



His
toria
scholas
tica

2022
8

Mezinárodní časopis
pro dějiny výchovy a vzdělání

International Review
for History of Education

Národní pedagogické muzeum
a knihovna J. A. Komenského

Technická univerzita
v Liberci

Praha 2022

Historia scholastica

Číslo 2, prosinec 2022, ročník 8

Number 2, December 2022, Volume 8

Vedoucí redaktor *Editor-in-chief*

prof. PhDr. Tomáš Kasper, Ph.D. (tomas.kasper@tul.cz)

Zástupkyně vedoucího redaktora *Deputy Editor*

PhDr. Markéta Pánková (pankova@nmpk.cz)

Redakční rada *Editorial Board*

prof. PhDr. Martin Holý, Ph.D. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)

doc. PhDr. Dana Kasperová, Ph.D. (Technická univerzita v Liberci)

prof. PhDr. Milena Lenderová, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)

prof. PhDr. Karel Rýdl, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)

doc. Mgr. Jaroslav Šebek, Ph.D. (Univerzita Karlova v Praze a Akademie věd ČR)

doc. PhDr. Růžena Váňová, CSc. (Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze)

Mgr. Magdaléna Šustová (Muzeum hlavního města Prahy)

Dr. Marta Brunelli, Ph.D. (Università di Macerata)

prof. Dr. Antonella Cagnolati (Università di Foggia)

prof. Dr. Marcelo Caruso (Humboldt Universität Berlin)

prof. Dr. Lucien Criblez (Universität Zürich)

prof. Andreas Fritsch (Deutsche Comenius Gesellschaft)

prof. Dr. Gerald Grimm (Universität Klagenfurt)

prof. Dr. Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon (Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich)

prof. PhDr. Blanka Kudláčková, Ph.D. (Trnavská univerzita v Trnave)

prof. Dr. Eva Matthes (Universität Augsburg)

prof. Dr. András Németh (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Budapest)

prof. Dr. Jürgen Oelkers (Emeritus Professor Universität Zürich)

prof. PhDr. Jaroslav Pánek, DrSc., dr.h.c. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)

prof. Dr. Simonetta Polenghi, Ph.D. (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano)

prof. Dr. Edvard Protner (Univerza v Mariboru)

prof. Dr. Dr.h.c. Ehrenhard Skiera (Univ. Prof. a.D. Europa-Universität Flensburg)

Výkonná redaktorka *Executive Editor*

Mgr. Lucie Murár (murar@nmpk.cz)

Vydavatelé *Publishers*

Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského

Valdštejnská 20, 118 00 Praha 1, Česká republika, IČ 61387169, www.nmpk.cz

Technická univerzita v Liberci, Fakulta přírodovědně-humanitní a pedagogická

Studentská 1402/2, 461 17 Liberec 1, Česká republika, IČ 46747885, www.tul.cz

Obálka a grafická úprava *Cover and Graphic Design*

Pavel Průša

Sazba *Type Setting*

Mgr. Lucie Murár

Tisk *Printed by*

Tiskárna PROTISK, s. r. o., Rudolfovská 617, 370 01 České Budějovice, Česká republika

Časopis *Historia scholastica* vychází 2x ročně.

Historia scholastica is published twice a year.

Indexováno v *Indexed in*

SCOPUS, ERIH+, DOAJ, EBSCO, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

ISSN 1804-4913 (print), ISSN 2336-680X (online)

Číslo registrace MK ČR E 22258

Obsah

Contents

- Úvodník** 5 — Tomáš Kasper & Markéta Pánková
Editorial
- Studie** 11 The Concept of German *Bildung* as a Realization
Studies of the Hero Archetype
— Till Neuhaus & Michaela Vogt
- 31 Wandel von Deutungsmustern in Lehrerkollegien –
Übergänge, Transitionen und das Problem
der Generationen
*Changing Patterns of Interpretation among Teaching Staff –
Transitions and the Problem of Generations*
— Wilfried Göttlicher
- 51 First Communion in Early Twentieth-century Italy:
a Rite of Passage within Childhood
— Paolo Alfieri
- 69 Einweihungszeremonien als Übergangsriten in jüdischer
Aufklärung und Reformbewegung. Drei Fallbeispiele
*Initiation Ceremonies as Rites of Transition in Jewish
Enlightenment and Reform Movement. Three Case Studies*
— Uta Lohmann
- 95 Tutors and Home Teachers – a Transitional Position
in the 19th Century
— Richard Pohle
- 113 Abnehmende Bedeutung des Übergangs zwischen
Kindes- und Jugendalter durch vermehrte
Lateinschulbildung im Mittelalter?
*Decreasing Importance of the Transition from Childhood
to Adolescence through Increased Latin Schooling in the Middle
Ages?*
— Christiane Richard-Elsner

**Studie
Studies**

- 131 A Woman in the Polish Model of Sex Education in the Stalinist and Post-Stalinist Period
— Dorota Pauluk
- 145 Museumspädagogik im digitalen Raum und die Pandemiezeit – ihre transitiven Prozesse und Rituale
Museum Education in the Digital Space and the Pandemic Period – its Transitive Processes and Rituals
— Katalin Kempf, Beatrix Vincze & András Németh
- 171 Obraz člověka a výchovy v Esejích Michela de Montaigne
The Concept of Man and Education in Michel de Montaigne's Essays
— Martin Strouhal

