Romanian Journal of Population Studies

Vol. XV, No. 1
January - June 2021

Special issue: **"Orphanhood in East-Central and South-Eastern Europe (18th-20th Century)"**

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Kušniráková, I. (2019). *Za bránami sirotincov. Počiatky ústavnej starostlivosti o osirelé deti v Uhorsku (1750 – 1815).* [Behind the Orphanages Gates. The Care for Children in the First Hungarian Orphanages (1750 – 1815)]. Bratislava: VEDA vydavateľstvo SAV, Historický ústav SAV, 304 p. ISBN 978-80-224-1794-5.

Kušniráková, I, Mannová, E. (2020). „*Zabrániť bahnu morálneho rozkladu.*" *Starostlivosť o osirelé deti v Uhorsku / na Slovensku do roku 1945*. ["Preventing the Cesspool of Moral Decay." Care for Orphans in the Kingdom of Hungary / Slovakia before 1945.]. Bratislava: VEDA vydavateľstvo SAV, Historický ústav SAV, 2020. 536 p. ISBN 978-80-224-1858-4. (reviewed by: Eva Mârza Selecká).

Special Issue: Orphanhood in East-Central and South-Eastern Europe (18th-20th Century)

Guest editors' note*

This double special issue (vol. I and II/2021) of the *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* brings together several studies on broader or narrower topics, which converge into a multifaceted inquiry into the historical experience of orphanhood in various regions in East-Central and South-Eastern Europe.

The first part of the special issue, which we are delighted to introduce here, ranges in focus from Dualist Hungary, with an emphasis on Transylvania (Gál, Dumănescu and Hegedűş), Southern Transdanubia (Koloh), to Bohemia (Halířová) and Greece (Karakatsani and Nikolopoulou). The studies are also complemented by a review of two different works dealing more broadly with orphanhood in the Kingdom of Hungary and Slovakia (Mârza Selecká on Kušniráková/ Kušniráková and Mannova). Despite their variety, the studies are linked by several common threads, which exceed any supposed commonality arising from a shared geographical or political setting. The first of these threads, woven into the narratives discussed by Gál, Halířová, Karakatsani and Nikolopoulou, concerns the variety of forms and tasks of orphaned childrens' institutionalisation. On the one hand, all three studies examine what institutionalisation meant for orphans, abandoned children, or children who for various reasons (including political turmoil) needed to leave the household and family in order to be relocated to a safer, organized haven.

Likewise, the authors explore the different shapes assumed by the institutionalisation of orphans, in three different milieus. As Gál shows for Transylvania during Dualism, fostering through the State Children's Asylums was built into a system that worked to achieve two different goals: first, it alleviated pressure from institutions that would have needed to actually house, feed, and care for children – traditional, mostly confessional orphanages – , and second, it made it possible to disrupt local identities and ties in favour of raising children as citizens of particular state first and as members of a particular ethnic-cultural community second.

This same point is echoed by Karakatsani and Nikolopoulou, who explore so-called "Childtowns" in Greece during the Civil War and their main goal, beyond the stated protection of children during tumultuous times: to "imbue" children with a "national ideology" and a "common culture" regarded as necessary for the preservation of the national well-being.

Thus, while infant mortality explicitly moved the state to establish children's asylums and the foster system in Dualist Hungary and the danger posed by war was at the forefront of Greek authorities' concerns in designing the *Paidopoleis*, these processes were never entirely devoid of other ideological concerns.

Institutionalisation proper is also examined apart from the reasons invoked by the state for designing a particular system. Despite the difficulties entailed by reconstructing what this might have meant for children passing through foster families and orphanages, thus raising methodological questions that are echoed throughout the literature concerning the historical experiences of children, the studies collected in this special issue manage to find a wide range of sources to shed light on this matter. Both Karakatsani and Nikolopoulou on the one hand, and Halířová on the other, examine various regulations for the raising of (orphan) children in institutional contexts, highlighting for instance the emphasis placed on public ceremony and the wearing of a particular type of clothing to demonstrate wards' belonging to a certain institutional milieu. Moreover, the same authors integrate into the discussion valuable points from contemporary pedagogical-national discourse, which actively helped shape welfare and educational policies in these frameworks. In addition, Karakatsani and Nikolopoulou as well as Gál resort to more narrative sources, such as "published testimonies of children who experienced life in these institutions" (*m.n. Childtowns)* or reports made by colony supervisors, mostly women, who were mandated to periodically inspect orphanages in Transylvania during the first decades of the twentieth century.

The wide range of sources and approaches employed by the authors whose works we collect in the present issue is complemented by a perspective that shifts between urban and rural, beyond the dichotomy of forms of institutionalisation. Gábor Koloh's study provides a detailed examination of the financial situation of orphans' estates in a microregion in Southern Transdanubia during the 19th century, again part of the Kingdom of Hungary during Dualism. Veering more strongly into the realm of family history, Koloh looks at "the operation of family systems and forms of community assistance" through the lens of provisions made for orphans in various modes of familial existence. The same study emphasizes the resulting tendency to put land and thus economic resilience first, through the preservation of "farming units",

even for families formed after remarriage. Both the contribution by Koloh and that by Dumănescu and Hegedűs show the importance of tackling what might at first glance appear as "dry" financial and legal documents pertaining to the management of orphans' estates. Again, echoing previous literature, in both cases the authors draw attention to the profound importance of considering social-economic status and what may broadly be construed as social class in discussing the historical experiences of children, which can only be fragmentarily conveyed by legal or financial documents. As Gál and Dumănescu and Hegedűs show, being an orphan in Dualist Hungary often meant having to work for one's living, sometimes having to navigate a difficult relationship with one's foster parents or guardian, living under conditions that were supervised only to a certain extent by higher authorities.

The resulting kaleidoscopic image drawn from these related but nevertheless different geographical and political regions, based on a myriad of sources and approaches, should help shed increased light on the historical experiences and challenges faced by orphans in East-Central and South-Eastern Europe. Most of all, through the current special issue, we hope to open up an avenue of productive dialogue between different regions in these areas, which should highlight key topics in the study of historical orphanhood.

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Raised by Strangers: A Childhood in State Care in Dualist Transylvania

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Abstract: The extremely high infant mortality rate among illegitimate children in Hungary motivated the state to create the legal framework of the Hungarian child protection system in 1901. Through the State Children's Asylums, it offered care for abandoned children from infancy up to 15 years by placing them to foster parents for monthly payments. Many were born out of wedlock and abandoned in infancy, but parents facing financial difficulties could also admit their offspring. According to statistics many children were retrieved by their biological parents. Foster families were selected to fulfil certain criteria, could be changed and controlled; nevertheless, there were abuses, and work exploitation was common among older children. Despite the cases of bad treatment and the fortunate cases of integration in the foster family, most foster parents offered the physical requirements of growing up in decent living conditions.

Keywords: asylum, childhood, foster parents, abandonment.

Mothers had to say goodbye to their children when admitted in the State Children's Asylums of dualist Hungary. As the state envisaged to raise them in an ideal foster family, the separation of children (except infants) from their parents and relatives was one of the most controversial rules of the state child welfare system. Nevertheless, parents didn't lose their parental rights and could retrieve the child at any time. During state care, children were often separated from their siblings as well, triggering fear, rebellion and the search for possibilities of running away.

In his autobiographical novel, *Sáncalja[1],* István Nagy, a novelist born in Cluj/Kolozsvár (1904) recalls his own experience in the Cluj Children's Asylum, where he was admitted as a war orphan along with his four siblings. Once inside the institution, they were undressed, examined, washed, had a haircut, and received new clothing. After a few days in the institution, they were taken by train to the settlement, where the soon-to-be foster mothers waited for the "shipment," and the first month's payment in advance, after picking a child. The narrator recreates a scene, where the officer had to make order between the impatient women: "*Don't trample on each other. There are enough children for everyone. They didn't call off the war yet*" (Nagy 1968: 344, 341−347). He remembers this episode as a traumatic event accompanied by fear and anxiety, culminating in the separation from his siblings.

The aim of this paper is to present some aspects of a childhood in foster care under the supervision of the State Children's Asylums of Hungary, from their establishment in 1903 until the end of the First World War. I will focus on dualist Transylvania, invoking examples from other parts of the country as well. The history of childhood, the life-course of orphans raised the interest of many scholars. In past times, being raised outside the parental home was not unusual. Orphans for example were often cared for by close relatives. In their teenage years, many children left the parental home for boarding schools, to train for crafts, or work as agricultural servants and housemaids. The so-called *state children* were raised by strangers from an early age in exchange for monthly payments, often lacking parental affection. Although there was a great variety between state children, most were illegitimate, unwanted and abandoned by their own mothers, which affected the public perception of the entire category. In the vernacular language they were called *foundlings*, associated with a pejorative content. Finally, they were subjected to the political interests of state and were raised accordingly. These factors influenced the experience of childhood, controlled and regulated by the newly founded State Children's Asylums of Hungary.

The state child welfare system in dualist Hungary

The child protection laws of 1901 created the legal framework of the State Children's Asylums (Act 8/1901, 21/1901), which was applied from 1903, when the Regulation on the protection of abandoned children was issued (Ordinance 1/1903, Ministry of Interior). The intention of the state was to

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[1] "Sáncalja" was the name of the present day Cetăţuia hill in Cluj, in the 19th century inhabited by poor families living in small houses often carved in the sandstone of the hillside. The author was born and spent his childhood there.

overcome the extremely high infant mortality, especially among illegitimate children, and raise them into respectful, loyal and hard-working citizens. According to the Child Protection Act, children declared abandoned would be cared for at the expense of the state until the age of seven. Afterwards the locality of origin was obliged to bear the childcare costs until age 15, which resulted in many complaints from local officials (Gyáni 1999; Zimmermann 2011: 48−56). Older children were often placed as apprentices to learn a craft. The Regulations outlined how the law should be implemented, starting with the definition of the abandoned child, the attributions of the asylum personnel, the conduct and obligations of the foster parents.

There were 18 such institutions throughout Hungary. In Transylvania there were only two, one in Cluj and one in Târgu Mureș/Marosvásárhely, built in 1903−1904. The central institutions were merely a temporary accommodation for children and a hospital for the sick. Children of all ages were placed in foster care for a monthly payment. Foster parents were selected from easily-accessible villages and towns where at least 30 families offered for foster care and where the local community showed interest in child protection. They were called *colonies*. Families needed to match certain criteria to qualify as a foster parent, such as being respectful citizens, with the ability to raise a child in decent living conditions. The state children and their foster parents were regularly supervised by colony doctors, later colony supervisors, and once a year the head doctor of the institution. Colony supervisors were generally women, who received special training organised by the asylum. The first colony inspector was trained and employed in 1906 at the initiative of Sándor Szana, the director of the Timișoara asylum. In a few years the training of colony supervisors became regular and they were employed in every asylum of the country (Ruffy 1908: 423−424; Szana 1909: 49−51).

There was a very big variety among the clientele of the asylum. A child could be declared *abandoned* by the Guardianship Authority, if he or she was a foundling or couldn't be properly raised by parents, relatives or any welfare institution. This offered parents in deep poverty the possibility to put their children in state care until they remediated the cause of abandonment. Widows and widowers also sought help in the asylum, if they were unable to tend for their children and work at the same time. There were also children who required special care, such as the physically disabled or the mentally ill. The largest group however consisted of illegitimate children of housemaids and unwed mothers: women in this situation either didn't have the possibility to raise their children or wanted to dispose of their "shame," and thus preferred to admit their offspring to the institution. For example, in the Cluj asylum

40.5% of the mothers were housemaids (Ruffy 1908: 227). According to the national statistics in 1906, 54.86% of the newly admitted children were illegitimate. In the Cluj asylum the illegitimacy rate was 57.9% and in Târgu Mureş 40.1% (Ruffy 1908: 41). From 1907 another category of children was eligible: the *morally abandoned*, who were (1) exposed to moral decay in their environment, (2) were already "depraved" or (3) were juvenile offenders under 12.

This study is based primarily on the reports of the asylums, which will be matched with the accounts from newspapers, literary works, official reports, medical journals and the narratives of the asylum employees. In interpreting the official narratives, one must take into account the intentions of the institution and the impression they wished to create. The reports of the State Children's Asylums contain elaborate statistical data, but less is known about children's everyday life and emotions until they reached adulthood. Countless adventures of foundlings are immortalised in the press, journals, personal accounts of asylum staff, and literary fiction, which will be compared with the statistical data of the official reports. Colony supervisors had a lot of first-hand experience with the children in their environment. The mainstream press preferred the sensational (abuse, brutality, exploitation, heartless foster parents, moral decay); therefore, it must be approached with scrutiny when constructing a realistic image about the daily life and upbringing of the state children in foster care.

"Relatively unobjectionable" foster parents

Hereafter I will present the foster families and their relationship to the fosterlings. Statistical data suggest that successful integrations and the outrageous abuses colouring the press can be regarded as rare rather than common. As Mrs. Sándor Türk, a colony supervisor put it, most families were "*relatively unobjectionable*," who drank and cursed less (Türk 1913). There were a lot of unhygienic habits for the colony supervisors to overcome, such as spitting on the floor, lack of ventilation or feeding food to infants (Szana 1913; Türk 1913). Unlike the biological family, foster parents could be selected, controlled and changed. Officials argued that children were never to be placed with the natural family, because the small childcare payment was not enough to remediate the financial issues of a family and the child would still lack proper food and clothing. In fact, their intention was to prevent mothers from taking advantage of the child welfare system by collecting the payments while caring for their own child. This practice was noticed in Russia too, where mothers arranged with an employee to receive their own children as fosterlings, or find

out the whereabouts of the child and make the exchange with the foster family (Ransel 2014: 207−209).

