn of the 19th century was not only related to the ideological opinions and pedagogical insights of important philanthropic individuals and societies, but also to the socio-economic situation, contingent mainly on the development of industry and trade.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the 19th century, a type of childcare institution had arisen that had a social function. It kept children of a working-class background off the streets. Across many countries<sup>2</sup>, the industrial revolution had not created favourable conditions for these children. The development of an inexpensive workforce of women and children prompted the need for a new approach to day-care for children.

The most successful introduction of childcare is generally considered to be the so-called 'infant school' in New Lanark in Scotland, founded in 1816 by Robert Owen.<sup>3</sup> In England, the first infant school in Westminster, London was established in 1820, followed by a similar establishment in the Spitalfields district, run by Samuel Wilderspin. Wilderspin wrote the first book on the education of children under the title *Infant Education or Remarks on the Importance of Educating the Infant Poor* (1823). This book is considered to be responsible for the spread of infant schools across Europe.<sup>4</sup> Seismic social changes during the 19th century altered the family structure, the status of the mother and of pre-school education. In developed European countries, the reform school and education movement were born. Population movement from villages to cities changed the demographic structure of towns. The living conditions of working-class children prompted the need for social care of young children.

In the first half of the 19th century, revolutionary ideas emerged from Western Europe regarding women's position in society. In the thirties, there were pre-school facilities in several countries, not only in England and France. From early in the 19th century pre-school institutions were established in industrialised countries. The emergence of pre-school caregivers did not only concern Europe; similar trends were seen in the United States – in New York in 1835, there were already 27 such institutions. Even in South Africa, the success of 'infant schools' was celebrated thanks to James Buchanan. These early pre-school facilities formed the basis for the development of pre-school institutions into the future. But let us return to Europe. In the 1930s, infant

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<sup>1</sup> In most states, with the Industrial Revolution, workers had a disproportionately long working day, and were under threat of permanent redundancy, which was why parents left young children unsupervised for many hours. Left to fend for themselves many suffered from hunger, malnutrition and various diseases. M. Bartušková, *Společenská předškolní výchova v době vzniku našich prvních opatroven*, [in:] *Kapitoly z histórie materského školstva na Slovensku*, Bratislava 1970, pp. 49–50.

<sup>2</sup> Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic, State Archives in Bratislava, Trnava Branch, Trnava Child Care Centre 1832–1863, carton no. 3, inventory no. 124, Die Kinderbewahranstalten, August 1844, pp. 2–3.

<sup>3</sup> O. Siméon, *Robert Owen's Experiment at New Lanark: From Paternalism to Socialism (Palgrave Studies in Utopianism)*, Utopian Studies, 2017, pp. 13–44.

<sup>4</sup> B. Kasáčová, *Od detských opatrovní po predškolskú edukáciu*, [in:] E. Gašparová, M. Miňová. (eds.), *Od detskej opatrovne k materskej škole*, Banská Bystrica 2009, p. 5 onwards.

schools were established in the Netherlands, Sweden, and Hungary, where collections and charity events were organised to improve conditions for the poor and, in particular, care for pre-school children. Various charities funded caregivers and shelters aiming to protect three to six-year-olds from the dangers of wandering the streets and related delinquency. Infant schools taught children proper personal hygiene, provided them with a basic education, and catered to their moral development. In addition to day care, an educational training program was implemented in these facilities.<sup>5</sup>

Philanthropy and volunteerism in the Habsburg monarchy, inspired by Christian values, contributed greatly to addressing the social situation of poor working-class families, by supporting the founding of charitable associations. One of those engaged in these activities was Therese Countess von Brunswick, who, at the turn of the 19th century, dealt with pedagogical issues in the Kingdom of Hungary. Her inspiration came from the works of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi<sup>6</sup> and Friedrich Fröbel<sup>7</sup>, which introduced the theory of pre-school education in Europe and emphasised the development of the natural abilities of groups of children while taking into account the specific character of each individual.<sup>8</sup> Therese Countess von Brunswick,<sup>9</sup> together with her secretary, Anthony Rehlingen, published promotional leaflets and founded philanthropic societies whose aim was to financially and pedagogically support

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<sup>5</sup> J. Levická, *Detské opatrovne*, [in:] V. Hornáčková, D. Kollárová (eds.), *Detská opatrovňa v Trnave a jej aktuálnosť dnes, predškolská výchova ako výchova k harmónii*, Faculty of Education, Trnava University, Trnava 2002, pp. 23–24.

<sup>6</sup> Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) saw the misery of the people during his deprived upbringing. He saw education as a means of improving one's social situation. Influenced by the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, he first created a system of elementary pedagogy. According to him, teaching is meaningful when it is based on the natural development of the skills and abilities of the child. Pestalozzi proceeded in his teaching from sensory cognition to the formation of concepts. Convinced that children should study subjects in their natural environment, Pestalozzi developed a so-called „subject lesson,” which included exercises to explain forms, numbers and speech. J. Levická, *Detské opatrovne*, p. 23.