**Zprávy
Reports**

- 195 ISCHE 43 Milan. Histories of Educational Technologies. Cultural and Social Dimensions of Pedagogical Objects. Aims and Results
— Simonetta Polenghi & Anna Debè
- 199 Report from the General Conference ICOM
— Jakub Seiner
- 205 Zpráva o konferenci: 12. sjezd historiků České republiky. Několik zamyšlení nad postavením dějin vzdělanosti
— Jan Šimek, Petr Matějček & Tomáš Kasper

S Tutors and Home Teachers – a Transitional Position in the 19th Century

Richard Pohle^a

^a Halle-Wittenberg University, Department of History, Germany
richard.pohle@geschichte.uni-halle.de

Received 29 May 2022

Accepted 26 October 2022

Available online 31 December 2022

DOI 10.15240/tul/006/2022-2-005

This paper is a plea and an invitation not only to locate the tutor as a historical figure in the pre-modern period, but to explore him as an integral part of the private education market of the 19th and still early 20th century. To this end, it begins by considering why historical and pedagogical research has so far paid little attention to the continuing existence of this figure after 1800. It then discusses empirical approaches to this precarious phenomenon and the possibilities offered by accessing it through protestant candidates for pastorates.

Finally, using the advice literature, it attempts to show how the discursive processing of the home teacher experience as well as their social position changed in the course of the 19th century. As a transitional figure, both in biographical terms and in terms of pedagogical history, it can serve to open up the flourishing private education market of the 19th century and, what is more, to give contemporary homeschooling experiences a historical depth dimension.

Keywords historical socialisation research, candidates, educated bourgeoisie, homeschooling in the 19th/20th century, private education market, Francke Foundations

I. Introduction

Domestic tutors or home teachers (in German: “Hauslehrer”) populate the German-language novels and stories of the 19th century in abundance. As heroes and positive counter-images to both the old landed aristocracy and the new moneyed aristocracy, they are, as in Wilhelm Raabe’s *Hungerpastor* (1864), the often somewhat staid but characterful climbers into the bourgeois middle classes, for whom being a tutor is supposed to bridge the waiting period for office. Here they are positive examples of advancement: they master this transitional phase

with diligence, perseverance and moral integrity and develop into characters, even men, who are now worthy of marrying, if not the daughter of the aristocratic house, then at least that of the pastor and entering the longed-for pastorate. As caricatures, on the other hand, they are the praeceptors, often overtaxed by their pupils and the demands of their parents, whose stupidity (“Blödigkeit”) and clumsiness make them the laughing stock of every society and whose inability to put academic education and bourgeois virtues into the right relationship with each other means that they end up at best as village teachers or poor country pastors. But there are also the cautionary examples and downright *Problematic natures* (Spielhagen, 1860) in those texts, namely where intellectual arrogance is combined with weakness of character and the candidate takes his position as a tutor too lightly or even enters into erotic or financial adventures there – all this in any case regularly leads to downfall, whether on the barricade, in prison or by suicide.

As familiar as these literary types and constellations have been to us since Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz’s drama on *The Tutor* (1774), the novels of Raabe and others¹ and as well-known, even infamous, as the “perennial Saxon candidates” (“perennierende sächsische Predigtamtskandidaten”, Riehl, 1851, p. 299) were – especially in the years of academic overcrowding of the pre-March period – we actually know hardly anything about them in terms of social and educational history. Certainly, since Hartmut Titze’s (1990, 1997) work on education statistics in Prussia and the German Empire, we have known about the cyclical connections between the demand for jobs and the supply of pastor and teacher positions, about educational behavior and state control, about average waiting times and typical patterns of academic

1 Think first of Stendhal’s *The Red and the Black* (1830) or Berthold Auerbach’s *Das Landhaus am Rhein* (1869), but also of the many forgotten authors such as Robert Gieseke (*Moderne Titanen*, 1850), Marie Nathusius (*Die Geschichte von Christfried und Julchen*, 1858), Friedrich Spielhagen (*Problematische Naturen*, 1860), Hermann Presber (*Der Anempfinder*, 1862), Max Ring (*Ein moderner Abenteurer*, 1865), Ulrich von Baudessin (*Ein moderner Hauslehrer*, 1865), Karl Tiburtius (Kandidat Bangbüx, 1884) etc.

careers (Müller-Benedikt, Sander & Janssen, 2008). And even of the tasks and hardships of the German “court masters” (“Hofmeister”) in the late 18th century, we have at least more than an anecdotal impression through Ludwig Fertig’s source collections (Fertig, 1979). But just in the 19th century, in which the legions of precarious academics even grew periodically and pushed into this threshold position, and in which at the same time this form of private education came under increasing pedagogical and social pressure to legitimize itself and thus also had to assert itself theoretically or at least transform itself practically – for this 19th century, then, we actually know nothing about the tutor or home teacher and thus really about a threshold or transitional figure par excellence.

The following considerations should be an impetus and a plea to finally change this. Far from being able to present conclusive research results yet, the aim here is to offer some initial heuristic reflections on this transitional figure and to give an example of how it can be approached empirically beyond the merely anecdotal and literary evidence.

To this end, the research context will first be discussed as well as possible approaches to this phenomenon, which is precarious not only biographically but also in terms of the history of transmission. In a second step, we will then take a closer look at advice literature as a source genre whose task it was to give meaning to this transitional phase and to offer orientation in it.