Regulations conditioned foster parents to financial criteria. The monthly payments were not enough to fully support a child's upbringing, but were significant enough to motivate poor families to venture into foster care. As one of the minimal conditions, prospective foster parents had to own a house with a room and half a kitchen. It was considered an advantage if they had a cow (Ordinance 1/1903: 34§; Az állami 1912: 5−7). The asylum in Hungary, similarly to other European foundling homes, preferred the farmers and the countryside for the raising of abandoned children, firstly to relieve the overcrowded cities, and secondly, because it was a healthier environment for the children who, according to the contemporary conception, were exposed to moral decay as well. In this aspect Bucharest for example can be considered an exception, because although it was inspired by the Russian and French child welfare systems, the Paupers' Institute placed the foundling to craftsmen in the suburbs of the city instead the countryside (Roman 2018a: 15). Teenage boys in Hungary, if not assimilated in the foster family, were often moved to the big cities as apprentices with craftsmen. Ruffy provides a romanticised image of the healthy life on the fields, but in reality, these children became unskilled agricultural servants or day-labourers, and the ones who learned a craft had ultimately better chances in adulthood. In the Basset-Alpes region (France), boys after 13 were almost exclusively placed as paid agricultural workers, and the regional inspector even tried to convince the youngsters about the hardships of earning a living from a trade, in order to resign the apprenticeship (Grenut 2018: 158). In Hungary, according to the 1907−1910 report 71.31% of the children were placed to farmers. The majority of the population in Hungary worked in agriculture. In the Cluj asylum, 64.1% were in farmer families, 33.5% with craftsmen and only 2.4% with intellectuals. In Târgu Mureș 66.5% were placed to farmers, 27.2% to craftsmen, and 6.2% to intellectuals (Ruffy 2013: 56−58, 71; Census 1913).

The founders of the state asylums envisaged that foster children would be raised with parental love in the foster family, and become members of the community. This idealistic image did not become a reality for most, except the lucky ones, who were placed to families with the intention to adopt – usually older childless couples. These families had priority in getting fosterlings (Az állami 1912, 6). When foster parents provided local clothing for the state children it was always considered as a sign of acceptance and integration (Szana 1913, 585). The asylums motivated good foster parents who cared for a child in good conditions with diplomas or prizes. The diploma illustrated a

woman with children, blessed by the symbolic representation of Hungary, along a solemn text containing the name of the foster mother, signed by the minister of interior. The ornate diploma was intended to be exposed and decorate the walls of the peasant house (Ruffy 1907: 34; Ruffy 1913: 68). According to the 1907−1910 report, in the Cluj asylum of the 1877 recorded foster parents only 41 were awarded such a certificate, while in Târgu Mureş this figure reached 24 out of 1070 (Ruffy 1913, 65).

The institution kept a record of the banned families, who were never to receive state children again. The asylum investigated maltreatment complaints, and if necessary, removed the child or pressed charges. Many complaints were unfounded or were filed with ill intent, while in other cases bad treatment behind closed doors was discovered accidentally. For example, in 1906 a foster parent from the Timişoara asylum deliberately hurt the fosterling with a pitchfork, for which he was sentenced to two weeks of prison. In Arad a foster parent was under trial, because the child in his custody had drowned in the well (Ruffy 1908: 124, 427). The most common form of maltreatment was severe, brutal beating. Corporal punishment was widely used in the era as a tool of education, so only the most severe cases got the serious attention of the asylum to intervene. Alongside bad treatment, incomplete feeding, keeping an untidy home, alcoholism, work exploitation were also frequent causes to ban families from fostering. There were more peculiar causes such as feeding the child with an opiate extract (to sleep fast), selling the asylum-clothes, or using the children for stealing and begging. In 1912, the newspaper recorded a case where a foster parent from Csanádpalota (the colony of the Arad asylum) fed carcass meat for two weeks to the five state children he had in fosterage, until they got sick (Pesti Hírlap 1912). In the Cluj asylum bad nurturing was the most common cause (18), followed by incomplete feeding, unhealthy home, while other families were banned from the Târgu Mureş asylum's lists for brutal beating (13) and work exploitation of children (Ruffy 1913: 69).

The expression "feeding parent" (*tápszülő*) perfectly describes the relationship between most state children and foster parents[2]. Contrary to the polarized "bad" and "good," the vast majority offered decent living conditions: raised them without too much care or attachment, but didn't treat them badly either. According to Szana many had asked for foster children, because they were alone, or their children had already grown up and moved away (Szana 1913: 728). Regarding the foundlings in Bucharest, Nicoleta Roman argues that although fosterlings were usually neglected compared to the biological children of the family, this was not necessarily the result of ill intent (Roman 2018b:

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[2] This is not a pejorative expression; it is another word for foster parent.

70). The narratives of the colony supervisors provide insight in the behaviour and environment of the foster parents during the colony visits. Many were terrified of the colony inspection because they didn't want to lose the child, some for financial, while others for emotional reasons. Colony supervisors often threatened them with the removal of the fosterling. Edelmann, the Oradea asylum director, advised inspectors not to be fooled by appearances, and counselled that a devoted supervisor should have an eye for abuses before the child is all blue (Edelmann 1910, 3−4). First of all, they had to ensure that the infant wasn't changed by checking the registration number on the armband. In the Cluj asylum for example there were three cases when the foster parents were banned from receiving state children because they gave the state child to someone else (A nevelőszülőnél 1911: 3; Ruffy 1913: 69). This practice was widely used in the Russian child protection system. In the late 18th century, before appointing circuit overseers, infants were often exchanged, sold along the road, and in case they died, might have been substituted with the wet-nurse's own baby to receive the payments (Ransel 2014: 177−180, 209−210).

Supervisors also had to check the child's sleeping conditions and the dining habits of the family. If the fosterling was eating separately from the other children of the family, it suggested that he or she wasn't welcome. Ideally the child should have had a separate bed, which was probably rare, since the siblings usually shared beds. It was however strictly forbidden to sleep with older siblings or adults of the opposite sex, but occasionally even this was tolerated if the other children in the family were sleeping in the same conditions. Supervisors were encouraged to compare the treatment of the natural and foster children in each family and investigate further when separate treatment was noticed (Szana 1913: 651). Supervisors were advised to speak privately with every child, because they couldn't complain in front of the foster parents. It was recommended to ask straight out "who is beaten more often, you or [the other child of the family]?" The reaction of the child uncovered the treatment (A nevelőszülőnél 1911; Nagyobb gyermekek 1913: 4).

Inspections were unannounced, but when the supervisor arrived, the news spread very quickly in the village and foster parents cleaned up in a rush: "*They make the beds, cover it in fine sheets, clean the dirt from the child's face with incredible speed, scrub it if necessary* […] *and teach* [the fosterling] *kindly or with threats to 'tell them that mother adores you, coddles you day and night, stuffs you with goods, or otherwise …*" (Edelmann 1911: 3). Some children were scared that they would be taken away (Türk 1912). Irma Végh had the same experience with foster parents caught unprepared. She was a colony supervisor in Cluj for two years,

while she visited about 360 infants and children. As a result of her reports, 80 were replaced to another family, 27 were transferred to the countryside and some were taken in for medical examination. In time foster parents got used to her presence, and even asked for professional advice in childcare (Deák 1909). Children also got used to supervisors' presence and occasionally followed them in groups during the colony inspection. Nevertheless, there were conflicts too, and supervisors were accused of taking bribes (Gyermekvédelem 1911: 4).

Supervisors were also responsible for monitoring school attendance. Frequenting school was usually inconvenient for foster parents, who would have rather used the child for work. For example, from the Cluj asylum two families were banned from fostering, because they didn't allow the children to attend school (Ruffy 1913: 69). In the Basses-Alpes region (France), after primary education became compulsory, foster parents asked for extra payments to compensate for the children's absence during school, while the ones held back from school were re-placed with a different family (Grenut 2018: 153−154). Although in Hungary the asylum provided textbooks and full clothing, the deterioration of shoes generally caused problems for any school-age child; therefore, colony supervisors had to make sure that the clothes provided for the state children weren't sold or used to dress up the other children in the family (Az állami 1911; Ruffy 1906: 177). In some colonies, where the schools weren't large enough to host the large numbers of state children, enrolments raised difficulties. Some teachers weren't fond of the state children either, because their responsibilities increased. For example in some colonies of the Târgu Mureș asylum, there were no state schools, but only confessional ones, which increased the tuition for state children of other denominations. In Tâmpa/Székelytompa, the local Unitarian confessional school tripled the charges for the Greek Catholic children (Ruffy 1908: 247). Elsewhere, because of the saturation of the village schools, new teachers were hired and new classrooms had to be added. These adjustments were fully funded by the ministry of education and internal affairs (Ruffy 1913: 72, 80).

The causes of truancy or bad results in school had to be investigated, in order to assess whether these behaviours were linked to foster parents' negligence or work exploitation. For example, Sándor Szana, studying the morally decayed children, encountered cases when the child didn't go to school because of exhaustion and fear of punishment for sleepiness during classes. He was tired and inattentive in school, because his foster parent, a baker, woke him up at 4 a. m. to deliver baked goods to customers (Szana 1910: 69). Due to strict supervision, the school attendance of state children was generally high (around 90%), but as Szana observed, their results were slightly worse compared to the

other local children: in the colonies of the Timişoara asylum (except the city), 24.9% of the state children failed at school, while among the local children this was only 14.8%. Although he didn't provide any explanation, this might be the result of the foster parents' negligence towards their education, or as Mrs. Ernő Poór points out, some state children were "the offspring of physically or mentally deprived parents," entering the asylums with various traumas (Poór 1912).

Foster parents benefitted from teenagers' labour force, especially in farmer families. The monthly payments ceased at age twelve. Many farmers still cared for them, but usually had no intention to share the inheritance of their biological children with the fosterling by legally adopting them. At age 12, many were placed as apprentices to learn a craft. Craftsmen willingly took them in, especially since there were no parents to intervene in their advantage. From that point on, the support of the child became the responsibility of the master, although the minors were still under state supervision. Girls had even fewer options, and generally became housemaids, with formal contracts. As Iosif Nemoianu, the later director-physician in Timişoara pointed out, there was a widespread misconception that the asylum provided cheap servants. When in 1925 the asylum decided to place teenage girls to learn crafts rather than be placed in private households and work as servants, the refused petitioners who had asked for such girls resentfully remarked that the institution "wished to make ladies even from the asylum girls" (Nemoianu 1928: 95).

Although craftsmanship offered better possibilities in adulthood, the training period was worse than field work. For example, in the Cluj asylum in 1910 there were 73 apprentices, and in Târgu Mureş 277 (Ruffy 1913: 81−82). Zita Deáky's research on child labour in Hungary presents in detail the living conditions of apprentices, servants and other types of day-labourers (Deáky 2015). The unhealthy environment combined with hard work often led to rebellion (running away) and moral decay. Head doctors argued that apprentices were exploited until exhaustion in order to keep up with the competition of factories. Apprentices often slept in the workshop. Their beds and clothing were usually inadequate, dirty and ragged. In Timişoara for example apprentices received money instead of dinner, which was spent on cinema and other entertainments, rather than food (Ruffy 1913: 91−96).

The relationship between the master and apprentice was a professional one, centred upon the craft, lacking any bonding, and often characterized by cruelty. Beating was a tradition and masters argued that they had been treated in the same way during apprenticeship. The experience of apprenticeship was

similar for any child. According to István Nagy's autobiographical novel, in 1916 he was placed as the second apprentice from the Cluj asylum to a carpenter (coffin maker) in Aiud/Nagyenyed. The master could hire apprentices only from the asylum, because of local tell-tales he had a bad reputation and parents refused to entrust their children to him. He could on the other hand make very profitable apprenticeship contracts with the abandoned children (6 year-long apprenticeship), because parents didn't intervene to strike a better bargain in the advantage of their sons. As elsewhere, the apprentices slept in the hovel or the workshop – in this case in the coffins. The author and his colleague were also beaten, humiliated ("foundling bastards") and uncared for, wearing dirty clothes (Nagy 1968: 358−381).

Exiting the state child welfare system

The state child protection system had another harshly criticized aspect: the situation of the children over 15, who were no longer supervised by the state. Legally, with the exception of those who passed away untimely, children could exit the state child welfare system (1) at age 15, when state care legally ceased, (2) when they were retrieved by a family member, adopted or placed to craftsmen, factories or other institution. If not integrated in the foster family or working as a craftsman's aid or apprentice, a 15-year-old boy was unlikely to be able to make a decent living, and was therefore exposed to moral decay, criminality or vagrancy (Bellyei and Berczeli 1912, 90). According to the selection criteria of the foster parents and the possibilities offered by the state, after elementary school boys became farmers, day labourers, unskilled workers or craftsmen. For girls, domestic service was the most common option.

After age 15, the community was expected to supervise the state children by appointing a "patron," who periodically visited the protégée, gave advice and ensured that the child was leading a virtuous lifestyle. Regularly, written contracts between the institution and the former foster parents were made, which were meant to ensure that the latter continued to provide care for the child and gave them a symbolic sum of money at coming-of-age, but the Guardianship Authority never verified their implementation (Nemoianu 1928: 93). 54% of the teenagers exiting state care at age 15 between 1907−1910 were entrusted to individuals (farmers or craftsmen) or a company, while about 33.4% reunited with their parents or relatives (Ruffy 1913: 133).

From historians' point of view, after the supervision of institutionalised children ceased, they became very hard to follow, and very few sources are available for exhaustive studies (Roman 2018a: 15). The most elaborate

research on this subject is a short paper by Axente Iancu, the later director of the Cluj asylum, who had difficulties in tracking them down even two decades later. In 1938 he visited the former colonies and tried to find out as many information as possible about the children placed in the village during the Romanian administration (some admitted during the dualism). His findings show that a very small percent of them actually remained where they had been placed (7.6%). He received information about another few whose livelihood was assured in another community (5.3%), while the rest couldn't be tracked down. Many of the state children already had a family of their own, a modest living, a workshop, and looked after their foster parents in old age. In these success-stories Iancu often emphasizes that the fosterlings had been placed at a very early age without being re-placed or that the foster parents had been childless. Nevertheless, from this study only a few could be accounted for, while the living conditions of the rest remained unknown (Iancu 1938).

State care did not abolish parental rights and biological parents could retrieve their children through the Guardianship Authority, which was usually granted. Parents were even encouraged to escort their child to the foster family and occasional visits were also allowed (Szana 1913), but it was forbidden to live together or in the same community during state care. For example, in Arad from the ones admitted in the first three years, by 1912 only 432 children (22%) were still in state care (Poór 1912)[3]. In the Timișoara asylum, from the infants admitted between 1906−1908, 36.7% died and only 8.7% reached age 10 in state care (Nemoianu 1928: 85−86). Many babies were taken by their mothers after the breastfeeding period ended. Others were retrieved en masse around age 7−8, when the child support costs were transferred from the state budget to the municipality of origin (Zimmermann 2011: 12−14)[4]. Illegitimate children belonged to the mother's locality of origin. Notaries persuaded parents or relatives to retrieve the child, in order to avoid the high childcare costs, although in many cases this was against the interest of the child. The Guardianship Authority usually collaborated with the local mayors and notaries, because many villages couldn't afford such expenses, which could be even higher than the total annual budget of the locality. Furthermore, the municipality of origin in many cases was not necessarily the locality where the person worked and resided, but where he or she originated from. Therefore, Budapest admitted 50% of the state children, but contributed only 3% to the childcare costs for the children older than 7, because the mothers originated

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[3] From 1904 to 1906 2109 children were admitted in the Arad asylum. From this total the average 6% mortality rate is subtracted.