<sup>7</sup> In Fröbel's pedagogy, great attention is paid to the creativity of the child, which should be systematically developed through work, exercises and games. The game has a great educational significance in the child's life. Fröbel developed the childrens' games system and emphasized their place in pre-school education. J. Levická, *Detské opatrovne*, pp. 23–24.

<sup>8</sup> Therese Countess von Brunswick met important Swiss educator and educational reformer Pestalozzi in person, in Yverdon-les-Bains (the Swiss city where Pestalozzi opened an educational institution for children of wealthy families). She knew his pedagogical works and the works of his followers, particularly Friedrich Diesterweg and Karl John. In her memoirs, Therese Countess von Brunswick recalls her travels abroad, where she worked on the establishment of pre-schools with the aristocracy and the high clergy – in Munich and Augsburg. J. Mikleš, *Filantropizmus Márie Terézie Brunšvickej a zprávy slovenských časopisov o potrebe zakladať detské opatrovne v 19. storočí na Slovensku*, [in:] *Sborník pedagogického inštitútu v Banskej Bystrici II*, SPN, Bratislava 1970, pp. 96–116.

<sup>9</sup> R. Ristovska, *Brunšvikovci a ich život v Dolnej Krupej (Sonda do problematiky)*, Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Towarzystwo Słowaków w Polsce, Kraków 2012, pp. 49–72.

and lead pre-school institutions.<sup>10</sup> After three years of trying to establish a childcare house she succeeded in 1828. The first childcare institution she established in the Kingdom of Hungary was the so-called Angel Garden, opened on 1 June 1828 in the Christina Town district of the city of Buda. Thanks to Therese Countess von Brunswick, other infant schools were established not only in Buda, Pest, but also in today's Slovakia: Banská Bystrica (1829), Bratislava (1830) and Trnava (1832).<sup>11</sup> A governor<sup>12</sup> entrusted the care of infant schools in Trnava to the Society for the Promotion of Good (*Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Guten*)<sup>13</sup>, led by the Therese Countess Apponyi. After receiving a letter from the Trnava Municipal Administration, the founder of the pre-school, Therese Countess von Brunswick took the first steps to establish this institution. She sent her secretary and co-worker Anthony Rehlingen to Trnava, to start this process.

In the monarchy, it was customary that the opening of pre-schools was always on the name day of one of the important representatives of the Habsburg family, in the case of Trnava, it was on Monday, 5 November 1832, on the name day of the Emperor Karolina Augusta. The main role of this pre-school facility, according to Anthony Rehlingen, was to develop the physical, moral and mental abilities of children. Childcare was financially dependent on the charity of individual donors<sup>14</sup> and members of the Society for the Promotion of Good. The main source of income, however, was the endowment, which was the long-term financial property of a pre-school, and was never used for the operation of the institute. An example of such an endowment was a donation of 3000 Gulden by Count Apponyi and 5000 Gulden by the city.

The aim of setting up a pre-school in Trnava was to foster the religious and moral education of children of pre-school age. These newly established institutes took in both boys and girls, especially of poor parents, aged between two – three and seven years, with an aim to educate children in a pleasant and varied way. The ethos of these institutions, described by Anthony Rehlingen, was that children should be given the opportunity to play in a safe and caring environment, with consideration given to their moral development, thus providing them with the best prospects for the future.

<sup>10</sup> Ministry of Interior, State Archives in Bratislava, Trnava Branch, Trnava Children's Care Centre 1832–1863 [further as: TCCC], carton no. 1, inv. no. 122, A. Rehlingen: *Gedichte*, 1833, p. 31, no. 19. "Städtische Pressburger Zeitung", 10 August 1832, Carl Angermayer, Pressburg (Bratislava), 1764–1929.

<sup>11</sup> The statement on the status of childcare in the royal free cities of Buda and Pest, published in the *Städtische Pressburger Zeitung* in 1832, states that between July 1831 and July 1832, 656 children were admitted to six institutions.

<sup>12</sup> J. Mikles, *Filantropizmus Márie Terézie Brunšvickej a zprávy slovenských časopisov*, p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> The Trnava magistrate approved the proposal with the remark that the costs will not be paid by the city, but that the announcement will be made public and those who can afford to should voluntarily contribute. J. Šimončíč, *Detská opatrovňa v Trnave v rokoch 1832–1863*, [in:] *Mojej Trnave. K dejinám Trnavy a okolia*. Trnava 1998, pp. 287–290.

<sup>14</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 1, *Tagebuch über die Tyrnauer Bewahrschule* (next *Tagebuch*), November 1–11, 1832.