II. Tutors in Context

Why historical educational research has so far been very reluctant to devote itself to home schooling, and even more so to that after 1800, is a matter of conjecture. The localisation of the phenomenon this side and beyond 1800 may have played a role here in terms of research pragmatics, as well as the strongly pronounced German state school tradition (Kluchert & Loeffelmeier, 2022, pp. 241–243), which has only recently taken greater account of the private education market with its French language (Rjéoutski & Tchoudinov, 2013, Rjéoutski, 2017) and music teachers (Roske, 1985) and with its many boarding schools

(Groppe, 2018; Tenorth, 2019; Gerster, 2021) – although there is still a lot of catching up to do here compared to other European countries (Delpiano & Sarti, 2007). And since tutors and their preferably rural-noble clientele fit neither the pedagogical progress narratives nor those of increasing professionalisation of the teaching staff (Apel et al, 1999), it becomes clear why Ludwig Fertig’s commendable collection of sources on “court masters” complained about the insufficient research, but the blurb (aimed at pedagogical common sense) stated just as bumpily as rigorously: “The national education plans that emerged around 1800, their clear tendency towards public, politically and socially viable virtues meant historically the final stroke under the history of the court master’s profession and the private, subjective instruction of children and adolescents, even though, in view of the emerging public school system, the institution of the private teacher was inherited in a literary and socially transfigured manner” (Fertig, 1979, without page). Whatever one is to understand here by “transfigured inheritance” (“verklärte Vererbung”), what is unmistakable is the “final stroke” drawn in 1800 – and if one assumes that it is the dust jackets that are actually read by books or that have a decisive influence on reading and reception, then it is this “final stroke” that sticks and is perpetuated in further research (e.g. Schmotz, 2011, p. 118).

However, because neither the jobless candidates for pastorates simply disappeared into thin air nor the socially differentiated expansion of the elementary or girls’ school system was able to keep pace with the theorisation of the history of education, the education market continued to flourish until the end of the Empire, although it was proportionally shrinking and changing. For this reason, a central placement agency, organised by the German pastoral associations (“Centralstelle der Kandidaten-Vermittlung der deutschen Pfarrervereine”), still published a weekly newsletter between 1893 and 1921 with corresponding vacancies and job applications (Theologischer Vakanzen-Anzeiger, 1893–1921). But if this educational and social figure continued to exist – and only for the Prussian province of Saxony, which is to be considered here as an example, more than thousand tutors can be recorded by name between 1813 and 1919 on the basis of the more recent

Pfarrerbücher der Kirchenprovinz Sachsen or parish registers (Albrecht-Birkner, 2003–2009) and the personnel files of the consistory (and that is without even taking into account the candidates who died before reaching their office, those who left or those who took up their posts in other provinces or outside Prussia) – then this also touches on current research perspectives in the history of education and social history, of which only two will be considered here in a rudimentary way:

An essential desideratum, namely the private education market and its embedding in regional education landscapes (Rutz, 2010), has already been indicated. In particular the central German education landscape, which is already recognisable in outlines for the 17th and 18th century (Bünz, 2004; Schmotz, 2010, pp. 353–367; Beckus, Grunewald & Rocher, 2019, pp. 23–70), represents an ideal field of investigation due to the socio-economic structure of the large (not only Eastelbian) estates and the supply of university graduates from Leipzig and Halle with the “Francke Foundations” (“*Franckesche Stiftungen*”) as a traditional place of teacher training and not least also of tutor placement especially in the pietist nobility. The source material available here is numerous and varied, ranging from applications and enquiries to placements and some genuine job advertisements (which were usually too expensive for the poor theologians) to the candidates’ annual reports in the personnel files of the Magdeburg consistory. In the synopsis of these sources, we can thereby reconstruct the typical age of the children in care and the defined educational goal (e.g. the entry of sons into the *Secunda* was often the case in the Pre-March-Period, later only into the *Quarta*), the range of offers and the mobility of the teachers responding to them, and finally the price level that mediated between them. And if we, for example, relate this to the school and pension fees of the prestigious “*Paedagogium Regium*” in Halle, whose aristocratic target group overlapped precisely with the clientele of domestic tutors, but which cost (for only one son) with 320–370 Thlr. p.a. twice as much as a home teacher (with an average of 120 to max. 200 Thlr p.a.), then its recurring problems with too few pupils become easier to explain (Niemeyer, 1831, p. 22).

Thus, while empirical access via Protestant candidates for the pastorate gives us access to significant segments of this educational market, it must also be clear which areas cannot be covered by it: the Catholic teachers, who were few in the Lutheran or Uniate province of Saxony anyway, and the Jewish tutors, who tended to be very young, are practically not covered by this, nor are the genuine philologists, for whom this transitional position was never a serious option due to the number of available jobs in regular schools. Above all, however, and this would be the fourth and certainly largest group of actors on this market, there is still no access to the women who had previously appeared as governesses and female educators (“Erzieherin”) (Hardach-Pinke, 1993), but from the 1890s also as tutors (“Hauslehrerin”), especially if they had already studied in Switzerland. Because, unlike in the German-speaking Baltic provinces of Russia, they did not register with the school board and provide information about their activities, there is little, and certainly no serial material, apart from isolated contracts, advertisements and business registrations. However, the later Reich statistics for 1933, which note that two thirds of the 11,000 private educators and tutors were women, indicate that they took over this occupational field at the latest with the First World War (Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1939, p. 36). Already in the Empire, these female tutors managed to organise a forum for themselves in educational journals such as *Cornelia*, in which they could exchange ideas and formulate common interests – a step that the men were only able to take in 1848 and only in the district of Saxony, because they always hoped for the end of this transitional position and the longed-for office, no matter how precarious their situation might be.