[4] The municipality of origin was responsible to offer aid for the poor, orphans or ill, unable to sustain themselves.

from another locality, even though they had lived in the capital for many years (A gyermekvédelem 1912; Szana 1916: 30).

A small child was a burden, but an older child was labour force; therefore, retrieval petitions from parents became abundant again around the ages of 10−12, when children reached working-age and could bring a profit to the family. The asylum made endeavours to keep them in state care if possible, as otherwise the material and educational investments of the state could be in vain. Sándor Szana, a director-physician underlines the harmfulness of this practice with appalling examples: "[…] *the police took the 14-year-old girl on the order of the Guardianship Authority raised by the state at a good Hungarian farmer family to give her to the mother, who then put the girl in a brothel*" (Szana 1916: 28). In his examples the biological family is portrayed as a threat to the intentions of the state child protection system, while the chosen foster family is praised, idealised. Colony supervisors were advised to notify the director if the child is well-treated in the foster family, and advise the Guardianship Authority whether to withdraw the retrieval decision. Mrs. Ernő Poór, an employee of the Arad asylum also points out that the education received during state care was often compromised when the child was taken back to the natural family (Poór 1912). In the narratives of the asylum, the Guardianship Authority appears as the decision maker, who is indifferent to the children's well-being. Nevertheless, one must keep in mind Szana's responsibility to propagate the asylum and justify its practices of separating children from their parents.

Asylums were misused by some parents, who were not informed about its true purpose. Others displayed rash decision-making, as Ruffy pointed out: "*The mother comes in countless cases: The day before yesterday I put my child in the asylum, now I want him back. Why did you put him in then? Because I had a fight with my husband, but we made peace and got back together again*" (Bellyei and Berczeli 1912: 81). These examples suggest that parents didn't think over thoroughly the consequences of their acts, or presumed the separation from the child would be easier to overturn. Reclaiming the child however was more complicated, especially if he or she had already been transferred to another asylum or a colony far away. István Nagy, the novelist from Cluj, was also one of the children in the Oradea asylum who were quickly reclaimed by the mother. According to his accounts, the family had lived in Oradea for a short period. The author's father had gone to find work in Budapest, leaving his pregnant wife in the maternity and the one-and-a-half-year-old István in the care of his paternal aunt. Because of a previous conflict between the two women, while the mother was in the maternity, the aunt put the boy in the asylum as a foundling, and left the city without notice. The mother had difficulties in

finding her son, who had already been placed to a foster family with some „stranger foundling-name." Parenthood needed to be proved with official certificates to the director of the asylum and the Guardianship Authority, where the father, who in the meantime had returned from Budapest, was severely scolded for neglecting his family (Nagy 1968: 27−31). In this case the institution was used as the accessory in an act of revenge, nevertheless proving how easily a child could be admitted in the asylum.

State care was also a temporary solution. Families facing financial difficulties could put their children in state care and retrieve them after their situation settled. Statistical data show that nationwide 24% of the children were taken out within a year, suggesting an intended short-term abandonment on the behalf of the parents[5]. Some were repeatedly taken in and out when the family faced hardships (Poór 1912). Bárbara Revuelta Eugercios's research reveals that for the Foundling Hospital of Madrid short-term abandonment was a non-traditional use, because the institution was intended for permanent abandonment, but it was accepted by the governing board to offer a chance for mothers to gain financial stability or remediate the cause of abandonment (Revuelta Eugercios 2012). The Hungarian welfare system was open to short-term abandonments, nevertheless strictly following the principle of separation during state supervision.

Exiting the child protection system before 15 depended on the initiative of the parent(s) and the decision of the Guardianship Authority. There was however a method of exiting it from the child's initiative: *running away*. This act represents the child's intention, contrary to the other procedures initiated by adults. The police were tasked with searching for the runaways and handing them over to the institution when found. Escaping from the asylum and foster parents was so common that some directors awarded special attention to the subject. The newspapers published many appeals concerning wanted children. Some articles victimized them, by presenting the bad treatment as the cause of escaping; others portrayed them as young criminals wandering and stealing all over the country. An example of cruelty was the case of the asylum boys placed to the iron-processing company in Arad, who repeatedly ran away until the police took their complaints seriously. It turned out that besides the exhausting work, the factory supervisors whipped and beat the 12−13-year-old teenagers, arguing that they couldn't maintain order otherwise (Népszava 1912).

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[5] Mothers were required to breastfeed their infants, and often kept them after weaning (Ruffy 1913: 127−129).

In the medical discourse, running away was often associated with ill-bred children, depravity and health problems, although a complex series of factors contributed to trigger it. Morally decayed teenagers were more likely to escape, many resorting to petty crimes – usually theft. Menyhért Edelmann noted that 60 of the 82 runaway children from the Oradea asylum were exposed to moral depravity prior to their admittance. He argues that teenagers who were already used to vagrancy, preferred to endure the hardships of wandering rather than control and commandment. Others were just longing for the adventures and excitement the escape would bring. Half of the 82 runaways escaped multiple times, some even on 10 occasions. He argues some might have had multiple attempts, but they didn't admit it or forgot to count it (Edelemann 1909). The escapes were not necessarily premeditated, and occurred when the child was entrusted a bigger sum of money, or saw an opportunity of stealing and running away. Sándor Szana investigated a teenager who ran away multiple times from foster parents and companies, but couldn't specify a certain cause for all of his escapes, besides anxiety and an urge to run away (Szana 1910: 20−23). According to Edelmann, some ran away from homesickness, but for the morally abandoned children this was rarely the case, because they were already used to independence and had avoided parental control before. It is however worth noting that head doctors were aware of the fact that the separation of children from parents was the weak point of the state welfare system, and that therefore homesickness couldn't appear as a common cause of running away.

Conclusions

The state child welfare system of Hungary managed to raise and offer accommodation for thousands of children in the early 20$^{\text{th}}$ century, who otherwise would have perished on the streets or in the hands of careless mercenary wet-nurses. The method of foster parenting certainly had its drawbacks, but compared to institutional care it was a more humane, efficient, and cheaper way to raise children. Founded only in 1903, the first fifteen years were characterised by experimenting and improving the procedures. The efficiency of the institution regarding the integration of state children in the community could only be evaluated by the later head doctors. Later findings show that only a small percent of fosterlings had integrated into the foster family and community they had been placed in. As Iosif Nemoianu, the director of the Timișoara asylum claimed in 1928, foster care offered temporary accommodation and material requirements for growing up. The much-desired integration of the masses in the peasant communities likely

never happened, because many foster parents cared for them mainly for financial reasons (Nemoianu 1938: 83−84, 87). The most debated topic of the state child welfare system was the separation of the child from the mother. Besides the arguments presented by the representatives of the state to support the rule of separation, foster parenting was about control. Once separated from the natural family, the upbringing of state children could be shaped by placing them in "ideal" families chosen by the institution, whose conduct was supervised afterwards. Occasionally they suggested the increase of the geographical distance from the natural family in order to cut off any connection. Asylum officials preferred farmers as foster parents, but later on male children were often re-placed to craftsmen as apprentices. Certain political, financial and demographical intentions were taken into consideration when choosing the foster parents. The asylums invested a lot of energy in the supervision of the state children to avoid exploitation and bad treatment, and they intervened accordingly. Children were re-placed if not properly cared for, but this couldn't prevent abusive behaviour altogether. It is however important to underline that contrary to the sensationalist stories in the newspapers, most state children were not victims. Although many might have lacked parental affection and experienced unequal treatment, most were raised to adulthood in decent conditions, showing many similarities with children living with the biological family. The luckiest were adopted, usually by childless couples.

The experience of foster care depended on a series of factors, like the age of the child at the time of admittance, the time spent in foster care, and the development of parental bonding. Older children were generally harder to be fitted in a new foster family, while the ones raised in the same family from infancy were more likely to integrate. Some children revolted against their situation (mostly teenagers), and running away was a common occurrence.

Although state children were often addressed in the vernacular language as "foundlings," many were neither foundlings, not even orphans, only children whose parent(s) faced temporary difficulties. One of the main reasons most children didn't integrate in the foster family was because state care was only a temporary option for the parents, who reclaimed their children after remediating their personal/financial problems.

Others retrieved them at older ages, leaving only a small percent in state supervision from infancy until 15 years. Asylum officials strongly disapproved the practice of handing over the children to parents at an older age, arguing that the years of the state's investments in the child had been in vain. The state was so determined to raise the children by families who could be controlled that it sacrificed the natural parental bonding, and bent every effort to create a new one within a stranger's family.

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Pedagogical Discourse, Childhood and Emotions in Childtowns during the Post-civil War Period in Greece

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Abstract. Although at the end of World War II Greece was at the winners' side, its economic, political and social situation was tragic. The Civil War (1946-1949) impacted strongly not only the construction of a social and political setting significantly distinct from the pre-war one but also every strand of life, especially children's lives and family ties. During the civil war years –starting in the summer of 1947– at the initiative of the government and the Royal Welfare Institution around 18,000 children were taken away from their home villages and were housed in 52 institutions called "Childtowns" (Paidopoleis). At the end of the Civil War (1949) most of them returned to their villages and the majority of these institutions closed. Although their role was supposed to be the "protection of abandoned, poor and orphan children," a strong emphasis was laid on their indoctrination. The paper looks into the instruction of children in the values of nation-mindness (ethnikofrosyni: extreme nationalism) which at the time was the dominant ideology. Based on the premise that education aims, among others, to help the young generation internalize a common culture, which the teachers attempt to instill in children, we follow the way children were imbued with the national ideology in these institutions. We study the pedagogical discourse about the homeland and the nation as reflected in contemporary official documents, journals and newspapers as well as in the published testimonies of children who experienced life in these institutions. We focus on the analysis of various aspects of life in the Childtowns, as well as the education, training and daily routine of the children in relation with the educational moral and national values during the post-war period. We are interested in analyzing how the pedagogical theory and practice created and determined the dominant codes through which children could express their emotions and feelings for the nation and the country as well as display the expected attitudes and behaviors.

1. Introduction

Although Greece found itself at the winners' side in the aftermath of World War II, the country had suffered serious damages and losses; as a result, the situation was tragic and the country's financial and social fabric was irreparably ruptured (Svoronos 1990: 145). During the three and a half years of the Occupation, the country had lost approximately 30% of the national wealth and between 7% and 8% of its population. In the aftermath of the country's liberation, inflation skyrocketed, and the spectre of famine hung over the country threateningly.

The ensuing civil war, which lasted three years (March 1946-October 1949), resulted in a social and political setting quite distinct from the prewar one (Meynaud 1996: 39). It was an extremely crucial historical period characterized by growing social tension and violent conflicts, during which sweeping social and financial changes took place and impacted profoundly every strand of educational and cultural life.

The country's post-war long-standing political problem had already arisen in early 1943. The dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas who governed the country before the war (1936-1939) "had swept the old political elite of the interwar period and very few had lamented this loss" (Mazower 2000: 13). During the country's Occupation by the Germans, there occurred even more radical and rigorous changes in the country's political scene. The exiled Greek government, which was recognized by the Allies, since the beginning of the Occupation, as the country's legitimate government, along with the monarchy, had fallen in public esteem; it was an absent government which operated away from the plight of Occupied Greece (Papastratis 2000: 74). At the same time, the National Liberation Front (Εθνικό Απελευθερωτικό Μέτωπο, EAM), which was affiliated with the Greek Communist Party, was the leading resistance movement in Athens and in the provinces.

After the retreat of the Germans from Greece in October 1944, the National Liberation Front seemed to be able to assume power without serious opposition in the liberated country. Yet, it did not attempt to do so and agreed to take part in a coalition government, the so-called "National Unity" government, a decision possibly linked to the attitude of the USSR; the latter had participated in an international agreement – unbeknown to Greece – according to which the country unquestionably belonged to the British sphere of influence. The political interests of Great Britain could not be served by a government which would include communists; therefore, the British promoted

the return of the king while the communists favoured the establishment of democracy. Two months after the country's liberation in December 1944, the conflict lurking took the dimensions of an open confrontation. The purges in public life, in contrast with similar ones in Europe, did not target the quislings but the Resistance members and those "suspect" of leftist leanings. In 1945, attempts of moderate politics failed and the country was led to the civil war (Mazower 2000: 15).

The Greek Civil War was a countryside war; at no time were the big urban centres threatened by the guerilla army that is the Democratic Army of Greece. In the span of a decade (the 1940s), warfare was raging in the countryside for a second time; hence, the countryside was constantly in a situation of mobilization, as an unprecedented movement of populations took place. "In just a few years, hundreds of thousands of men and women abandoned voluntarily or involuntarily their villages; some of them were enlisted in the Democratic Army of Greece and many more were transported to towns by the National Army to settle temporarily until the conclusion of the Civil War (Voglis 2009: 328). Apart from protecting civilians, the transport of farmer populations from war zones aimed mainly to deprive the guerillas of food supplies, human reserves and access to information about the movements of the National Army. According to official government sources, it is estimated that the number of the displaced reached 706,000 in 1948-49 (Laiou 2002: 80). One of the most disputed aspects of these transports was the children's transport by both rivals; the guerillas transported children to the Eastern European countries while the Greek government transported children to the Childtowns (Paidopoleis) through the Fund of the Northern Provinces and with the help of the Army. The issue of children took unprecedented dimensions and became the object of severe conflict between the two rivals (Kliafa 2016: 3).