These were lofty goals, but they were achieved. Visitors<sup>15</sup> to the infant schools were amazed by the loving treatment of the children. For example, Transylvania's Professor Ladislav László wrote that he very much preferred the infant school in Trnava to the one in Cluj-Napoca in Romania, which was more focused on rigorous education. In Trnava, the environment was more caring, more entertaining and, therefore, more appropriate to the age-group. He particularly liked the dancing and singing classes.<sup>16</sup> If needed, teaching assistants were assigned a teacher, who was responsible not only for the children's education but also for their everyday needs, hygiene etc. The children were not to be left unsupervised while in the school.<sup>17</sup>

Great attention was devoted to the students' progress. The teachers wrote up notes each month and the results of individual pupils were compared. We learn about everyday life in the pre-school in Trnava from these teachers' logs: the first was Anthony Rehlingen, replaced by John Koholzer, followed by Max Planger, Joseph Gamperling and finally Anthony Rác.<sup>18</sup> These preserved logbooks also include the writings of the secretary, of Rieder's and of Count Apponyi, who substituted for the teaching staff in their absence. The main goal of these teachers was to achieve the key aim of education to develop each child's potential in a holistic way.<sup>19</sup>

In this study, we are looking in detail at the work of Anthony Rehlingen, who was the first, and probably the most successful, teacher in the Trnava child care centre. From his diaries, teaching preparation and thoughts we can sense a natural-born teacher.<sup>20</sup> Anthony Rehlingen applied his pedagogical ideals right from the start of the pre-school. He devoted himself to a small group of children in the still unfinished classroom. He let the children play to get to know each other and get used to the teacher as well as the school premises. When he saw that they were getting bored, he taught them about school rules and teaching aids, such as slate tables, abacuses, wall paintings, and so on.

He also explained some basic rules of hygiene, followed by marching. Throughout this he was observing them and studying their character. There were troubled children in the group. In his diary A. Rehlingen mentions one such boy, Louis Gétzy, who

<sup>15</sup> The most eminent visitor in Trnava was the Emperor Francis Joseph I. (13th August, 1852), who received a deputation from the Children's Care Centre. TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 2, inv. no. 87, *Tagebuch*, August 13, 1852.

<sup>16</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 1, *Tagebuch*, October 3, 1833. [Comp.]: F. Pill, *Trnavská detská opatrovňa v rokoch 1832–1863*, (Coursework), Trnava 1961, p. 56. The manuscript is saved in Ministry of Interior, State Archives in Bratislava.

<sup>17</sup> J. Šimončič, *Detská opatrovňa v Trnave v rokoch 1832–1863*, p. 287.

<sup>18</sup> J. Šimončič, *Vývoj a archívna charakteristika fondu detskej opatrovne v Trnave*, [in:] V. Michalička et al., *Dejiny predškolskej výchovy na Slovensku*, Zborník Múzea školstva a pedagogiky, Bratislava 1999, p. 38–39.

<sup>19</sup> M. Krajčovičová, *Rozvoj tvorivosti v súčasnej materskej škole*, [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303899177\\_Rozvoj\\_tvorivosti\\_v\\_sucasnej\\_materskej\\_skole\\_Development\\_of\\_creativity\\_in\\_contemporary\\_pre-school](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/303899177_Rozvoj_tvorivosti_v_sucasnej_materskej_skole_Development_of_creativity_in_contemporary_pre-school) [access: 30.06.2018].

<sup>20</sup> J. Šimončič, *Detská opatrovňa v Trnave v rokoch 1832–1863*, p. 288.

was from a deprived home, similar to most of the children in the school. The teacher described the boy's character: "This boy is a pretty cruel master of his surroundings. Insolence, ferocity, obstinacy and greediness are features of his character, which he can hide as much as the cat can hide its claws. He treats the others badly, beats them, quarrels with them, pushes them, etc. An 'attack' on his things resulted in pitiful cries and terrible grimaces. When I reproached him for his evil behaviour and threatened him with a rod, only to see if he could be moved by that remedy, he replied that nothing would happen. The boy is only two years old. Well, I believe that in a few days I will see visible signs of improvement." On November 10, 1832, the teacher again mentioned Louis Gétzy, but with the remark that he was very good, he only needed attention and "a cultivation of heart." With his kind approach, Rehlingen was able to get the attention and respect of the children very quickly, as evidenced by his writings in the November 11, 1832 diary: "[...] we have seen and demonstrated how order and symmetry can evolve from disorder; obedience from disobedience; consistency from inconsistency. At first it was chaos, everything was flying around, there were battles, banging, crying, spitting, buzzing and drumming, all that was heard was stronger tones and movements, like thunder and lightning in a storm. Now there is a cheerfulness, showing a nice image of a pre-school in which children learn the virtues of obedience, which is key. I cannot adequately express my appreciation for Catherine Ek, especially her passion, her adaptability, her love for children and her tact." Rehlingen taught through games and attributed great importance to the joyful and caring environment at the school. Visitors were amazed at his kind treatment of the children, without any harsh discipline that was common in similar institutes at that time.