If, however, the position of tutor was for a long time just that, namely not a life profession but a specific transitional position, then it also becomes interesting – and this would be the second perspective – for historical socialisation research (see Kluchert & Gippert, 2022). If we turn the perspective around and look not at pupils and parents but at the teachers themselves as learners, to whom the court master’s time in the 18th century was supposed to impart the “bonhomistic”

education and worldly wisdom that actually held the educated classes (“gebildete Stände”) together, then this also opens up a new approach to the history of the mentality of the educated middle classes in the long 19th century. In the 1930s Hans Gerth had already asked about the sociological connection of this precarious life situation with early liberal ideas and about the institutional consequences of these “pedagogical Freischar” (1935/1976). And in a similar vein, Hartmut Titzze had suspected that the humiliating experiences of many candidates might have had far-reaching consequences in terms of the history of mentality, spiritual history, or the history of piety (1990, p. 47) – and we still consider this a worthwhile line of inquiry too (Pohle, 2019).

For example, the recurring public debates about the need and, even more so, the abundance of candidates provide information about the bourgeoisie’s willingness to integrate downward, to deal with social climbers, and thus not least about their own self-image as an “educated class”. In addition, of course, the way the candidates themselves dealt with this precarious situation can be considered. Here, for example, the candidates’ letters to the directors of the “Francke Foundations” are particularly promising because they played an important role in the placement of tutors. Similarly promising with regard to reflecting on one’s own situation are likely to be the minutes of candidates’ meetings or else the annual reports in the files of the consistory, which, in addition to numerous complaints about the workload as a tutor, also contain reading plans, trial sermons and catecheses, i.e. religious education drafts from precisely this time of transition, which can be traced here in a long arc.

Of particular interest in the context of our considerations, however, are the guidebooks and manuals that attempted to provide the candidate with educational aids and orientation about what to expect and what to ask for in the home – but whose task was equally (and perhaps primarily) to give meaning to this transitional phase by attributing specific educational experiences to this period and emphasizing its importance in the acquisition of the “official habitus,” character, or masculinity.

III. Guidebooks in Transition

These handbooks, pamphlets and guidebooks for self-understanding, which were mostly written by former, but occasionally also active tutors, appeared at regular intervals from the end of the 18th century until the 1920s, in line with the economic cycles of the private education market and have not yet been specifically analyzed. As with other guidebooks, the appeal of this type of source is to compare them synchronically and diachronically and to relate the changes in emphasis and presentation to changing social problems (see last the discussion at Schmid, Sauerbrey & Grosskopf, 2019, and Nicke, 2022, pp. 96–106) – and in our case that means to question them with regard to changing needs for orientation in a constantly precarious transitional phase.

Around 1800, despite the public debates about the advantages and disadvantages of private education since the end of the 18th century (like in Campe's *Allgemeiner Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*; see Crome, 1788), the domestic tutor or home teacher was still the subject of the major pedagogical drafts, in which, it cannot be emphasised enough, it was precisely not the school but individual education and home teaching that formed the foil of all pedagogical thinking. August Hermann Niemeyer's *Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* (Niemeyer, 1796), which Ludwig Fertig quite rightly described as “a kind of encyclopaedia and inventory of the pedagogical self-understanding of an entire epoch” (1979, 80; cf. most recently Koerrenz, 2019), with its systematic reflections as well as its practical advice on education and behaviour in the home, was explicitly addressed to “parents, home teachers and educators” (“für Eltern, Hauslehrer und Erzieher”). This subtitle was not changed until the third edition of 1799, where first the “schoolmen” were included (“für Eltern, Hauslehrer und Schulmänner”) and a chapter on schools was added. This shows that pedagogical theory here was still entirely focused on the individual interaction between educator and pupil, and there was as yet little focus on institutionalizing this interaction.

In the same vein, Johann Friedrich Herbart in his “General Pedagogy” always had in mind the individual relationship between pupil and educator and not the school, which is why he still in 1810 defended

the transitional position of the home teacher as the actual school of education and the later vicarage as well:

“The educator does his actual schooling as a home teacher for one or two pupils of almost the same age. Whoever has a pedagogical artistic profession must in the small, dark room in which he perhaps at first feels himself enclosed, soon become so bright and so wide that he finds in it the whole of pedagogy, with all its considerations and conditions, which it is a truly immeasurable task to satisfy. No matter how learned he may be, the circle of his knowledge must disappear in comparison with all the knowledge from which he should have to choose in order to select the most appropriate for his pupil. Be he strong and flexible at the same time: nevertheless, the strength and flexibility which he would need in order to perfectly control and spare the various moods of his charge must appear ideal to him. The house, with all its conditions and surroundings, must become infinitely estimable to him, provided it cooperates helpfully, and what is lacking in cooperation he must miss in order to learn to wish for it.”