Our contribution looks into the Childtowns which operated across Greece during the Civil War when at the initiative of the government, as is evident from documents of the Royal Institute of Welfare (General State Archives 1948), approximately 18,000 children were taken away from their home villages to be placed in fifty-two (52) Childtowns. The majority of the children were orphans or had been deprived of their parents and their homes due to the political conjuncture. Poverty and hardships in the post war Greece hit mostly children. "If someone takes a look at any school either in towns or in the countryside, they'll see naked, barefoot, weak and sick children…" (Paidiki Pronoia 1947: 446). In many cases, the war had dissolved family ties and thus deprived children of protection. Many children were orphans of

either or both parents and many parents were disabled or severely sick and could not work; in a few cases, children had been given to relatives so as to survive, thus cut off from their family and their familiar surroundings. According to the data accumulated for a two-year period by the Office of Social Welfare, it seems that between 1945 and 1947 there were 250,000 orphans in Greece; of these, between 7.000 and 8.000 were placed in orphanages, 6,000 in children's nurseries, 300 in preventoria and between 40,000 and 50,000 fell under the category of "the unprotected". Most children were aged between 7 and 14 years old (Paidiki Pronoia 1947: 446). Following the end of the Civil War, the majority of the Childtowns closed and most children returned to their home villages.

We attempt to explore the instruction of children placed in the Childtowns in the values of nation-mindness (ethnikofrosyni) which at the time was the dominant state ideology. Based on the premise that the instruction of the young aims to help them internalize a common culture, which teachers ought to imbue children with, we follow the picture of the Greek nation as was drawn in the official national ideology during this period, and the ways it was attempted to instill this ideology in children through pedagogical means.

The educational institution attempted to create through the official pedagogical discourse of the post-war state spaces of lived experience, where worship of homeland was prominent; to outline the horizons of present and future expectations the nation raised for children and its attempt to shape their feelings for their country. In short, we unravel the way pedagogical action created and determined the dominant and acceptable codes, setting the framework within which children developed their thinking, emotions and feelings for their homeland along with the expected behaviors. Our study is based on the premise that discourse does not illustrate passively what exists but shapes actively what it describes; presenting it from a certain perspective, in a way, discourse constructs and signifies it. Words and meanings employed in pedagogical discourse are perceived within a particular context of common meanings and references and presuppose it. Words and meanings are established within a social signifying context and characterize values, ideas and practices which are more or less socially acceptable and recognizable. In this regard, words and terms about the nation deployed by contemporary pedagogues reflect, to a certain extent, contemporary cultural conditions and social and scientific limitations; hence, their study contributes to their profound understanding.

We study the official pedagogical discourse about the homeland and the nation as illustrated in the Archives of the Ex-Royal Family, the Archives of the Royal Welfare and the Historical Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, periodicals and newspapers along with published testimonies of children who lived in these institutions.

2. The role of Childtowns for education and indoctrination

With almost no exception, children selected to be sent to the Childtowns came from farmer families; no testimonies exist about destitute or orphan children from big towns placed in institutions run by the Fund. As already mentioned, the civil war was a war fought in the countryside. Many of the children at these institutions came from the forcible movement of local populations by the National Army from the areas deemed as dangerous. No substantial evidence exists that would allow us to argue for an explicit order to move children to the Childtowns by force; however, it is certain that children were placed in the Childtowns without either their or their guardians' consent, especially in cases where the Army displayed excessive zeal.

Besides, a considerable number of children ended up in the Childtowns at the will, or even at the request, of their relatives who could not meet their basic needs and believed that the children's placement in the Childtowns would secure them a better future, as there they would be provided with accommodation, food, running water, healthcare and education; in other words, they would be provided with goods which were not taken for granted in the Greek countryside in the 1940s.

The selection of children was made on the basis of their family status and the living conditions in the settlements of the Civil War refugees. Priority was given to the orphans who had lost either both their parents, or their father, because of the action of the Democratic Army, as well as to the children who had escaped from villages under the control of the guerillas (Hasiotis 2013). Another category of children whose admission to the Childtowns was also given priority were children from the Slavic-, Turkish- (though not Muslim) and Albanian-speaking communities of the Northern provinces as it was considered that the Childtown could "serve as a station, as a springboard of learning the Greek language, our History and the Ideals of our Race" (General State Archives 1948).

As was often stated in the discourse of the Childtown leaders, their operation served the instruction of children in the "healthy" values of the nation and their protection from communist indoctrination. The repatriation of children was decided in the summer of 1949; only the offspring of leftist

parents, the executed, the exiled and the imprisoned were exempted as it was thought that their family environment could lead to anti-national action (Benaki Museum 1949) It was expected that children would contribute to the reconstruction of the countryside and spread the ideology of nation-mindness in their birthplaces, an ideology which they had possibly adopted during their stay in the Childtowns.

3. The ideology of nation-mindness and anti-communism

The ideology of nation-mindness was the only coherent ideology promoted by the post-civil war state in its attempt to unify its populations and shape the "nation-minded" front (Elefantis 1993: 645). Nation-mindness was to delineate the limits of legitimacy in Greece for more than three decades. It was an ideology defined mostly in negative terms as anti-communism, which fostered and demanded the internalisation of a set of values promoted by the country's ruling classes (Alivizatos 1984: 392). Anti-communism as a political lens was common in the entire "free world." In Greece, though, anti-communism permeated every aspect of social and political life, as the post-war authoritarian regime chose to "legitimize" the rules and practices of the Civil War and render them part of a democratic authoritarian and continuously violated political system.

The attempt to create a positive signifying system led to a blend of pro-capitalist values and values which supported the existence of a disciplined society (Theodorou 2019). Many of the thinkers of the nation-mindness accused the industrial culture of "prosperity" and this in itself is an interesting contradiction; although their discourse served a ruling class which attempted the country's industrial transformation, anti-materialism and Greek-Christian idealism in their thinking was in sharp contrast with the utilitarian values of the capitalist societies of abundance (Meletopoulos 1993) The discourse of nation-mindness neither converged with nor satisfied the needs of a developing society.

The contemporary dominant pedagogical discourse promoted and served this ideology explicitly. At the same time, this ideology permeated indirectly and implicitly every strand of social life. The structure and the operation of the Childtowns serves as a characteristic example of the way the nation-mindness dominated the children's everyday reality and created images and views of the homeland.

4. Everyday practices for preparing little soldiers with national pride

The Childtowns were run according to semi-military regulations. Children wore uniforms inside and outside the institution. Uniforms, however, were also worn by the entire student population within the school units. Yet, alternative attire was not an option for the children at the Childtowns. The children's uniform was linked with their general instruction in discipline; it further signified hierarchical relations within the institution. Wherever they went, they walked in file; during their fieldtrips, during visits to the cinema, to the theatre or to some sights, as well as inside the Childtown. They walked in file to get to school or to the dining-room, singing a march or patriotic songs. The ring of a bell constantly regulated their time, and there were neither clocks nor calendars. They spent time on their assigned duties or on team games, always supervised by the group leader. The entire day was reserved for group activities while personal time was almost absent (Dalianis and Mazower 2000: 113).

They were "little soldiers" at any moment of their daily routine. Not only did they have to be removed and take their distance from the historical conjuncture but their instruction also led them to take action for the reconstruction of the countryside where they came from. The state assigned them with a "national mission": to defend and disseminate the values of the Greek-Christian culture in their wider social circle, to take part in the battle of Hellenism against its adversaries. Their mission was associated with feelings of duty and honour and their education in the Childtowns served the development of such feelings. National pride was considered to be the ultimate value, which ranked higher than family pride in a country where family bonds at the time were so strong and family pride ranked so high on the scale of virtues that one of the steps adopted by the government during the Civil War was the establishment of collective responsibility for family members (Vervenioti 2000).

The notion of pride was elevated to a social value associated with certain feelings; "When it manifests itself it is perceived as a feeling and when suppressed, it triggers off emotions" (Avdela 2006: 29). The defense of national pride in the post-war era caused feelings which were given significance and meaning through their performance, within the particular historical and political framework in culturally defined ways. Within a historically and socially defined perception of the nation, it signified the individual's personal and national identity; it determined the acceptable public practices and actions that individuals had to undertake when they felt that their identity was targeted, and it confirmed or disputed power relations. In the discourse of nation-mindness,

the Greek nation was a messianic nation which stood out because it was assigned with a special mission. It was a civilized nation surrounded by barbarians and its mission was to "civilize" them. Neighbouring peoples, especially the Slavs, were described as incapable of creating "a superior human culture" (Kalliafas 1949: 40).

The Greek Civil War was the first episode of the Cold War in Europe. During this period, the country was one of the flaming theatres of the global antagonism between the socialist and Western countries. In the defense plans drawn by NATO, Greece was a frontier country, a valuable link in the defense of the West in case of an attack launched by Eastern European countries (Meletopoulos 1993). The American financial aid which the country needed urgently so as to reconstruct its infrastructure as well as the ensuing asphyxiating foreign control were closely related with the specific role reserved for Greece in the post-war world.

In the nation-minded discourse, the defense of the homeland signified also the defense of the Western world. Feelings of pride, superiority and uniqueness accompanied the perception of Greece as an outpost of Western culture and were linked with nationalism. The nation was perceived as a community of people sharing the "same blood", namely of people with the same racial characteristics which determined their potential as well as their weaknesses and were passed on from one generation to another, impacting the historical destiny of the race (Kalliafas 1949). It was an entity surrounded by enemies that transcended time and remained unaltered with a cultural mission to fulfill. This transcendental nation, which drew its origin from Ancient Greece and found its continuation in Byzantium, was called in contemporary times by the Superior Transcendental Authority, the Divine Providence itself to defend civilization on the edge of Europe with the assistance of the rest of the civilized nations (Kalliafas 1949).

5. The role of feelings in Childtowns

As a couple of opposites, as a dipole, feelings of honor and pride were linked with feelings of fear and threat. In the nation-minded discourse, the country appeared to be surrounded by bigger and unfriendly nations who sought to eliminate the Greek nation biologically. The nation fought a survival battle, for life and death (Kalliafas 1953: 90). Its members as defenders of culture on the far edge of the Western world were cautioned to be alert. It was a state of continuous precarity and widespread concern which transcended individuality. Individual feelings and passions were linked with and included in the passions of the nation. The needs and the dictates of the nation prevailed and were

imposed upon its members. Personal space and time were shrunk and erased in view of the historical destiny of the race.

Notwithstanding the official rhetoric on the unaltered perennial values defended by the Greek nation, the meaning assigned to "national pride" as a socially and culturally defined value had gender connotations. At a time when the need to return to pre-industrial values was dominant in the nation-minded discourse, the patriarchal family was considered the foundation for the rebirth of the nation, the safe space within which a new generation was to be raised so as to defend, preserve and lead the nation to its rebirth (Kalliafas 1959: 99). In the dominant code of values the pride of the traditional-patriarchal family was connected with the pride of the nation and secured it.

Feelings of merit and demerit, pride and shame were linked with the fixed and predetermined role reserved for each gender in the traditionally patriarchal society. In this way, the semi-military character of life in the Childtowns was more prominent in the case of boys. It was thought that an education of a military character with the values it presupposed and the feelings it generated was more appropriate for boys. Bravery, faith, pride and self-confidence were some of the feelings "required" of the gender which was called to dominate family life and society, and possibly to defend the homeland with arms in hand (Hasiotis 2013: 244)

For girls, social life was limited mainly within the family since the role reserved for them was mostly that of the mother who raised her children according to traditional pro-industrial values. Women were considered to have the power to preserve and pass on the traditional agricultural culture and its values. Changes in the role of women in the family jeopardized family unity and by implication the values that supported the nation. In this context, women were called to defend the pride of the nation by remaining pure, uncontaminated from the new ethos of the industrial culture, faithful to those values thanks to which the family as the cradle of the nation was preserved. The slightest suspicion that a girl had sexual relations was enough to get her corporally punished and expelled from the Childtown as the attitude of the authorities was especially strict in relation to what was perceived as an issue of "morals" and "honour" for girls, which in many cases meant that children from the Childtowns had a delayed sexual life (Dalianis and Mazower 2000: 116)

In the rhetoric of a developing nationalism, the patriarchal family is linked with the nation which is presented as an extended family with strong ties between its members and undisputed unity (Gazi 2011: 19). In this context, the ideology of paternalistic monarchy was developed. The withdrawal

of the royal family from the country and its absence during the Occupation when Greeks suffered a lot had as a result to reduce the acceptance of the royal institution by Greek society; by contrast, the action of the National Liberation Front against the occupying forces led to the prevalence of democratic values in a considerable part of the Greek society. After the enthronement of King Paul in 1946, the monarchy attempted to promote its legitimization and acceptance among the Greeks and its active participation in the political scene. The royal couple was presented as the head of the national family through social welfare programmes (Karakasidou 2000: 250).

6. The protection of children and the maternal care of the Queen
The protection of children in the countryside, their "salvation" from a possible transport abroad by the guerillas had become an issue of prestige for the national government; it also served as evidence of its capacity to control the countryside as in post-war Greece governments had a limited control over the provinces as compared to the interwar period. In general, in the mid-1940s, there took place an unprecedent crisis of legitimacy of the post-war order across Europe, at times leading certain areas to break free from the central state mechanism and come under the control of guerillas, local elites, or foreign powers (Mazower 2000).

Queen Frederica herself was in charge of the "work of rescuing the populations and especially children" (Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive). On 10/07/1947 a royal decree established the Queen's Fund named the Fund of Northern Greece under the aegis of her royal highness. Through this Fund, Frederica acquired a powerful means of political, social and economic influence, and was promoted as the "Mother of the Nation." She appeared to take care of civilians, especially of children, she intervened in state welfare policy, especially on child-related issues, and co-shaped it (Kliafa 2016). In the nation-minded discourse, the prolonged and extensive praising of the queen aimed to confirm the institutional and national role she had undertaken but mostly to legitimize the monarchy itself in moral and political terms (Hasiotis 2013 : 279).

Monarchy and the nation were equated with maternal care in the face of Queen Frederica. Attempts were made to cultivate in children at Childtowns feelings of familiarity, love, and devotion for the "Mother of the Nation." Children were the living proof that the Greek nation had fought its enemies, prevented them from forcing children to exile, cutting them off from the national family, and destroying "their soul and even their education." (Vivliothiki Ethnikis Diafotiseos: 60). State power and nation were equated in

the face of the queen. Frederica had saved the children to put them physically and mentally healthy in the service of the nation. Therefore, children ought to have feelings of gratitude to the royalty and the nation. The Palace promoted the Queen's maternal public image and due to the familiarity this entailed, children communicated with the Queen through thank you letters. These letters, widely circulated at the time, were part of a centrally driven "mass production" of letters addressed to Frederica; they were part of the atmosphere created to make citizens declare their faith, conformity and "remorse" towards the country's post-war regime (Hasiotis 2013: 313)

Children ought to reciprocate the service and measure up to the "History of Hellenism" (Empros 1949) They had to foster feelings of love for the monarchy, the homeland and the nation and do service to them. Their protection was not the state's obligation; it was the result of the Queen's generosity and benevolence. In fact, children were at a disadvantageous position; they were not the future citizens of the state with the same rights and obligations as the rest of the citizens. They had been provided a service and ought to reciprocate. The rhetoric of nation-mindness at the Childtowns reminded children that they should be forever grateful and taught them how they would prove these feelings with their actions, accepting their predetermined destiny as frontiersmen-defenders of the Greek countryside (General State Archives 1948).