Rehlingen considered the pre-schools primarily educational and not social institutions. He was of the opinion that "if we leave the earth alone, it will only grow weeds. Cultivated land grows sweet fruits, and so it is with human nature [...]"<sup>21</sup> Rehlingen was particularly keen on exploring nature, different animal species and plants. In his pedagogical practice he used every opportunity to go out with the children to the countryside, and in the school garden he used domestic plants to explain development and growth. Among these plants were wheat, rye, barley, corn, lentils, peas, beans, millet, flax and poppy. "Fun in the countryside," Rehlingen wrote, "is really refreshing for kids. They walk, march, run, jump, and hop. Small races strengthen their lungs. Jumping over sticks brings them a lot of joy."<sup>22</sup>

A. Rehlingen was convinced that a pre-school teacher should direct children's fun in a kind and gentle way. He considered games to have educational significance, develop children's acumen and benefit their health. He also believed that they played a role in deepening moral and esthetical principles.<sup>23</sup> He introduced cubes to the play-

<sup>21</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 6, *Tagebuch*, 16–26 January 1833.

<sup>22</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 9, *Tagebuch*, 18 March – 13 April 1833.

<sup>23</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 3, *Tagebuch*, July 18, 1832. Compare F. Pill, *Trnavská detská opatrovňa v rokoch 1832–1863*, p. 60.

room, which were supplied by a carpenter. He describes the benefits of these toys: „For children, the kits are an excellent toy because they cannot break them and they are very colourful. They allow the children to make connections, encourage thinking and improve insight. They are enjoyable for children and adults alike.”<sup>24</sup> Further diary entries show more evidence of his kind approach to education: “Consider the natural inclinations of the child; it is not good to force a child to sit still when he wants to walk, to force him to walk when he wants to stand. Activity is a natural need of the body, and strengthens it. Children need to enjoy freedom – as long as they satisfy a healthy need. Moodiness, however is not to be tolerated.”<sup>25</sup>

Anthony Rehlingen had ideals regarding education. He considered the best upbringing to be one with as little coercion and violence as possible. Instead, it was necessary to plan learning opportunities where children perform their duties as if by their own will. The children’s attention was improved by removing all disturbing influences, strong mental stimulation, resulting in emotions such as fear, horror or joy. He tried to encourage their natural curiosity and inspire a cheerful mood.<sup>26</sup> For these reasons, Rehlingen attributed great importance to learning songs. He talked about beauty and singing as harmony: “Beauty is the harmony of expression in tangible form; truth is the inner harmony of thoughts, emanating from reason, virtue or moral good, in the same way as the harmony of ideas expressed in action. Nothing is easier to wake in a child than the feeling of beauty, which is, as Friedrich Schiller very rightly notes, the meaning of the spirit. The feeling of beauty is firstly awakened by music. If music is taught to a child effortlessly and, most importantly, without coercion, love for music leads to a love for life, especially with regard to spiritual and moral education. Then music has a beneficial influence on all learning and on practical life. Music becomes the essence of everything we learn and what we do and becomes the heavenly spirit that accompanies us everywhere and transforms the greatest disharmony into harmony. This spirit elevates our senses and moves us from low to gentle, from human to divine.”<sup>27</sup>

In connection with this quote from Rehlingen’s record, specific situations that arose in the care centres, alluded to in Rehlingen’s notes, demonstrate the introduction of moral principles. When a difficult situation was resolved, the teacher pointed out that the children had learned a moral lesson. In the case of a mother who has succumbed to the will of her son only to satisfy his desire, M. Slavik gave an example of Temistokles’s son, who once said, “My will is the will of Athenians, for what I want, my mother wants and what she wants, even my father wants and his will is the will

<sup>24</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 6, *Tagebuch*, 16–26 January 1833.

<sup>25</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 8, *Tagebuch*, 20 February – 16 March 1833.

<sup>26</sup> J. Mikleš, *Rehlingenovo pedagogické pôsobenie v detskej opatrovni v Trnave*, [in:] *Sborník pedagogickej fakulty v Banskej Bystrici VIII. Pedagogika-Psychológia*, Bratislava 1966, p. 67.