(Herbart, 1851, p. 374, transl. R. P.)²

2 „Seine eigentliche Schule macht der Erzieher als Hauslehrer, für einen, oder zwei Zöglinge von beinahe gleichem Alter. Wer pädagogischen Künstlerberuf hat, dem muss es in dem kleinen, dunkeln Raume, in welchem er vielleicht Anfangs sich eingeschlossen fühlt, bald so hell und so weit werden, dass er darin die ganze Pädagogik findet, mit allen ihren Rücksichten und Bedingungen, welchem Genüge zu leisten eine wahrhaft unermessliche Arbeit ist. Sei er noch so gelehrt, der Kreis seines Wissens muss ihm verschwinden gegen all das Wissen, worunter er zu wählen haben sollte, um für seinen Zögling das angemessenste auszuheben. Sei er stark und biegsam zugleich: dennoch muss ihm die Stärke und die Biegsamkeit, die er nötig hätte, um die verschiedenen Stimmungen seines Anvertrauten vollkommen zu beherrschen und zu schonen, idealisch erscheinen. Das Haus mit allen seinen Verhältnissen und Umgebungen, muss ihm unendlich schätzbar werden, sofern es hilfreich mitwirkt, und was an der Mitwirkung fehlt, das muss er vermissen, um es herbeiwünschen zu lernen.“

To find the “whole of pedagogy”, which here around 1800 meant to fully internalize the scientific system of education, is the idealistic goal that the manuals promised candidates to achieve. This is also reminiscent of Hegel’s “Cunning of Reason”, even if in this period the tutors and home teachers could still be regarded as an “invisible church” and agents in the service of the Enlightenment and bourgeois morality (Warum sind die meisten Hauslehrer Theologen, 1798, p. 313), who were not only to educate the children in the higher families, but also – as the Pietists had long hoped anyway – to exert their “moral power” on the rest of the family (Harnisch, 1817 and 1865, p. 168).

In the 1830s and 1840s, when the surplus on the academic job market, especially among theologians, led to a strong increase in the demand for house teacher positions, and with it the discussion about how to deal with this precarious transitional figure, the market for literature on house teachers and candidates also increased again. Not only did journals and church newspapers once again publish an increasing number of texts lamenting the plight of candidates and offering advice on how those who were unable to secure one of the rare places at the Wittenberg seminary should best use their time as home teachers for their own education. But also corresponding pamphlets and manuals appeared again in greater numbers. The texts by Dalmer (1844), Ysemer (1843), Fricke (1841) or those “50 Questions to and for Home Teachers” (1829) were then often about stabilising the candidates’ self-image, which was threatened by existential and status anxiety. Here, as with Dalmer, the usefulness of being a tutor or home teacher is emphasised for almost all aspects of later office: this ranges from knowledge of the rural population and their piety to dealing with church patrons and nobles to practical questions of agriculture, school supervision, later office management and catechesis. But not only is the usefulness of this transitional period emphasised in this sense, but the time of the home teacher is itself already understood as part of this office, which was also upgraded in the spirit of neo-Lutheranism (Pohle, 2019, pp. 155–163). Fittingly, the political addressee, i.e., the instance from which one hoped for a change in the general situation, is no longer bourgeois society or the general reason represented by it with its hidden Hegelian

“cunning”. For now it is the church and the state that are asked for support, especially in Ysemer and Dalmer, which in turn fits well with the observed alienation of the pastorates from the values and lifeworld of the higher and “educated classes” (Janz, 1994). Incidentally, the right pedagogical attitude and a comprehensive knowledge of methods are given more weight here, whereby the emphasis on the difficulty of attaining both was often at the same time intended as a warning not to follow them on the difficult path and thus not to increase the rush for the few vacant pastor positions for which most home teachers were waiting.

In the 1850s and 1860s, there were hardly any new manuals or handbooks, but the discourse shifted further into the magazines as well as into light literature and the contemporary novels, in which the hardships of the candidates were now dealt with and which thus at least give a good picture of the perception of the tutor problem. In these stories and novels, the tutor was initially portrayed as an unflattering figure, conspicuous above all for his ridiculousness, whose awkwardness and “stupidity” were intended to mark the unbridgeable gulf between the educated classes and the socially upwardly mobile. But there was also the positive “Bildungsroman” mentioned at the beginning, in which, as in Raabe (1864), the development of a specifically bourgeois personality is shown or, as in Gieseke (1850), the tutor is immediately stylised as a “modern titan” in view of the difficulty of his task.

In the Empire and especially from the 1890s onwards, the discourse flared up again, but at the same time became more differentiated. There were various idylls of home teachers and published memoirs of old pastors, which can be read in the context of the crisis of the Protestant parsonage and its stylisation as a “place of memory” (Janz, 2003, Weichlein, 2010). But there are also numerous guidebooks, in which not only the discourse of overcrowding played a role, but also the challenge of pedagogical professionalisation and, last but not least, the arrival of women in this professional field. The answers of these advisors can hardly be reduced to a simple typology, but it is noticeable that: (1.) the idea and production of masculinity and personality

play an important role with regard to the pupils as well as the tutors (Haase, 1900); and in contrast to the first half of the 19th century, it is no longer primarily a matter of being perceived as an “educated man” or a prospective official, but rather as a “whole man”, as a “round” and non-alienated personality (Roehl, 1929, pp. 8, 12, 25). Then (2.) it should be noted that the nobility was identified as a political addressee, i.e. that here the connection to the discourses of the new nobility at the turn of the century was sought and the nobility was addressed as a potential ally and provider of well-equipped positions (e.g. in Böttner, 1897, pp. 33–44 and Haase, 1900, p. 64). And finally (3.) it is noticeable that the home teacher was also designed here as a counter-image to modernity, be it that a “Wartburg period” was promised here for the faith and character of the candidate plagued by inner crises in the city and university (Böttner, 1897, pp. 48–50), be it that here, as propagated by Gerhard Roehl in the 1920s, redemption from the one-sidedness of city life and headiness was possible at all, indeed that the pedagogue could virtually become a “redeemer” (Roehl, 1927, 1929, p. 13).