As the children were far from their familiar surroundings either because they were orphans or because they were forcibly cut off from their biological parents, their education at the Childtowns attempted to present the nation as their wider family and the royal couple in loco parentis. The aim of the Childtowns was to protect children from the guerillas and by implication from the influence communist ideas could exert on them, especially on children who came from families with leftist leanings.

7. The Greek-Christian culture: values and practices in Childtowns

At the beginning of the Cold War, whose first episode was the Greek Civil War, the Western world highlighted the elements that unified and turned it against the socialist regimes. The values and principles of the Greek-Christian culture were promoted as a counterweight to the socialist theories and were thought to be able to unify the peoples in the West (Vassiloudi 2014). The attempt to unite western societies materialized through the movement of a common Christian culture which characterized the 1950s both at a national and international level (Goussidis 1993).

In 1948 Alexandros Tsiridanis, the leading member of "The Christian Union of Scientists" and professor at the School of Law in the University of Athens, established under the protection of the King Paul the society "Hellenic Phos" and alerted everybody to socially develop in the context of a Christian culture (Siganou 2018). The idea of a Greek-Christian culture was addressed to the nation and constructed a new ideology which linked Hellenism with Christianity. In the post-war era, the re-organization of the society according to the Christian worldview was sought. It aimed mainly to render the Christian faith the foundation of the state (Maczewski 2002: 59). Christianity would be the basis and the leading power in the socio-political evolution of Greece.

Christian organizations and Sunday schools participated in the everyday life in the Childtowns (Hasiotis: 247), and the children's institution in the values of the Greek-Christian culture fell in line with an extreme anti-communist propaganda. In most institutions, "political" and "religious" instruction took place twice a week (Dalianis and Mazower 2000: 114) Christianity and anti-communism were closely related as the anti-communist struggle was endorsed as a crusade in defense of faith.

Children who came from families with leftist leanings faced extreme dilemmas as regarded their emotional attitude towards the nation. On the one hand, they were constantly reassured that they were under the protection of the royal family, the supreme authority of the homeland; on the other hand, they were taught that their parents and relatives were criminals and traitors. Guerillas appeared in the nation-minded rhetoric as suspicious internal enemies of the nation, agents of the Slavs, sworn adversaries of Christian and Hellenic values. Children had to renounce their parents; to betray those who had betrayed the nation.

Another extreme emotional dipole prevailed in their instruction, causing in some children serious emotional conflicts. Gratitude for the protection offered to them was accompanied by feelings of guilt for the actions of their own people. According to the official discourse, their parents were considered a miasma which had contaminated the national fabric. Children, as their descendants, were to undergo katharsis; to renounce them, to take their distance from them so as to be accepted in the arms of the nation, to which they owed their existence and protection. In the case of bilingual children, the prohibition extended to the use of their mother tongue. In the context of the programme to eliminate "barbarian dialects", children had to renounce part of their identity so as to be accepted in the arms of their homeland (Van Boeschoten and Danforth 2015). It was as if they were tainted with an Original Sin from which they had to be cleansed, thus professing their

faith and their devotion to the homeland and religion. "When the nation becomes the parent, real parents disappear" (Van Boeschoten and Danforth 2015: 145). As becomes evident from the official contemporary rhetoric, which caused reactions abroad in institutions and groups not otherwise related to socialism as a totalitarian inspired ideology, children belonged "first and foremost to the nation" and not to their families (Hasiotis 2013: 282).

Children at the Childtowns attended school in nearby school units. In case there was a primary school within the institution, teaching followed the primary school curriculum which was in effect across the country. Admittedly, the nation-minded rhetoric permeated all the subjects in contemporary school textbooks. Yet, indoctrination and emotional identification was more efficient in public speeches, on celebratory occasions and in public ceremonies which children took part in.

The feelings that connected children with the national community and led them to accept their mission were cultivated and strengthened indirectly and implicitly through ceremonies. Leisure time in the Childtowns included, among others, lectures with national, religious and moralizing content as well as theatrical plays and cinema screenings (Hasiotis 2013: 247). Children participated in national celebrations and ceremonies in honour of the royal couple, took part in parades, demonstrations and events, and recited speeches and poems (Hasiotis 2013: 282-283). Through these uniform and repetitive ceremonies that honored the homeland, psychological and emotional identification with the nation and acceptance of the national identity, through the formation and manipulation of emotional and spiritual relationships, was sought (Karakasidou 2000).

8. Conclusions

To what extent did the instruction of children in the Childtowns attain its goals? To what extent were the values and ideology of the nation-mindness internalized by children through a process of psychological identification, and how did they shape their attitude and choices in adult life? It is rather difficult to strike the right answer to this question. Some scholars argue that the family and the social environment, which the children came from and which they returned to, played a defining role in their later political choices. The study of Mando Dalianis is of particular interest; she studied the lives of children from leftist families who were placed in the Childtowns. Her research points to the importance the interpretation of childhood experiences holds for the individual. At some point in their adult life, children of leftist parents identified with their parents' struggle, idealized the past and turned it into a source of

personal pride. "The antithesis with the generation that survived the Holocaust and their children, for whom such an idealization was impossible, is impressive." (Dalianis and Mazower 2000: 118). In any case, such studies show that the choices and practices of those in power do not shape the life of people to the extent one is able to assume when first attempting a preliminary "reading" of their experience. The aims and aspirations of those in power always meet the people's will for self-definition.

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Financial situation of orphans and half-orphans in Southern Transdanubia, Hungary in the 19th century

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Abstract. Village orphans' family fate and financial situation is a largely unexplored topic in Central European literature. In my study, I aim to reconstruct the history of the orphans in Ormánság, a South Transdanubian microregion known for its early deliberate birth control. In addition to registry data, the marriage contracts of widowed and remarrying parents, as well as the orphan documents of the estate provide an insight into the development of 19th-century orphans' situation. Through the sources, we learn about the proportion of orphans, the operation of family systems and forms of community assistance. By focusing on the histories of certain families, we learn about the typical variants of provisions and the order between the options, from the mostly favourable solutions to the rarer less favourable ones. Taking into account the birth control practices prevailing in the region, we can see that, unlike in Western Europe, there is less of a tendency for children to be circulated as farm hands in this region, and instead, their early integration into the family estate is much more common. In addition, mosaic families created through remarriage retained a strong sense of being a "farming unit", which is also reflected in the fact that the contracts were mostly favourable, and also restrictive, to both the stepparents and the children. Unlike western examples, the prospect of cohabitingwith the stepparent was held out even after the biological parent's death, as long-term planning could mean the most sensible economical investment for family members. In the interpretation of the phenomena observed in the region, it is important to note that it is situated in the eastern band of the Hajnal line, thus it possesses both western and eastern characteristics.

Keywords: mosaic families, orphans, Hajnal line, farming, birth control.

Background

In recent years, the development of orphans' living conditions has increasingly come into the limelight of historical research in Hungary as well (*Hungarian Historical Review* 9(4); Erdélyi (ed.) 2020). The quality and quantity of Hungarian sources largely provide information on urban, as well as noble and bourgeois orphans, so there are few attempts to explore the fate of rural and peasant orphans. A close reading and meticulous juxtaposition of the documents, reduced both in time and quantity or issued for other purposes, together with a number of methodological considerations to be discussed below, do not, however, make our attempt hopeless. In the context of a phenomenon that has been discussed in Hungarian and partly in international historiography for several decades (Andorka 1975, 1978, 1981, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1998; Vasary 1989), namely the Ormánság birth control, I would like to explore the proportion and fate of orphans in a particularly interesting region in this study.

Ormánság is an ethnographic microregion in South Transdanubian Baranya and, to a lesser extent, Somogy counties. According to the findings of earlier family reconstitution studies, the practice of deliberate birth control developed in the region in the late 18th century (Andorka 1987). More recent studies not only confirm this finding but also point out that restricting the number of children emerged, then spread as a specific cultural response to an economical structural change. The aim of the Urbarial Patent, which standardized peasant holdings and obligations from 1767, was to replace the previous local arrangements with a much more uniform, nationally transparent system of regulation in the relationship between landlord and serf. As a result, the extent and quality of serfs' lands was determined, as well as the amount of serf tax was fixed. In the region under examination, the new system encouraged a more vigorous shift from the previously practiced diversified (arable, fishing, wood using, animal husbandry) lifestyle to arable farming. Whereas previously the level of taxation and the needs determined the extent to which arable land was used, the aim now became to make use of the land available, which was initially larger than before. This required more labour than in the past, which local families deemed feasible preferably through the involvement of more adult workers, due to the speed of the changeover. One way to do this was to increasingly involve wives, who had been responsible for running the household and raising the children, and another was to marry off marriageable daughters and make the new husband move to his wife's house. In the former case, the burden of managing the household and raising the children fell on the grandparents, who were cohabiting with the family in the locally still

existing extended family system, and especially to the grandmother, who thus gained a greater say in the number of children the family intended to have. This greater say typically tended to lead to reducing the number of children. Sons-in-law moving in with the families typically came from poorer conditions, and their role within the family was related to the "farm hand" status. Their vulnerability is characterised by the fact that comparative analyses suggest that fertility rates were consistently lower in couples where the husband was present only as a son-in-law (Koloh 2021).

In the first half of the 19th century, as in other parts of Hungary (Faragó 1996, 2001), extended family cohabitation in the region increasingly disintegrated, and by the middle of the century, its role remained typically in the case of issues concerning the family estate, the *ancestral patrimony*. In the meantime, the deliberate birth control that can be detected from the late 18th century was becoming more and more widespread in the region, and it can be considered as common by the second half of the 19th century (Koloh 2021; Kiss 1991, 1994, 2000). In Hungary, such early deliberate birth control was quite rare (Andorka & Balázs-Kovács 1984). Using the method of family reconstitution, Rudolf Andorka explored two settlements in Ormánság, based on which he established the emergence of birth control in the late 18th century, and in his explanation, he also suggested the role of strong cultural impacts in this in addition to economic factors. Referring to Peter Laslett and processing further settlements in Hungary, Andorka's results have become internationally known (Andorka 1998), but his one-sided use of sources based exclusively on registers did not provide a sufficiently nuanced and satisfactory explanation. For the details of the process described above could only be reconstructed by using, among others, in addition to the registers, the marriage contracts, Presbyterian protocols, probate documents, estate deeds or even electoral rolls together, by putting together the various partial pieces of information pertaining to the individuals. The procedure, which can be considered a general expectation in modern family history, requires the joint use of both quantitative and qualitative methods (Hareven 1973: 211-226). In the following, I would like to elaborate on part of this work, namely the information regarding local, rural orphans, and integrate it with the knowledge we already have.

Question

Following Peter Laslett's previous studies, many of more recent research attempted to establish the proportion of orphans. Based on these, in the first part of my study, I would like to reconstruct the proportion of orphans living

in the 19th century in the Ormánság villages I studied. Knowing the values, the legitimate question arises as to what extent can the discrepancy be considered a consequence of deliberate birth control, compared to results from other areas? With this in mind, it is worth exploring the orphans' fate when the half-orphans' surviving parent remarries. Our sources provide an opportunity to explore how the parent in this case wanted to settle his or her child's future, what conditions he/she wanted to guarantee regarding the child's living and financial situation in the newly formed mosaic family. As these are quite diverse family formations compared to the uniformity of childless first marriages, it is also worth paying attention to what the customary and what the individual elements are in the formation of mosaic families. In many further cases, however, the orphaned child either lost both parents, or the surviving parent (who was the mother in such cases) did not remarry. In these cases, guardianship was mostly exercised by a relative, while the mother could remain the carer. With the disintegration of extended family cohabitation, however, it was not by far self-explanatory who would take on the child's guardianship, or perhaps his/her actual care and upbringing. Another issue arising in this case is the coverage of the orphan's expenses and the related conflicts. In the last unit of the research, I would like to address the operation of the orphans' fund of the estate. The burden of raising fatherless and motherless orphans did not in all cases fall on a family member. In this case a member of the religious community, rather than of community of blood, assumes the obligation to look after the orphan. In addition to covering the expenses of child-rearing, the orphans' fund provided the orphan with a stable capital. By briefly examining the value and the buyers of the objects sold in the course of probate proceedings, we can also find out to what extent the members of a family were roused by the orphanhood of a relative, and who were the estate buyers in whose case we can talk about conscious and regular buying practices.

Source, data, method

In addition to the fact that the loss of a parent can be considered a common experience for minors in the early modern and modern period (Stone 1977: 58), the difficulty of the dynamic exploration of the proportion of historical rural orphans and their living situation is to a large extent due to the reduced nature of household censuses in Hungary. 19th-century church parish family books are incidental, while the materials of state censuses only survived, in fragments, from the 1850s and from 1869, and they can be compared to formulate conclusions that are largely static in time and highly reduced in space. From the late 18th century, however, it became common in some regions

to record in writing the promises made by the spouses before marriage (Tárkány-Szücs 1981: 359). The promises, mostly made by those entering a first marriage, were special wills, in which they agreed on what the other would inherit from the deceased and his/her family in the absence of a living child if one of the spouses died. If at least one of the spouses was widowed and had children, the child's fate was also settled in addition to personal inheritance. These agreements recorded in the registers had a strong property protection nature, which was also emphasised by the fact that they were recorded in writing (Stone 1977:180–181; Smith 2010: 16; Lanzinger 2012: 346; Sabean 1990:199). In addition to these approximately 366 agreements dated from 1795 and 1886, the other main group of sources involved in my research consists of the documents of the 43 probate cases that survived from the Vajszló estate from the period between 1821 and 1836. The registers of the probate auctions first attracted the attention of material ethnographers as they sought to reconstruct the use of objects in the various regions. From the 1990s onwards, however, research originating from the circles of the Annales and working with probate inventories, now focused on exploring a particular social issue, which also generated increased interest from researchers in Hungary (Benda 1990: 54–55, Árva–Granasztói 2000: 697–698). All these sources form an integral part of my database made by processing the registers of Vajszló and six other neighbouring villages (Besence, Hirics, Kisszentmárton, Lúzsok, Páprád, Vejti: hereinafter jointly as 'Vajszló district'), which is summarised in the table below (Table 1). The database contains data of local Calvinists and Roman Catholics from the mid-18th century up until 1895, after which year civil registers were introduced in Hungary. Although data from the period after 1895 are also relevant in this study due to the completion of the family histories, I will reduce the measurement of the proportion of orphans to the 19th century (specifically between 1801 and 1900) for better comparison with the other sources.