<sup>27</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 6, *Tagebuch*, 16–26 January 1833.

of the Athenians.”<sup>28</sup> He believed that the formation of will in childhood was part of the building of moral character. Adhering to a daily routine served to discipline the children’s will. In this way, he cultivated a habit of regular work, which began and ended at a fixed time. In addition to the development of the child’s psyche, Rehlingen emphasised the body’s development and the children’s health. In a playful way, using proverbs, they taught the children basic rules for health, for example: “Think about it, before you put something in your mouth, if it’s a lot, it’s unhealthy”; “Never doubt that ripe fruit is very healthy.”<sup>29</sup>

Rehlingen opposed rote learning as a way of teaching prayers: “When they want a child to pray, they tell him a prayer formula that the child does not understand and struggles with for years. Instead of his spirit being lifted up to God, learning to know and love him, the child turns away from him.”<sup>30</sup> He condemned parents who punished their child for not being able to recite the evening prayer that neither the child (nor most of the parents) understood, sending the child to sleep upset. It is not by chance that several days after these notes were taken, a number of clergymen appeared in the nursing home to make sure that children were taught to pray. The teacher, however, assured the Church in Trnava that the children did pray and explained to them that the religion lesson was adapted to the understanding of young children.<sup>31</sup>

Anton Rehlingen’s ethos, his rich theoretical knowledge and experience gained from teaching, inspired others to use his methods in the pre-schools even after his departure from the institute<sup>32</sup> and subsequent death a few months later. It can be said that his pedagogical views permanently influenced the course of the school. Rehlingen’s successors used his methods in their lesson preparation and were guided by his book on childcare facilities – *Die Bewahrschule für kleine Kinder von 2 bis 7 Jahre* (Kindergarten for small children from 2 to 7 years). One of the other teachers in the pre-school was Max Planger, who took up this position on 23 September 1833. In his own words, he came to the institution, “where children were protected from physical and moral hardship from an early age, had their talents developed and were brought up to be useful members of society.”<sup>33</sup> Max Planger was kind to the children, and emphasised clarity and diversity in learning. Under his supervision the children built circles, squares, blunt and sharp angles, houses, towers and bridges on the floor or on the benches. During natural history lessons they distinguished between traits of plants and animals. The children had the opportunity to use their intellect comparing

<sup>28</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 8, *Tagebuch*, 20 February – 16 March 1833.

<sup>29</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, inv. no. 123, *Die Lesen-unterricht für Bewahrschulen, von Anton von Rehlingen, wailand. Lehrer der Tyrnauer bewahrschule*.

<sup>30</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 7, *Tagebuch*, 28 January – 16 February 1833.

<sup>31</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 7, *Tagebuch*, 28 January – 16 February 1833.

<sup>32</sup> Rehlingen’s final inscription in his diary is dated 1 May 1833. He did not forget about his schoolchildren, and he visited the children’s care centre. He died on 29 March 1834 as a consequence of tuberculosis. TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, inv. no. 122.

<sup>33</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 11, *Tagebuch*, 23 September – 6 October 1833.

and contrasting each example. The essence of this lesson was the cultivation of both physical and mental fitness in the children and allowing them to develop a love for work. This style of education was designed to give the children a sense of satisfaction and humility.<sup>34</sup> In 1840, the nursing centre found itself in crisis and with no teacher. The importance of the teacher, particularly his interaction with the children became clear. The Therese Countess Apponyi took over all the pedagogical duties, but she did not know how to gain the respect of the children. The class was disruptive, the children were disobedient and noisy, their behaviour intolerable. They completely ignored the orders of the Countess.<sup>35</sup>

The arrival of a new teacher, Anthony Rác, brought peace and order back to the centre.<sup>36</sup> He commanded respect from the children. He continued with the method he had adopted during his time at the Toln pre-school<sup>37</sup>, whilst respecting the existing daily schedule in the centre. He was very good at German, Hungarian and, unlike his predecessors, the Slovak language. The wife of Anthony Rác, Anna, replaced Terezia Walz as teacher in 1847. After the death of Therese Countess Apponyi in 1849, the support of the *Society for the Promotion of Good* was lessened, but the character of the institute remained unchanged, no crisis arose, and the teacher remained in place. The pre-school provided full-day childcare for children from 8am to 12pm and from 2pm to 6pm. Between 2 and 4pm, children could stay in the centre or go home, and this second option was used by younger children for their afternoon nap. On Saturdays, classes only ran until 12 o'clock, as every Saturday afternoon the classroom and lavatory were cleaned.