If one surveys the guidebook literature of this century, then the primary concern was always to impart basic knowledge and examples of elementary education to the mostly pedagogically inexperienced candidate (along with timetables and numerous references to textbooks, atlases, introductions, etc.). At the same time, however, and we could even say primarily, they aimed at the candidate himself, since in the course of the century there was less and less talk of the child, and all the more of the difficulties of the teacher in the social structure of the home and village – and the later texts also reflect this: because the children were younger and only taught at home until about confirmation (with 12 to 14 years), and the home teacher increasingly became a school companion, it was no longer necessary to dabble in all the sciences as in the 18th century, but could concentrate on methods, on oneself and the development of one’s personality.

As teaching textbooks in a double sense, these were thus not only intended to serve home schooling, but also to help the often socially advanced candidates safely through the precarious years of transition

by trying to help them achieve a reasonably stable role image for this time and a corresponding (official) habitus for the time afterwards. That these role models and the orientation associated with them adapted to the challenges of society and that the job profile (and with it the demands of the parents, the expectations of the candidates, etc.) changed, can be assumed in view of at least three major shifts that are also reflected in the literature on home teachers. There was (1.) the dissolution of the “whole house” and the also semantically accompanied transition from the (noble) “court-master” (“Hofmeister”) to the merely employed tutor (“Hauslehrer”) around 1800, which is already documented in the importance that was now attached to the written contracts by employer and tutor. This was followed by (2.) the glaring disproportion between educational patent and social status in the pre-March period, which increasingly distanced the tutor from the “educated classes” (“gebildete Stände”) and made him look for other anchors of stability (such as the Lutheran revalued “office”). And finally (3.) there was the shift in the occupational field of home education around 1900, when the “modern” home teacher who learned from “life for life” (Haase, 1900) was propagated and the competition of academically or more highly educated female home teachers became palpable, who, unlike the men, did not strive for this profession as a threshold profession, but as a life profession, and who therefore reflexively triggered discussions among the men about closing off and upgrading the profession.

IV. Conclusion

The history of the threshold pedagogical institution described here, and thus the transformation from the court master of the late 18th century to the “modern tutor” of the early 20th century, has not yet been written. At best, this paper has attempted to justify why it might be worthwhile to examine this figure and thus a segment of the educational market that was still important for the entire 19th century. To this end, we have argued that it would be most promising to take the group of pastoral candidates as the basis of analysis if one wants to measure the extent of this phenomenon empirically. The limits of such a procedure

are clear: the focus is primarily on Protestant areas or provinces such as the “Central German educational landscape”, because only here the offer of young theologians who were not provided for met a broad local demand, as well as traditional career ideas and well-established patterns of distribution. Comparable areas outside of Prussia for the long 19th century were at most the Russian Baltic Sea provinces, where the German tutors played an important role in the cultural self-assertion of the Courland nobility (Mesenhöller, 2009) and, in addition, the official registration provided a reasonably precise profile of the private education market allowed. Although Catholic, Jewish and female tutors are not only, but also in Prussia, a size that is difficult to grasp, this path remains the most promising way of gaining empirically secured access to – at least – the majority of tutors and their stations and experiences during this transitional period to obtain an office.

The handbooks for tutors, which we considered in a second step, then formed a discursively mediated access to these experiences and the underlying changes in the social position in the household and society. These manuals could also only be looked at in broad terms and in rudimentary form here. A more in-depth examination of this type of source, which has been neglected by historical research so far, could further underpin the observations and turning points presented here and relate the discursive change even more closely to the challenges posed by “professional”, philological-pedagogical tutors and especially by female teachers striving to enter this field.

Research into these often depressing experiences and how to deal with them, which has been advocated here, could finally benefit from the fact that homeschooling has recently received an unexpected topicality. And if the last two Covid-19 years and the resulting school closures have been good for something, then perhaps for the fact that at least the world of the tutors and home teachers should have moved a little closer to us and a historical perspective on their and our own experience therefore may not be unrequested.