Table 1. Registry data of the Vajszló district database

Period	1746–1980
Marriages	6,125
Births	18,316
Deaths	14,149
Number of family cards	1263

Sources: Referenced registers.

Although the sources do not use the term 'half-orphan', those losing one parent can be easily distinguished from those who were orphaned completely by reconstructing the families (Bideau, Brunet & Foroni 2000: 316; Borsy 2019: 348). In studying the orphans, the upper limit of their age is when they reach adulthood. Of course, several factors can be taken into account when determining this: an ecclesiastical rite, or in civil terms, getting married or reaching a certain age (in our case the age of 24) can both be regarded as a dividing line (Mitterauer 1990: 21; Borsy 2019: 352). Relevant Swedish research set the age limit for orphans to study under the age of 13, while French research set it at the age of 10 (Akerman et al. 1996; Bideau, Brunet & Foroni 2000: 316). In presenting my findings, I will respond to several approaches for the sake of comparison.

As regards the research method, I consider the problem-oriented approach of family history writing as a starting point. The fine alignment of the quantitative and qualitative data on orphans shows the many ways the orphans' lives could develop in light of the disintegration of the extended family network in Hungary. Although it is not possible to explore the orphans' mobility beyond the villages under study due to the sources (or the lack thereof), family reconstruction allows an accurate determination of the orphans' lives and ages. Using the family trees, we can draw conclusions on the motivation of relatives who took in the orphans. Marriage contracts and especially probate documents thus present not only individual marriages but whole family networks. Putting together the mosaics of nominative data under the historian's microscope thus allows us to get a comprehensive picture of orphan life in and around Vajszló in the 19th century (Bideau & Brunet 2002: 362–367.; Breschi&Manfredini 2002: 387; Perrier 2000: 313; Bideau, Brunet & Foroni 2000:317; Oris & Ochiai 2002: 23–24; Derosas & Saito 2002:9; Szijártó 2014). The significance of the study is underlined by the fact that the region is situated in the eastern band of the Hajnal line in the period before the demographic transition, so that it bears the characteristics of both the eastern world (such as early age at marriage) and those of the western world (such as consciously restricted childbearing).

Results
The proportion of orphans
In his 1970 study of premodern family life before the demographic transition, Laslett already noticed the high proportion of orphans and half-orphans when examining the society of a 17th-century English village. Laslett showed the loss

of at least one parent in the case of a third of children under the age of 10 in contemporary England, and even higher proportions are reflected by research findings on the society of the French colonies in North America or even in early modern Hungary (Laslett 1977: 160–173; Denis, Desjardins & Légeré 1997: 277–293; Erdélyi 2020: 7–34).

Table 2. Mortality table of children and orphans of Vajszló district (1801–1900)

Age (years)	Number of children	Number of orphans	Proportion of orphans
1	858	3	0.3
2	778	8	1.0
3	727	19	2.6
4	702	25	3.6
5	682	33	4.8
6	661	43	6.5
7	642	44	6.9
8	631	52	8.2
9	622	60	9.6
10	616	66	10.7
11	609	73	12.0
12	602	80	13.3
13	597	93	15.6
14	591	100	16.9
15	590	103	17.5
16	589	109	18.5
17	588	122	20.7
18	581	130	22.4
19	575	139	24.2
20	572	145	25.3
21	565	159	28.1
22	561	169	30.1
23	555	181	32.6
24	550	185	33.6

Sources: author's calculation based on referenced registers.

Stone also estimated the proportion of orphans at one third among English aristocrats in the 16th and 17th centuries, while he suggested an even higher figure for commoners. At the same time, he pointed out a significant decline in this proportion by the late 18th century, estimating the proportion of orphans in his study of first-married couples of Brittany and Anjou at only 20% (Stone 1977: 56–58). The Swedish and French findings also reflect these improving values in

the 19th century. The proportion of Swedish orphans under the age of 10 in this period was 7.8%, while 9.6% of children of the same age living in the French Valserine Valley lost at least one parent.
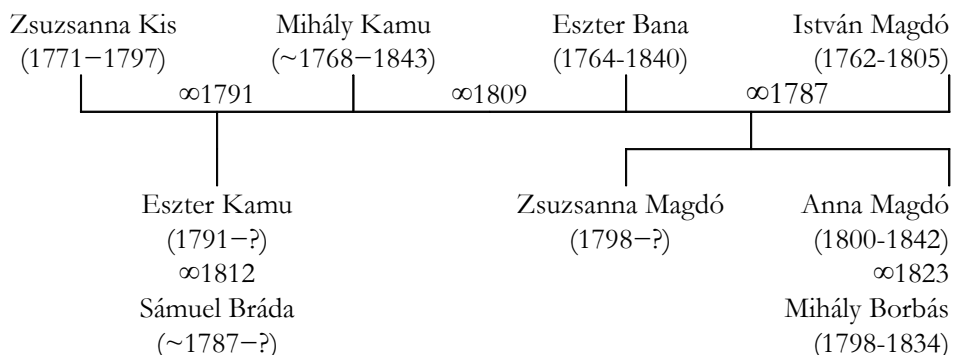
In the case of the Vajszló district, mortality improved continuously during the 19th century (Koloh 2021: 71). I narrowed the orphans' study to those children born between 1801 and 1900 (10,065 children) whose exact date of birth and death are known, as well as whose biological parents' exact date of death is known (1,192 children: 11,8%). Table 2 summarises the development of child survival, as well as the number and proportion of orphans for the century as a whole.

It can be seen that in the case of 19th-century orphans in the Vajszló district, the proportion of orphans under the age of 10 is similar in magnitude to the French values and somewhat worse than Swedish figures. We can see the orphan proportion of about one third of previous centuries only in the case of those having reached the age of 24, which is nevertheless quite an important dividing line, as all those who had not been married until then became now of legal age (Borsy 2019: 352). The figures therefore suggest that the rate of orphanhood is not significantly different in this part of Europe from 19th-century western and northern values, driven in our opinion by better survival rates resulting from fewer childbirths, and the already improving mortality rates in the era.

Remarrying parent

The most common place for orphans to continue their upbringing was the new family established by the remarriage of the widowed parent. In such cases, several forms of cohabitation could develop, from first-married stepparents to those with children, which thus also created a stepsibling relationship for the orphan(s). The age of the orphaned child at the time of this remarriage, whether the new marriage lasted until the child became of legal age, and the length of time spent in the (step)parent's home were all determining factors, so overall the time spent together becomes the primary determinant in our case (Perrier 2000: 305). Examining the marriage entries in the registers of the villages under study, we can find both regularly recurring and several unique elements, and the latter allow us to attempt to reconstruct even the position of the parties.

Figure 1. The family of Mihály Kamu and Eszter Bana

Zsuzsanna Kis	Mihály Kamu	Eszter Bana	István Magdó
(1771−1797)	(~1768−1843)	(1764-1840)	(1762-1805)
∞1791		∞1809	∞1787

Eszter Kamu	Zsuzsanna Magdó	Anna Magdó
(1791−?)	(1798−?)	(1800-1842)
∞1812		∞1823
Sámuel Bráda		Mihály Borbás
(~1787−?)		(1798-1834)

Source: author's reconstruction based on referenced registers.

Mihály Kamu and Eszter Bana married in November 1809. According to their agreement (BREmL L66: 225), they mutually commit to marry off each other's daughters, also paying a dowry of 12 forints per daughter (Figure 1). Since the woman had two daughters, while the man had only one, they also agreed that in the event she died first, her daughters would only inherit her clothes, but the bedding linen brought to the marriage would remain with her husband. The contract, however, does not end here: it also contains provisions for the event that Mihály Kamu and Eszter Bana would have a child together, so that this child should also have a share from the parents' inheritance. Less typically, the contract also provided for the exclusion of the husband from the inheritance from his father, which may be due to some kind of previous settlement. Furthermore, the contract also contains a temporal restriction when it stipulates that in the event the wife dies within six months, the husband shall not be obligated to marry off her two daughters. As we can see, the marriage of widows created a new inheritance situation, which extended to the entire family relationship. The creation of mosaic families this way also brought about a partial rearrangement of property, making the parties interested in following the same path in bringing up stepchildren as if there had been no change in the person of the parent. For the parties about to be married, the agreement created a stable situation, but there still remain some open questions to which our source does not provide an answer. The husband had been a widower for 12 years, while the wife a widow for 4 years when the marriage took place. Had he been caring for his daughter, who became an orphan at the age of six, alone during all this time? The inclusion of the husband's father and siblings in the marriage contract may also reflect their

active involvement up until that time, the financial costs of which was intended to be compensated for precisely by the exclusion stipulated in the marriage contract. If this was indeed the case, it also follows that, rather than seeking help from relatives, the spouses left alone this way may have expressly sought to find a person with whom they could continue to raise their children.

A marriage contract concluded the following year, in 1810, further refines our image of the fate of orphans. In the case of the marriage between József Punok and Anna Tóth, the husband had two orphans, a boy and a girl. The wife, however, was still a maid, so she had no children either from or outside of marriage. The agreement on marrying off the girl corresponded to local norms, but the boy was blind, which required a special arrangement. Under the terms of the marriage contract, the wife undertook a commitment that together with her husband, and even after his death, she would take care of the blind boy, she would support him, clothe him, bury him if he died, and in return she would inherit all her husband's property, or together with their common child if one was born. In this case, the agreement provided a full care, again with the now complete rearrangement of property.

While in the former case, the arrangement provided greater help for the husband, in other cases, the remarrying widow and her child(ren) could come off better. In 1811, when concluding a marriage agreement between József Gajdon and Zsuzsanna Fábián, the husband was childless, but the wife moved in with her son. The husband agreed not only to marry off the boy but also to give him several heads of livestock: a two-year-old cow and a one-year-old pig he owned. Reading many other agreements, we can clearly conclude that moving in together was for a longer period of time, resulted in a change in the distribution of property, and it meant a safe and, in difficult situations, a helping but requited cooperation. In addition to the foregoing, factors such as the orphan's gender, his or her farming ability but also the chance of the birth of further common children all mattered significantly. It seems from the marriage contracts that the benefits provided by the parties were not always in balance, but each and every aspect cannot be necessarily reflected in these written sources. Thus, the seemingly more advantaged party's load-bearing capacity, devotion, reputation, ability to adapt and cooperate, perhaps also his or her appearance and beauty may have played a further role.

Marriage entries recorded in the Vajszló district typically sought to settle the other party's fate for a longer period of time, even after the given party's death, providing for their security even against their own children. For several contracts allow the widowed party moving in with his or her spouse to stay at the house even after the owner of the household died. In 1808, for example,

János Szőke and the widowed wife of József Kis Magdó agreed that she might remain in his house, if she wanted to, even after his death. In 1824, in the case of the marriage of József Csordás and Erzsébet Pósa, the husband had been for several years a farmhand for the family, and it was also possible for him to stay, just as in 1875, József Aranyosi also guaranteed food and shelter for Anna Kamu in case of his death. All these examples suggest that the mosaic family established with the new spouse was considered an economic unit of the same value as the original family. This idea was likely to have stemmed from the belief that the success of collective farming depends primarily on the return on the efforts and money invested. And the parties may have been encouraged to make greater investment by the possibility to plan for a longer period, as well as guaranteeing secure living conditions. Of course, the guarantees for the stepparent to this degree did not necessarily mean vulnerability for the orphans, since the contracts usually stipulated that after the death of the biological parent, the maintenance of the non-biological spouse was only required if the stepparent was living with the children in peace. These agreements, therefore, were concluded with a view to providing mutual benefits in the long term, as this could seem to be the best solution for all parties involved. We have very little data as to the quality of life in the cohabitation of orphans and step-parents beyond this, as literature also usually warns (Stone 1977: 58). The protocols of local presbyteries, which had still a disciplinary force for the community, preserved only one case in early 19th-century Vajszló that gives evidence of an unpeaceful life that also affected an orphan directly (BREmL D119: 3. 4). For the master of the house, who had married into the family as a groom, left his wife on the grounds of her unfaithfulness, and the presbytery called upon him to return to his woman, since he had arrived to her household to be the master and to raise her orphan. The man threatened to physically abuse his wife, then later returned to the family. It can be assumed that the orphan's life in this case was not in the least harmonious, but the circumstances here cannot be directly linked to the life situation deriving from orphanhood, that is there are also examples of this in families where both of the child's biological parents were alive.