The institute was open to Trnava children of all social strata, but most of them came from deprived families, including children of invalids, widows, tailors and merchants. Orphans were also admitted.<sup>38</sup> Children under two years and over six years were not admitted to the institute. Later, in the 1940s and 1950s, children of any age could enrol, but were admitted after reaching the age of three. Children of very poor parents were admitted free of charge, children of affluent parents were charged a monthly fee of 30 Kreuzer. Orphans were paid for by the city.<sup>39</sup>

Most of the children were Slovakian, and Roman Catholic, but Jewish and Protestant children also attended the centre.<sup>40</sup> The children's health was regularly checked by

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<sup>34</sup> J. Mikles, *Filantropizmus Márie Terézie Brunšvickej a zprávy slovenských časopisov o potrebe zakladať detské opatrovne v 19. storočí na Slovensku*, [in:] *Sborník pedagogického inštitútu v Banskej Bystrici II*, Bratislava 1964, p. 105.

<sup>35</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 2, inv. no. 84, *Tagebuch*, 16 July 1840.

<sup>36</sup> J. Šimončíč, *Vývoj a archívna charakteristika fondu detskej opatrovne v Trnave*, p. 39.

<sup>37</sup> Tolna – town in Hungary, in Tolna County.

<sup>38</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 2, inv. no. 86, *Tagebuch*, 10 July 1845.

<sup>39</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, inv. no. 106, *Verzeichnis der Kinder welche in die Bewahranstalt aufgenommen wurden*.

<sup>40</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, inv. no. 105, *Verzeichnis der Kinder welche in die Bewahr-Anstalt aufgenommen wurden vom 11. Oktober 1841 bis 10. November 1846*.

doctors. Anthony Rehlingen commented on the social situation of some of his pupils in his diary: “Josephine and Mary Dresler are a neglected pair as are both Wohllebens. Josephine Moskall must receive very ill-treatment. Her overall behaviour has shown that she was convinced that man is a devil. But thanks to kindness, she has improved. She just has to understand that the world is not hell.”<sup>41</sup> In addition to the chairwoman of the centre who was responsible for its smooth running, the booking-clerk and the secretary, the teachers had the most important role and were required to not only look after the children but also help to educate them both spiritually and physically. The teachers supervised younger children aged three to four years old and also educated girls in handicrafts, especially in sewing. Many girls had already mastered this subject by the age of five.<sup>42</sup> The first teacher in the centre was Catherine Ek, her successor was Terezia Walz. In 1847<sup>43</sup> Walz was replaced by Anne Rácz, wife of Anthony Rácz. She was officially appointed to this position on 30 August 1848 by the Society for the Promotion of Good, and according to records she still worked there in 1862.

It was very important to maintain discipline and routine in the centre. The parents had to have their child at the school before eight o'clock, and in the afternoon, before two o'clock. They had to ensure that their clothes were not dirty and torn. Although German was taught and spoken in the pre-school, Slovak-speaking pupils were in the majority. Anthony Rácz wrote in his diary regarding the languages spoken by the children: in July 1847, of the boys, 6 spoke Hungarian, 34 German and 42 Slovak, of the girls, 5 spoke Hungarian, 32 German and 43 of them could speak only the Slovak language.<sup>44</sup> Teaching officially started at eight o'clock. Most children, however, usually gathered at 9 o'clock; until they all arrived, the boys counted on the counter, the girls knitted. The entire teaching process was split into 15-minute intervals to bring variety into the classroom and prevent the children from getting tired quickly. At 9.30 am the children marched in pairs into the classroom, prayers were followed by singing, the children were counted and given the order of the day. Religion teaching followed, bible stories, or Hungarian words were taught. After a break at 10.30 there was breakfast, the children had to bring their own food with them. From 11.15 to 12.00 – drawing, learning the alphabet, reading and singing, or counting, hygiene and use of aids were discussed.

From 12.00 to 13.30 there was a break. Some children used this time to leave for home, some stayed in school all the time. In the afternoon, from 13.30 to 15.00, the children gathered in the classroom, after praying and singing, they studied biology, or counting on the counter, the girls knitted, and the boys took part in gymnastic exercises. From 15.00 to 16.00, natural history was taught – the teacher talked about the

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<sup>41</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, inv. no. 106, *Verzeichnis der Kinder welche in die Bewahr-Anstalt aufgenommen wurden 1846–1856*.

<sup>42</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 9, *Tagebuch*, 12 March 1833.

<sup>43</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 2, inv. no. 87, 16 February 1848.

<sup>44</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 2, inv. no. 86, *Tagebuch*, 22 July 1847.

various animals, and the countryside, followed by Hungarian vocabulary and singing, reading and counting. From 16.00 to 17.00, children played and had tea time. From 17.00 to 18.00, children were taught crafts, spelling and reading, or gymnastics. After praying and singing, the children went home. On Saturday morning, lessons from the week were practised and repeated.

The teaching of individual subjects in school took place as follows: In religious lessons, the teacher explained to the children the meaning of the Ten Commandments, and the content of prayers, in part using examples and pictures from bible stories of the Old and New Testaments. Then writing and drawing were taught. The teacher showed the children how to make straight, curved, semi-curved, semi-circular or circular strokes, which could be used to make particular symbols. During the counting lesson, beginners counted on their fingers to ten, then to 20, and finally on the counter with coloured balls from 50 to 100. The advanced ones then began to add and subtract.