Literature – Primary Sources

- ALBRECHT, 1874. Der Hauslehrer wie er ist und wie er sein soll. *Cornelia* 21, pp. 134–147.
- ANON, 1798. Warum sind die meisten Hauslehrer Theologen? *Der Kosmopolit. Eine Monathsschrift zur Beförderung wahrer und allgemeiner Humanität* 3, pp. 313–324.
- ANON, 1829. *Fünzig Fragen an und für Hauslehrer und solche, die es werden wollen, ganz besonders wichtig aber auch für alle, welche Hauslehrer halten*. Neustadt a. d. Orla.
- BÖTTNER, Theodor, 1897. *Der häusliche Unterricht und die häusliche Erziehung. Ein Buch für Hauslehrer, Erzieherinnen und Eltern*. Leipzig.
- CROME, Friedrich August, 1788. Über die Erziehung durch Hauslehrer.
In: CAMPE, Johann Heinrich (Ed.). *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens von einer Gesellschaft praktischer Erzieher*. Vol 10. Wien, Braunschweig, pp. 1–161.
- DALMER, Carl Eduard Friedrich, 1844. *Der Candidat als Hauslehrer. Auch Eltern dargeboten, welche eines Hauslehrers bedürfen*. Stralsund.
- FRICKE, Friedrich Wilhelm, 1841. *Praktische Pädagogik für Hauslehrer oder die häusliche Erziehung und Lehrmethodik*. Weimar.
- GISEKE, Robert, 1850. *Moderne Titanen. Ein Roman der Gegenwart*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- HAASE, Karl, 1900. *Der moderne Hauslehrer. eine gesellschaftliche und pädagogische Studie*. Hannover, Berlin.
- HARNISCH, Wilhelm, 1817. *Das Leben des fünfzigjährigen Hauslehrers Felix Kaskorbi oder die Erziehung in Staaten, Ständen und Lebensverhältnissen. Ein Nutzbuch den guten, ein Trutzbuch den schlechten Eltern, den Hauslehrern und ihren Herren ein Spiegel, allen Erziehern und Lehrern ein Handweiser, und manchen Staatsbeamten eine Warnungstafel*. Vol. 2, Breslau.
- HARNISCH, Wilhelm, 1865. *Mein Lebensmorgen. Nachgelassene Schrift. Zur Geschichte der Jahre 1787–1822*. (Ed. Schmieder, Heinrich Eduard). Berlin: Hertz.
- HERBART, Johann Friedrich, 1810. Über Erziehung unter öffentlicher Mitwirkung.
In: HERBART. *Sämmtliche Werke*. (Ed. by Gustav Hartenstein). Vol. 11/2, Schriften zur Pädagogik, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 367–377.
- NIEMEYER, August Hermann, 1796. *Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts. Für Eltern, Hauslehrer und Erzieher*. Halle (Saale).
- NIEMEYER, Hermann Agathon, 1831. *Kurzer Bericht von der Verfassung, dem Unterricht und den Kosten im Königlichen Pädagogium zu Halle*. Halle (Saale).
- RAABE, Wilhelm, 1864. *Der Hungerpastor. Ein Roman in 3 Bänden*. Berlin: Janke.
- RIEHL, Wilhelm Heinrich, 1851. *Die bürgerliche Gesellschaft*. Stuttgart, Tübingen.

- ROEHL, Gerhard, 1927. Pestalozzi und die Hauslehrer. *Die neue Erziehung* 9, pp. 853–857.
- ROEHL, Gerhard, 1929. *Der Hauslehrer. Eine Berufsstudie*, Berlin (Die Neue Erziehung Beihefte 5).
- SPIELHAGEN, Friedrich, 1861. *Problematische Naturen*. Vol. 3. Berlin.
- Theologischer Vakanzen-Anzeiger für Geistliche und Candidaten wie für das Pfarrhaus, 1893–1921. Ed. Centralstelle der Candidaten-Vermittlung der deutschen Pfarrervereine. Dieskau (Halle/Saale): Pasche.
- YSEMER, Franz Theodor, 1843. *Der Predigants-Kandidaten Noth und Klage. Ein Sendschreiben an die Evangelische Kirche des Preußischen Staates*. Berlin.

Literature

- ALBRECHT-BIRKNER, Veronika, 2003–2009. *Pfarrerbuch der Kirchenprovinz Sachsen*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlags-Anstalt. ISBN 9783374035700.
- APEL, Hans Jürgen, HORN, Klaus Peter, LUNDGREEN, Peter & SANDFUCHS, Uwe (eds.), 1999. *Professionalisierung pädagogischer Berufe im historischen Prozeß*. Bad Heilbrunn/Obb. Klinkhardt. ISBN 9783781509955.
- BECKUS, Paul, GRUNEWALD, Grunewald & ROCHER, Michael (eds.), 2019. *Niederadel im mitteldeutschen Raum (um 1700–1806)*. Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag. ISBN 978-3-96311-152-5.
- BÜNZ, Enno 2004. Die mitteldeutsche Bildungslandschaft am Ausgang des Mittelalters. In: FLÖTHER, Jonas & WARTENBERG, Günther. *Die sächsischen Fürsten- und Landesschulen*. Leipzig: Leipziger Univ.-Verlag, pp 39–71. ISBN 9783937209463.
- DELPINO, Patrizia & RAFFAELLA, Sarti (eds.), 2007. Servants, Domestic Workers and Children. The Role of Domestic Personnel in the Upbringing and Education of the Master's and Employer's Children from the Sixteenth to Twenty-first Centuries. *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education* 43,4. Philadelphia. ISSN 0030-9230.
- GERSTER, Daniel, 2021. „Hinaus aus dieser Pestluft, diesem Höllenpfehl!“ Großstadtleben und Internatserziehung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert – eine Spurensuche am Beispiel Hamburg. In: Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg ed. *Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg*, 2020. Hamburg, pp. 96–116. ISSN 2366-6412.
- GERTH, Hans, 1935 (1975). *Die sozialgeschichtliche Lage der bürgerlichen Intelligenz um die Wende des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ISBN 9783666359705).
- HARDACH-PINKE, Irene, 1993. *Die Gouvernante. Geschichte eines Frauenberufs*. Frankfurt/M.: Campus. ISBN 9783593349299.