Involvement of the relatives
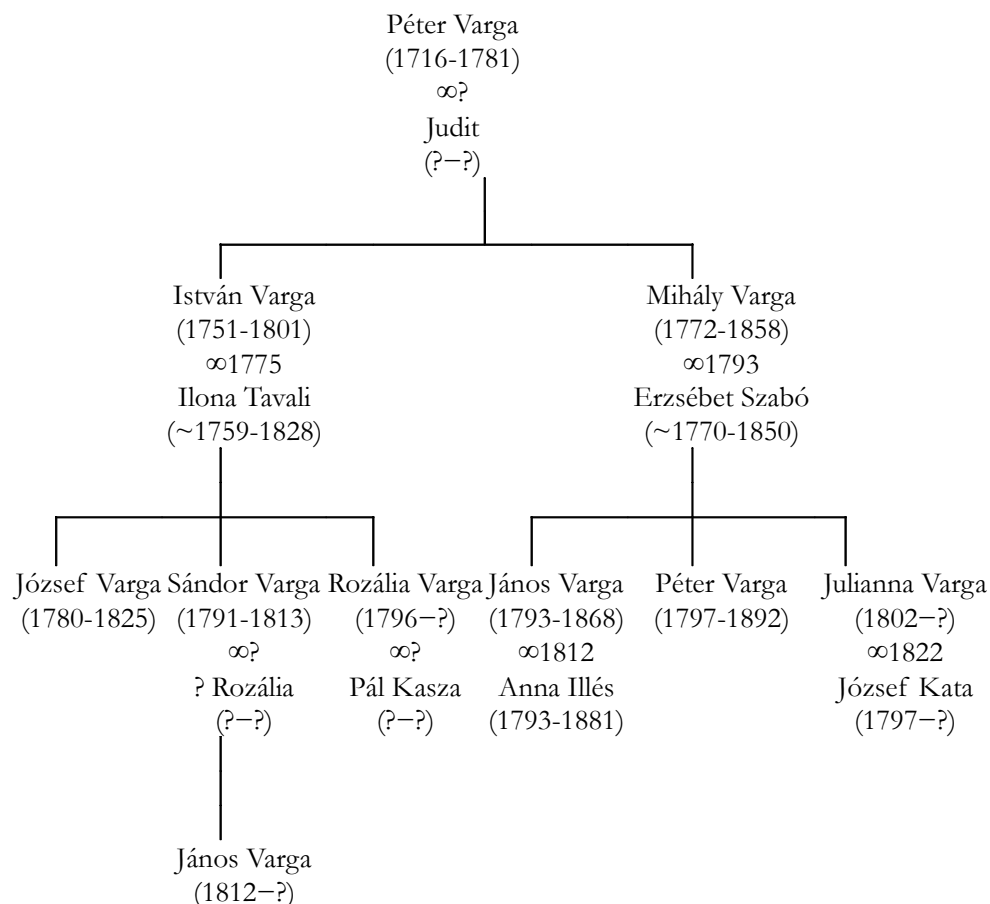
The separation of guardianship and actual care was common in cases where the orphan or orphans stayed with their mother, so that she cared for them, but guardianship was mostly exercised by someone else, usually a closer male relative. It is obviously not true that the guardian could only be a man: in the probate documents, the guardian was named in the case of 38 children, and

there were also women among them, even if only five. In two cases, it was the mother, a close female relative in another two cases, and a non-related woman in the fifth case.

When the Reverend Mihály Fóris died in 1805, his son, Sándor became the guardian of his minor siblings. An elder sibling as the guardian was a fairly common choice if guardianship was not entrusted to the parent or stepparent (Bideau & Brunet 2002: 366). The probate records as regards the case of the Fóris orphans begin with January 1805, i.e. when the father was still alive. For that was the date when Ádám Kolpek testified to having transferred his house in Vajszló to the Reverend Mihály Fóris and his son, the blacksmith Sándor, who had already paid half of the house (cca. 100 forints) and should repay the other half until Saint George's Day (BaML XI. 605.h. O/100–1). The price of the house was fully paid back until April, but the father died in July, which created a new situation for the eldest child, the widow and the younger children. Sándor Fóris and the widowed Mrs Mihály Fóris (of whom we do not know whether she was also mother to Sándor) agreed that the house would be entirely Sándor's, and in return she could stay there in peace with the orphans, while the eldest sibling was bound to repay the price of the house to the younger ones in instalments. According to the description, this cohabitation was feasible and comfortable for all parties, because the house consisted of two bedrooms, which were separated by the kitchen. The agreement stipulated a joint right to use the kitchen. This example reflects, therefore, that if the mother could not or would not remarry in the short run (or possibly even later), there may still have been a way to provide an acceptable life for the orphans. In this case, we can assume that separation within the house may have been an already established order, where a separate room was provided for the older child who had his own profession, maybe even a wife, while the younger children lived together with the parents. The financial support of the children therefore formally became the responsibility of Sándor Fóris, who ensured this by repaying the price of the house, but raising the children fell to the mother, until she herself died. This occurred not much time later, in the days following the Christmas of 1809, so caring for the children fell to the eldest daughter. The probate list was drafted after the death of Mrs Fóris, which itemized all the objects from her household that were considered to be worth selling or necessary. The orphans' fate cannot be tracked down entirely due to the incomplete nature of the records, but it is certain that the youngest son, János, lived with his sister, then one year after his unclear disappearance, in 1826, the four sisters took out their brother's

inheritance in the orphans' fund and divided it proportionately among themselves.

Figure 2. Family tree of the Varga family

Péter Varga
(1716-1781)
∞?
Judit
(?−?)

István Varga
(1751-1801)
∞1775
Ilona Tavali
(~1759-1828)

Mihály Varga
(1772-1858)
∞1793
Erzsébet Szabó
(~1770-1850)

József Varga
(1780-1825)

Sándor Varga
(1791-1813)
∞?
? Rozália
(?−?)

Rozália Varga
(1796−?)
∞?
Pál Kasza
(?−?)

János Varga
(1793-1868)
∞1812
Anna Illés
(1793-1881)

Péter Varga
(1797-1892)

Julianna Varga
(1802−?)
∞1822
József Kata
(1797−?)

János Varga
(1812−?)

Source: author's reconstruction based on referenced registers.

Caring for younger siblings by the elder one seems an obvious solution, but in many cases, the children were too close in age to each other for this to be feasible. This is when the extended family, but still relatively close relatives, had to be involved more actively, which, however, cannot be considered by far as a natural, so to say legitimate solution (Derosas & Saito 2002: 3), as we will see below. This incidental nature is confirmed also by the fact that the extended family cohabitation was disintegrating in the first half of the 19th century, it

was less and less observable in its classical form, like the 'zadruga' found south of the region, and the separate households were now organized along different economic interests and mental values. For example, even within a single family, birth controlling behaviours had not necessarily been accepted by all generations or all siblings. However, landholdings played a major role, making individual relatives strongly interested in undertaking the care for the orphaned child. Of course, this did not mean they could themselves inherit the land, but the fate of János Varga's inheritance shows why it may have been so important for one of his uncles (BaML XI. 605.h. O/100-10).

After his father's early death, János Varga (1812–?) came under the guardianship of his aunt's husband, Pál Kasza (and the care of his aunt). However, according to the account of the probate documents, Kasza was a poor farmer on the orphan's land, so the family did not think it wise to let him continue to cultivate the land. The child could not be placed with his uncle named József Varga, who was logically next in line of the guardianship, because according to the documents, he was mentally seriously ill. It was for these reasons that János's grandfather's, István Varga's brother Mihály, stepped forward, promising to be the orphan's guardian *and* carer. As we can see, Mihály Varga had three surviving children, all of whom had reached adulthood by 1823. This act of taking him in by his relatives may not primarily have been a consequence of close solidarity within the small community (Anderson 1972: 227), but emphasising in the documents the fate and poor cultivation of the land, as well as the fact that the whole land had been in the single hand of the late patriarch of the family, Péter Varga, reveals an intent on behalf of Mihály Varga to extend his holdings. The source unambiguously makes it clear that Mihály Varga assumes the care for the child, even though his mother and paternal grandmother were still alive (the mother even remarried in 1827), so we cannot suspect the separation of the roles of guardian and carer. Until 1833, during János's adolescence, Mihály Varga cultivated the land, but after that, the boy *left to servitude*, and the plot was leased by the estate. István Józsa leased it for years, up until 1839 when János Varga sold it to him. In April 1839, Mihály Varga filed a request to the estate to allow him to exercise his right of pre-emption, which he claimed existed, on the land, but this was rejected, since it was a right of nobles and citizens of royal free cities. Looking at the family tree, it can be seen why Mihály Varga would have been interested in acquiring the other quarter of a plot, but the procedure indicates that the relationship between the guardian and the orphan could not have been harmonious, since if Mihály Varga had been notified earlier about his grand-nephew's intention, he could even have agreed with him on the purchase. It is

not revealed how Mihály Varga cared for János, but the above example shows that in the case of a less harmonious relationship, even the orphan could upset his guardian's plans (Figure 2).

Other family examples found among the probate documents also confirm the conclusion that in the event of a guardianship by a relative, it was primarily the older siblings who were the most likely to be considered, and in the absence of these, the siblings of parents or grandparents. In these cases, however, even if the ancestral family land played a significant role, it was far from being a bond for which the relative could be expected to provide help. The orphans' fate in these examples was always incidental, and as we have seen, much more vulnerable than if they had entered a new mosaic family with the surviving parent (if any).
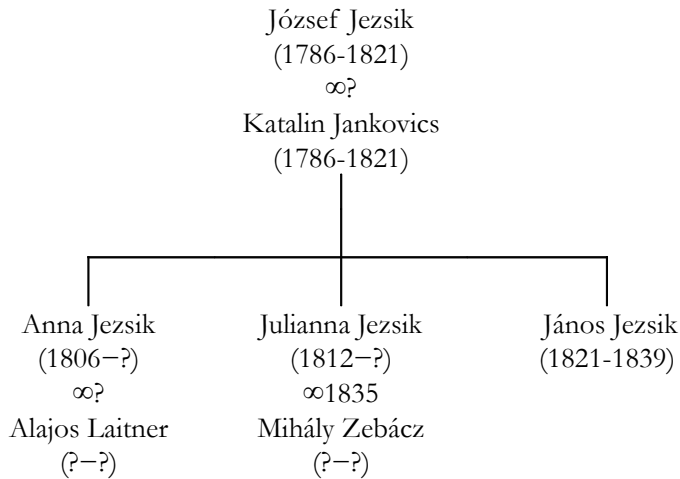
Institutional framework

In studying the life of village orphans, we can increasingly count on the existence of some institutional protection from the beginning of the 19th century. In addition to the role of communities beyond the family, legal measures to protect the vulnerable were also emerging in many European countries (Maddern 2009: 82; Vassberg 1998: 442–453; Derosas & Saito 2002: 4; Bideau & Brunet 2002: 336). In the spirit of caring for orphans, the Council of Regency, a central Hungarian public administration body operating under Austrian control, drew up its instructions, also implemented in the Vajszló estate. These were meant to secure orphaned minors' assets, to avoid debates and litigations, as well as to provide for their upbringing and food (Borsy 2019: 344). We can see community and state care intertwining in the case of the Jezsik orphans.

József Jezsik died in 1821, his wife the following year, leaving three minor orphans behind (Figure 3). Neither him nor his wife were born locally, so according to data in the registers, they had no family ties in the region. First, their religious community took care of the children's fate, with the local parish priest of Vajszló taking in the elder girl and the boy. The reasoning behind keeping the older girl and the little boy together was probably that 16-year-old Anna might already have been able to take care of her younger brother. The middle child was taken in by a local Catholic widow, Mrs József Miklósi, who undertook to raise her, then marry her off, for which, as the probate documents put it (BaML XI. 605.h. O/100-11), she asked for nothing but to have her *work for her*. According to the available register data, Mrs Miklósi might also have had several children, three of whom may even have lived to adulthood, and if they did, they had not reached adulthood yet. In these cases,

the orphans were placed with the non-related guardians on the basis of religious solidarity, but in 1830, the boy was sent to the orphanage of Pécs. A few years later, he apprenticed as a weaver, but due to his untimely death, his sisters buried him, and then withdrew and divided the money left in the orphans' fund.

Figure 3. Family tree of the Jezsik family

József Jezsik
(1786-1821)
∞?
Katalin Jankovics
(1786-1821)

Anna Jezsik	Julianna Jezsik	János Jezsik
(1806−?)	(1812−?)	(1821-1839)
∞?	∞1835	
Alajos Laitner	Mihály Zebácz	
(?−?)	(?−?)	

Source: author's reconstruction based on referenced registers.

One aspect of care by non-relatives was the act of auctioning off the movables of an estate. That was when the movables and immovables that were considered necessary or possible to sell were offered for sale. Examining the names of estate buyers, we find that most of them appeared only once or twice, and between 1821 and 1836, there were only two people who participated four and five times. Samu Csöme was a Calvinist Vajszló resident with half of a plot, the child of a local family, as was his wife, Katalin Simon, whom he married in 1800. Csöme's life, which was no different from the others (the Presbyterian protocols, which at the time still gave accounts of family and community disputes, did not record his name), came to a tragic end in July 1848 when at the age of 68 *"he was crushed by a cart"*. His purchases of estates were concentrated to 1825 and 1826. Apart from a cow and a barrel, Csöme bought worthless trifles in small lots. Dániel Tóth purchased probate items at four fairs. He was a Calvinist serf from Vajszló and married locally, just like Csöme. Tóth did not have such a tight buying period as Sámuel

Csöme, he made purchases from the beginning of the studied period until the early 1830s. Reconstructing his buying behaviour in retrospect, Tóth seems to have been a much more conscious buyer than Csöme: not only was he informed and patient, but in most cases he did purchase items of higher value, even below their estimated value. In both cases, we see a conscious buying behaviour, as they both were aware that on these occasions, they could get harder to obtain and more expensive items at a lower price. If we also add that their action may no longer necessarily have been seen by the community as an intention to help the orphans but a focus on personal gain, then their determination must have been even stronger, because as integral members of the community, they assumed responsibility for this attitude aimed at profit-making purchases. The difference between the two is still considerable: Csöme was much more likely to play for a quick, even if small, profit, while Tóth followed a more sober and better thought-out strategy.

Conclusion

In my study, I wanted to better understand the fate of orphans in the Vajszló district of South Transdanubia based on the available sources. Based on available data, the proportion of orphans under the age of 10 is close in magnitude to the French values and somewhat higher than Swedish proportions. Based on these it can be established that 19th-century figures in this respect gravitate towards the values of areas west of the Hajnal line. The fate of half-orphans of Ormánság was usually settled in a contract by the surviving parent upon remarrying, which was aimed at raising the children until marrying them off. The contracts became more nuanced in content over time, but it was true all along for them that they saw as their main task the re-establishment of the economic and mental unit that had been shattered by the death of the former spouse. This was the most easily conceivable and clear-cut way for both the parties to be married and the children to know that their fate and property were secure. The promise to guarantee their security usually extended also to the situation of the surviving spouse and his or her children. These considerations made the parties interested in pursuing good relations with each other's children, which also facilitated the efficient functioning of joint family farming. Based on this, in the case of 19th-century orphans in Ormánság, we cannot assume the high level of vulnerability that would have made their fate untenable. If an orphan had lost both parents, or the surviving parent was not able to take care of him or her, this could open the way for the extended family and relatives, but whether the family of the father or mother would come first was by no means pre-determined, even if the inheritance and

fate of the landholdings did play a role in deciding this issue. The orphans, in contrast to western examples (Vassberg 1998: 453; Perrier 2000: 301; Morin 2000: 256–257), frequently became economic servants if taken in by relatives (but not in the case of remarrying parents). The former may have been driven by the possibility of using labour on their own farms due to lower fertility. The most vulnerable seem to be those who had not been deeply embedded in the kinship network of the village. Nevertheless, their fate did not become entirely hopeless, either. For religious solidarity did work in this case, and if for some reason it could not continue any longer, only then can we see an example of a village orphan getting placed in an orphanage. Community solidarity, however, was more fragile than that of family, which is underlined by the fact that probate auctions were also a forum of obtaining personal gain.