The children were mainly taught to name parts of the human body in Hungarian and German, then longer and shorter sentences in Hungarian which were also taught in German. Gradually, the children were taught vocabulary for all the school subjects, vocabulary relating to home, the city, etc. During natural history lessons, children first observed parts of plants and animals, and then their benefits were explained to them. They learned animal names and imitated their sounds. For example, the teacher cut off leaves from trees (apple tree, poplar), showed the differences between them, and then taught the children to name the tree.<sup>45</sup> Singing lessons were a useful and enjoyable teaching method, teaching good listening skills and facilitating and enhancing memory. Music gave them an appreciation of aesthetics, harmony, and beauty, from which a respect for order and hygiene also arose. The children learnt moral lessons with an emphasis on moral behaviour. The teacher used events that children had experienced. For example, when one girl, Caroline Krajčovič, lost her only cross in the playground, the boy Joseph Riesch found it and didn't keep it. He instead gave it to the teacher and the teacher handed it back to the owner. The teacher reminded children of the moral lesson: "Do not deceive or steal and what you find, do not keep."<sup>46</sup>

In teaching about crafts, the teacher showed the children various tools or illustrations and explained their use. Nice, colourful, instructive pictures from the Pfennig magazine<sup>47</sup> brought by Therese Countess Apponyi were used. The teacher asked the children questions about the craftsmen in the pictures, how they used the materials and what could be produced from the material shown.

<sup>45</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, inv. no. 38, *Tagebuch*, 4–11 May 1834.

<sup>46</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 2, inv. no. 86, *Tagebuch*, 22 May 1844.

<sup>47</sup> "Das Pfennig-Magazin der Gesellschaft zur Verbreitung gemeinnütziger Kenntnisse" was a journal published by F.A. Brockhaus between 1833 and 1842. He dealt with issues related to classical and modern culture, politics, and later, inventions of the industrial revolution.

The children also had a subject named technology to explain the processing of individual crops for the need and benefit of humans. Spelling was done with fun speech-based exercises, articulating the sounds and allowing the children to make the shapes with their bodies. For example, as instructed by Rehlingen, the sound M had to be articulated through the nose with a closed mouth and described its shape as: „M” consists of three identical sticks that are on top of each other”, they also learned to introduce the letter „m” with their body. Three boys and three girls stood next to each other and held each other’s shoulders; if weather was nice, children drew the shapes in the sand.<sup>48</sup>

The children went outdoors every day to the garden or the yard, unless the weather was too bad, for example rain, strong wind or frost. In these situations, the children stayed in the classroom. Their daily schedule also included educational activities, such as learning about nature and natural phenomena. Diversity of activities was encouraged to prevent boredom. The boys were very happy to play soldiers, marching or drumming, some walking on the hills in a predetermined place, others hopping, learning to tie knots, balancing on tree-stumps, some of the children played ball or musical games. Therese Countess Apponyi sometimes prepared a pleasant afternoon for the children in the garden when she invited a violinist. The children could sing songs and dance.<sup>49</sup>

The school year was divided into a winter and summer term. Each of them ended with an exam. The summer term finished in August and the winter term before the Easter holidays. The tests were in the form of questions and answers, and children enjoyed showing what they had learned. Christmas Eve was an important holiday in the year, which filled the children with joy and excitement. As early as November, Christmas songs began to be taught, and they were constantly asking when they could see a Christmas tree. Christmas Eve was a day off to allow for the next day’s preparations, especially the distribution and packing of Christmas gifts for children. The packs consisted of pieces of clothing that were donated by members of the Society for the Promotion of Good and multiple contributors and subsequently distributed and packaged according to the names of the children. Under the Christmas tree, children received gifts such as coats, stockings, shoes, scarves, caps, toys, socks, or skirts.<sup>50</sup> There was a presentation of Christmas poems and songs by children during the festive evening which was enjoyed by all.

The teachers tried to avoid the use of physical punishment. However, it was acknowledged that wickedness should be punished. At times, there were outbursts of anger and stubbornness when, for example, a child smashed toys. These problems most frequently arose with newcomers who needed time to adapt to being around other children and to a daily routine in the school. Some children also committed

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<sup>48</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, inv. no. 109, *Die Lesenunterricht für die Bewahrschulen*.

<sup>49</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 2, inv. no. 84, *Tagebuch*, 16–18 August 1836.