- GROPPE, Carola, 2018. *Im deutschen Kaiserreich. Eine Bildungsgeschichte des Bürgertums 1871–1918*. Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau. ISBN 978-3-412-50058-0.
- JANZ, Oliver, 1994. *Bürger besonderer Art. Evangelische Pfarrer in Preußen 1850–1914*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter. ISBN 3-11-014140-X.
- JANZ, Oliver, 2003. Das evangelische Pfarrhaus als deutscher Erinnerungsort. *Jahrbuch für Berlin-Brandenburgische Kirchengeschichte* 64, pp. 86–103. ISSN 0075-2568.
- KLUCHERT, Gerhard & LOEFFELMEIER, Rüdiger, 2022. Schule. In: KLUCHERT, Gerhard, HORN, Klaus-Peter, GROPPE, Carola & CARUSO, Marcelo (eds.). *Historische Bildungsforschung. Konzepte – Methoden – Forschungsfelder*. Bad Heilbrunn, pp. 232–254. ISBN 9783825255633.
- KLUCHERT, Gerhard & GIPPERT, Wolfgang 2022. Historische Sozialisationsforschung. In: KLUCHERT, Gerhard, HORN, Klaus-Peter, GROPPE, Carola & CARUSO, Marcelo (eds.). *Historische Bildungsforschung. Konzepte – Methoden – Forschungsfelder*. Bad Heilbrunn, pp. 43–57. ISBN 9783825255633.
- MESENHÖLLER, Mathias, 2009. *Ständische Modernisierung. Der Kurländische Ritterschaftsadel 1760–1830*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. ISBN 978-3-05-004478-1.
- MÜLLER-BENEDICT, Volker, SANDER Tobias & JANSSEN Jörg, 2008. *Akademische Karrieren in Preußen und Deutschland 1850–1940. Datenhandbuch zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte 6*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. ISBN 9780525363736.
- NICKE, Sascha, 2022. *Identitätskultur im langen 19. Jahrhundert Vorstellungen vom Einzelnen und Individualität im Erziehungsratgeberdiskurs zwischen 1750–1900*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht ISBN 978-3-8471-1363-8.
- POHLE, Richard, 2019. Im Fegefeuer des bürgerlichen Charakters. Preußische Hauslehrer zwischen akademischem Proletariat und dem „Himmel des Amtes“. In: HETTLING, Manfred & POHLE, Richard (eds.). *Bürgertum. Bilanzen, Perspektiven, Begriffe*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 137–165. ISBN 9783525310809.
- RJÉOUTSKI, Vladislav Stanislavovič & TCHOUDINOV, Alexandre (eds.), 2013. *Le précepteur francophone en Europe: XVIIe – XIXe siècles*, Paris. ISBN 978234002002.
- RJÉOUTSKI, Vladislav Stanislavovič (ed.), 2017. *Quand le français gouvernait la Russie. L'éducation de la noblesse russe 1750–1880*, Paris. ISBN 9782343085401.
- ROSKE, Michael, 1985. *Sozialgeschichte des privaten Musiklehrers vom 17. zum 19. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt/M.: Schott. ISBN 9783795717421.
- RUTZ, Andreas (ed.), 2010. *Das Rheinland als Schul- und Bildungslandschaft (1250–1750)*. Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau. ISBN 978-3-412-20335-1.

- SCHMID, Michaela, SAUERBREY, Ulf & GROSSKOPF, Steffen (eds.), 2019. *Ratgeberforschung in der Erziehungswissenschaft. Grundlagen und Reflexionen*. Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt.
- SCHMOTZ, Theresa, 2011. Hauslehrer im Leipzig der Frühen Neuzeit. In: DÖRING, Detlef & FLÖTER, Jonas (eds.). *Schule in Leipzig. Aspekte einer achthundertjährigen Geschichte*. Leipzig, pp. 99–118. ISBN 9783865835505.
- Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich, 1939/40. Ed. Statistisches Reichsamt. Vol. 58. Berlin.
- TENORTH, Heinz Elmar, 2019. Internate in ihrer Geschichte. Zur Historiographie einer Bildungswelt. *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 66,2, pp. 160–181. ISSN 0514-2717.
- TITZE, Hartmut, 1990. *Der Akademikerzyklus. Historische Untersuchungen über die Wiederkehr von Überfüllung und Mangel in akademischen Karrieren*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. ISBN 9783525362242.
- TITZE, Hartmut, 1997. Überfüllung und Mangel im evangelischen Pfarramt seit dem ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert. In: SCHORN-SCHÜTTE, Luise & SPARN, Walter (ed.). *Evangelische Pfarrer. Zur sozialen und politischen Rolle einer bürgerlichen Gruppe in der deutschen Gesellschaft des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart, pp. 56–76. ISBN 9783170144040.
- WEICHLIN, Siegfried, 2010. Pfarrhaus. In: MARKSCHIES, Christoph & WOLF, Hubert (eds.). *Erinnerungsorte des Christentums*. München: C.H.Beck, pp. 642–653. ISBN 978-3-406-60500-0.