<sup>50</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, inv. no. 126, *Accounts*, 1835–1863.

minor thefts, or were complaining, screaming and fighting. For more serious or more frequent transgressions, strict interventions would be necessary on the teachers' part. Physical punishments or violence were prohibited in the pre-school as they were considered incompatible with the principles of education and training for young children. Teachers in the pre-school, unlike their other colleagues in such facilities, always emphasised education on the basis of leading by example and speaking kindly to the students in a way in which lessons could be learned. However, the children had to be punished for bad and inappropriate behaviour.

The usual punishment was exclusion from playing outside, or being made to stand in a circle, which was drawn with chalk. During Anthony Rehlingen's time, children were usually made to stand behind the furnace which was considered a place of shame. In particular, some boys who had experienced brutal punishment from their parents had become accustomed to being aggressive and rebellious, so teachers were occasionally required to reprimand them.<sup>51</sup> For example, a boy, Joseph Kalina, arrived at the institute in the afternoon at about 5 o'clock, though his parents had sent him to the school at 2 o'clock. It transpired that he had wandered the streets during this time. The teacher reprimanded him, and he had to promise before everybody that he would never violate the school rules again, and as punishment he was not allowed to participate in games in the garden.<sup>52</sup>

In more serious cases, of fighting or lying, the teacher made the guilty party stand in front of all the children, the deed was discussed in the class and a punishment was decided on. In the case of the two girls who stole cherries from a shop in the city and ran away, the teacher intervened, and the cherries were returned to the shop. Only one of them came to school in the afternoon, and as a punishment she was not allowed to sit on a chair or participate in games for the whole afternoon.<sup>53</sup> A week later, the teacher caught her younger sister red-handed and her hands were tied as punishment.

If the group was noisy their punishment was to stand at the centre of the class. However, with a large number of children, it was not a great success, as there was not enough space for this, so they had to return to their places one by one. Before deciding on any physical punishment, Therese Countess Apponyi was informed about the act that preceded the punishment, or, in her absence, the vice-chairman of the Association.<sup>54</sup> The most serious punishment was exclusion from the school. The first time this punishment was used was in June 1834, due to the extremely bad behaviour of a pupil. In order for this punishment to act as a deterrent for all children, all her mistakes and wrong-doings were discussed on front of everybody. The teacher took the

<sup>51</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, *Tagebuch*, 21 July 1835.

<sup>52</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 2, inv. no. 84, *Tagebuch*, 6 April 1843.

<sup>53</sup> School suspension gradually became a more long-term, convenient way to exclude maladjusted children from school: F. Pill, *Trnavská detská opatrovňa v rokoch 1832–1863*, p. 134; J. Šimončíč, *Detská opatrovňa v Trnave v rokoch 1832–1863*, pp. 287–290.

<sup>54</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 3, *Tagebuch*, 14 August 1843.

pupil's hand and accompanied her out of the pre-school while other children watched and cried. A much better approach seemed to be prevention through good example and kind words. In this spirit, the teacher Anthony Rác introduced honest badges to the diligent and obedient pupils as encouragement.<sup>55</sup>

On turning seven, the children went to the city's normal school. The girls went to the girls' school in the Ursuline monastery. The children of the pre-schools were among the best pupils in the classroom. Over time, the systematic training of teachers for pre-school institutions created an educational basis for the development of pedagogical thinking on a wider scale. Pre-school education has ceased to be just the concern of enthusiasts and pioneers but has become part of modern pedagogy. With the establishment of pre-primary educational institutions, pre-primary education has been recognised in most countries as the most appropriate method of preparation of a child for life and school.

If today we understand pre-school education as pre-primary education, we consider it to be the product of the current epoch. However, it is also necessary to consider its history. This shows us that since the beginning of institutional and private efforts to educate small children, both theoretical and practical efforts have been made to work on the principles of holistic development with a deep understanding of a child's world and psyche. An effort has also been made to train teachers effectively for teaching these children. That this had been in place since the 19th century is evidenced by the existence of the children's pre-school in Trnava. Its teachers were not working in isolation in Trnava, on the contrary – they were informed on the latest trends in European pedagogy and had direct contact with the Paris pre-schools thanks to Therese Countess Apponyi. Numerous preserved sources, including journals on the origins and history of the institute, reports on preparation for lessons, and various other writings and accounts, show the European level of pre-school education in Trnava.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> TCCC, *op.cit.*, carton no. 1, *Tagebuch*, 14 August 1843.

<sup>56</sup> The study was developed on the basis of VEGA grant no. 1/0645/17 – Manor. A territorial state business organisation (Panstvo. Podnik zemepanského hospodárenia) and Grant APVV-16-0619 The Roman Curia and the Kingdom of Hungary in a communication interaction in the Middle Ages (with special regard to the territory of today's Slovakia) – *Rímska kúria a Uhorské kráľovstvo v komunikačnej interakcii v stredoveku (s osobitným zreteľom na územie dnešného Slovenska)*.

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