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Orphanhood and Guardianship in Transylvania at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.
Case Study: Tutelage Files from Alba de Jos County

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Abstract. The present study looks at the tutelage system in modern Transylvania. The case studies assembled here have allowed us to reconstruct the tutelage process comprehensively, from the death of the person who leaves under-age heirs behind and up to the stage where heirs come of age (at twenty-four) and consequently leave the system. Tutelage files are important sources for social historians: they reveal aspects of family life, the status of women and children, the state's involvement in the protection of minors, as well as the management of material assets, succession, and bequests.

  The cases analyzed here have been extracted from the archives of the Orphanage Departament (Ro *Sedria orfanală*) of the Alba de Jos county, covering the period from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Most of these documents were issued in compliance with Law XX/1877 that provided in detail for tutelage and trusteeship in Hungary. The case studies pertain to families with small and moderate incomes from Transylvania's rural areas and reflect various family situations: the death of the father or of both parents, or the death of the mother and inheritance by the minor orphan of assets left down her lineage.

The main issues we addressed were the procedure for setting up tutelage and the guidelines for its implementation. What were the control mechanisms applied to the tutelage system? Did the child's well-being or the preservation of assets have primacy in the process? In addition, our case studies have allowed insights into related social aspects such as gender relations, perceptions of women in their role as natural guardians of fatherless children, degrees of social stratification once tutelage was set up and, more broadly, kinship in a traditional society.

Keywords: guardianship, orphans, Orphans' Department (*Sedrie orfanală*), Alba de Jos county, Transylvania

Introduction

In a period when life expectancy at birth was still very low and mortality rates were high across all age groups, broken families were the norm rather than the exception: families were de-composed, re-composed, with stepparents and siblings brought together under the same roof by remarriages. Care for orphaned children has a lengthy history in Hungary and Austria-Hungary (Szűcs 2000), with the state gradually taking over from the church in ensuring the protection of vulnerable minors and the necessary legislative framework for this task. Whether we have in mind the creation of orphanages or of tutelage systems, we can trace such attempts back to István Werbőczi's legal compendium of 1514, the *Tripartitum*. The earliest initiatives belonged to Catholic and Protestant charitable institutions, first in Kőszeg in 1741 and in Cluj in 1760 (Szűcs 2000: 13). Only a few years later, under the auspices of Empress Maria Theresia, the first state-sponsored orphanages were created. By 1893, Transylvania had eight state orphanages catering for 363 children, a very small percentage of the nearly 150,000 orphaned children under the tutelage and care of surviving parents or kin. Whereas the decision to institutionalize orphans can be fairly quickly pinpointed in historical sources, their overall care in extended families needs a more extensive investigation from the angle of the cultural history of domestic groups. At some stage, for reasons that have less to do with the well-being of these orphans than with patrimonial control, the institution of tutelage was introduced, fully equipped with clerical staff, laws, and regulations that represented and safeguarded orphans' interests. The orphans' boards (Ro *sedrii orfanale*), bodies created to oversee all affairs related to orphanhood, were first overhauled with Law XLII of 1870. Their roles became more precisely targeted with Law XX of 1876.

Paradoxically, despite the fact the institution of tutelage covered a large population mass that gradually became the subject and object of official regulation, it has so far attracted little attention from scholars. In contrast, orphanages and children's homes have been comparatively better researched, possibly also due to the accessibility of their archival records (Roman 2018; Gál 2020). There are still many unknowns concerning the large mass of orphans left in the care of the surviving parent or kin. In many cases, if the surviving parent was the mother, a co-guardian was chosen among the father's male kin. Overall, the procedures for the setting up and ending tutelage are still under-researched. It is the chief objective of our study to use the case studies assembled so far to reconstruct the functioning of tutelage in Transylvania in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The case studies are explored in conjunction with the relevant legislative process, all the way from parliamentary bills and debates to the actual legislation and comments in the press. Our interest has focused on non-institutionalized orphans from lower middle-class backgrounds. Orphans from the province's elite, aristocratic background have been studied elsewhere (e.g. Fehér 2019). The main issues we tried to address referred to: the procedures for setting up tutelage, from the issuing of death certificates for the parent(s), through probate inventories, the choice of guardian and his/her background. What were the control mechanisms applied to the institution of tutelage? What factor was paramount in the tutelage system, the child's well-being or the preservation of material assets? In addition, our case studies have allowed insights into related social aspects such as gender relations, perceptions of women in their role as natural guardians of fatherless children, degrees of social stratification once tutelage was set up and, not least, kinship in a traditional society.

Statistics for Non-institutionalized Orphans

A ministerial order issued by the ministry of home affairs on 16 December 1872 required all local authorities in Hungary to forward statistics on tutelage and conservatorship. The task of processing the data was entrusted to the Central Office for Statistics. The objective was to create a precise map of Hungary's tutelage and conservatorship systems in order to enact comprehensive nationwide legislation in these areas. In its introduction to the material published in the Magyar Statistical Yearbook of 1876, the Office for Statistics complained that, despite the ministerial order, many local authorities only submitted partial reports, while others (for example, the jurisdictional seats [Lat *sedes*; Ro *scaune*] of Mediaş, Sighişoara, and Orăştie, as well as Zemplén county and the town of Zalău) failed to submit reports.

Table 1. Statistics for tutelage and conservatorship (individuals) in Hungary in 1872

Jurisdiction	Tutelage	Orphans' wealth	Conservatorship
Alba de Jos	5,374	50,212	45
Abrud	174	84	9
Alba-Iulia	218	18,355	4
Aiud	180	5,006	0
Ocna Sibiului	54	4,522	2
Arad-county	1,1706	2,118,757	13
Arad-town	1,413	537,554	143
Arieş - seat	1,799	11,510	4
Vinţul de Sus	185	0	0
Solnocul interior	2,535	355,694	219
Dej	227	6,190	2
Gherla	258	38,350	3
Bistriţa-district	1,447	104,856	13
Bihor	22,651	1,408,848	231
Oradea	695	509,675	5
Braşov-district	4,575	324,329	65
Ciuc-seat	4,869	90,891	37
Miercurea Ciuc	46	777	0
Dăbâca-county	3,237	57,110	90
Sic	566	3,856	0
Făgăraş-district	2,551	68,201	47
Făgăraş-town	58	2,2843	0
Trei Scaune	5,882	265,418	25
Breţcu	649	12,919	86
Ilieni	88	9527	1
Târgu Secuiesc	287	31,963	1
Sfântu Gheorghe	189	25,317	1
Hunedoara-county	4,057	80,430	17
Haţeg	10	356	2
Hunedoara-town	21	0	0
Cluj-county	4,052	40,339	36
Cluj-town	1536	254,521	15
Kolos	470	8,496	34
Rupea-seat	890	11,661	16

Țara Chioarului	1,577	1,993	15
Solnocul de Mijloc	5,646	59,959	45
Tășnad	150	64,491	3
Zalău	0	0	0
Caraș-county	3,445	380,427	4
Crasna-county	39	5,638	2
Șimleul Silvaniei	71	1159	0
Târnave-county	2,697	8,894	42
Dumbrăveni	66	138	0
Maramureș-county	2,564	12,807	56
Sighetul Marmației	235	20,269	8
Mureș-seat	3,901	35,760	35
Târgu-Mureș	424	65,887	3
Mediaș-seat	0	0	0
Năsăud-district	2,974	5,8103	239
Sighișoara-seat	0	0	0
Sebeș-seat	1,502	27,111	132
Orăștie	0	0	0
Satu Mare-county	2,149	287,116	15
Baia Sprie	103	15,774	0
Baia Mare	287	80,348	2
Carei	272	54,990	3
Satu Mare-town	699	245,731	1
Sibiu-seat	1748	56,2435	89
Timiș-county	21,476	1,749,303	111
Timișoara-town	952	780,760	14
Turda-county	6,071	64,510	91
Reghin	499	87,180	4
Turda-town	0	0	0
Odorhei-seat	4,205	36,860	100
Vlăhița	111	6,935	0
Odorheiu Secuiesc	136	4,772	0
Total	**146,948**	**11,197,917**	**2,180**

Source: *MSÉ 1876*

Consequently, the outcome was a very patchy statistical map, based solely on the more or less complete data furnished by some local authorities. Even though unsatisfactory, the statistics revealed the urgent need for reform, because, as the introduction read, "in the highly ramified area of public administration, there is no other institution that is so important and pervades

family and social life as deeply as that of tutelage and trusteeship, while remaining so neglected thus far..." (MSÉ 1876: 9). The official figures released for 1872 showed 146,948 individuals placed under tutelage in Transylvania (MSÉ 1876). On their behalf, the authorities administered wealth totaling 11,197,917 forint. Most certainly, the number of minors placed under tutelage must have been considerably higher, given that some authorities either did not submit reports or declared questionable figures (for example, Haţeg, county declared a number of only 10 wards).

The Structure of the Tutelage System

The orphans' courts (Lat *judices orphanalis*) have a long history, the area of Transylvania included. A nineteenth-century monograph on the county of Dăbâca (Károly 1837: 485) shows that these boards were created on order from Emperor Joseph II and their roles were set out by the decree *Pupillaris instructio*, which covered issues pertaining to orphans. The same work names the staff in charge of the tutelage system: a chairman, a secular clerk (probably the later assessor), and a jurist (*actuarius*). In a study on the history of the Szekler seats, Pál-Antal Sándor (2012) has shown that the orphans' courts were set up in the late eighteenth century and operated under rules established through Law LII of 1791, and through the Gubernium's Orders 446J/1806 and 1428/1829. The law of 1791, entitled "On orphans and their guardians," established the roles of those in charge of orphans' affairs at county levels. The higher authority was the Gubernium: all local tutelary authorities at county, seat, or district level were accountable to it. All reports on tutelary matters were submitted to the *comes*. This law treated orphans differently according to distinctions of class and social status. The affairs of orphans from noble backgrounds were controlled by the county public assembly, those of orphans from urban areas by the town council, while orphans from serf families were left at the lord's mercy. The law of 1791 is also important for its stipulations regarding the orphans' welfare: according to its clauses, the surviving parent was automatically entitled to become guardian, with the same rights and obligations even in the event of re-marriage. However, the step-parent was excluded from taking decisions, having no prerogatives or rights over the orphan's family inheritance to start with (Legea LII/1791, § 11)

Eventually, the counties created institutions specialized in dealing with orphanhood: called orphans' boards (Ro *sedrie orfanală*) or permanent delegations (Ro *delegaţie permanentă*), these bodies used different approaches as they did not operate within a unitary framework (Szűcs 2000: 18). Under the absolutist monarchy, there were further changes in the legislation on

orphanhood and guardianship matters: an imperial decree of 1851 placed the tutelage system under the jurisdiction of the newly-created Imperial and Royal courts and, after 1854, of the offices of the Imperial and Royal pretors, with the orphans' wealth being administered by a fiscal office. From 1853, the application of the Austrian Civil Code was extended to the tutelage system in an attempt to create a more coherent structure, but excessive bureaucratization in fact complicated the management of guardianship even further. The year 1861 was a milestone for the activities of the orphans' boards: on the one hand, there was a return to the pre-1848 legislation and practices; on the other, a recommendation for the establishment of permanent orphans' department.

After 1867, an important objective of the Magyar governments was the creation of a unitary legislative framework, as a feature of a modern, centralized state. The area of tutelage was one of the juridical-administrative branches that did not yet benefit from regulations on the precise roles of the two state imperial departments, justice and administration; nor was it governed by unitary procedures aimed at preventing abuses by local jurisdictions.

Law LIV/1868, regarding the civil rights, stipulated in art. 23 that the bodies responsible for the management of tutelage and trusteeship cases were the town and county courts. They were also in charge of solving cases of succession. The courts were responsible for notifying tutelary authorities wherever no legal representative was available in cases of tutelage and trusteeship, so that a guardian or trustee could be appointed immediately.

Laws XLII/1870 and XVIII/1871 granted supreme tutelary authority to the administrative system. These powers were to be exercised via the orphans' boards, which had been set up in every county and town with an organized, functioning local council.

These laws, however, only regulated on the structure of the tutelage system, not on the procedures to be applied in specific tutelage cases (Zámbó, 40-41). The Magyar political class recognized the acute need for new laws to fill in loopholes in prior legislation, and "save" the orphans "for the nation," while complying with both the Magyar legal traditions and the requirements of modernity and the concepts of liberalism (Képviselőházi napló X: 325-347). There were also pressures from the public: as we have seen, the ministry asked for detailed reports on orphan statistics from the local authorities. However, many jurisdictions only submitted incomplete reports or none at all, probably because work was so disorganized that accurate, timely statistics could not be compiled.

Law XX/1877, known as the law on tutelage and trusteeship, was adopted after vigorous debate in parliament and came into force on 15 January 1878. The 306 paragraphs attempted to cover all aspects of tutelage and add a few adjustments clarifying issues arising from its application (Law XXII/1886, for example). This legislation remained in force in Hungary essentially until 1945 (Zámbó 2004: 40-41). According to its provisions, every minor, as an individual who was incapable of managing his or her own affairs, was under the authority of the father.[1] When this authority was missing (usually because of the father's death), a substitute had to be found, i.e. a guardian. There were three types of tutelage: a guardian appointed through testament, a legal and natural guardian (the surviving mother, or alternatively, in this order, the paternal grandfather, the maternal grandfather, or father's kin), or a guardian appointed by the authorities if the former were not available.

 Tutelary authority rested with the county orphans' boards and those in towns with an organized, functioning council. These represented the tutelary authority of the first instance. The higher level comprised the county council, the administrative council, and ultimately the ministry for home affairs. Consequently, orphanhood matters were placed under the responsibility of the public administration and, whenever a court ruling was needed, cases were heard by local courts. The staff of the orphans' boards were included in the category of public employees and, as such, their appointment, career advancement, and any disciplinary measures in cases of misconduct, were governed by the general regulations pertaining to public servants in general.

 In tutelage cases, the communes had a well-defined role. They had to initiate and participate in the legal process of succession, to watch over the physical and material well-being of the ward, to answer question from the tutelary authority and implement its decisions, and to oversee the upbringing and education of economically deprived orphans. The pretor (Mg *szolgabiró*; Ro *solgăbirău*) had to ensure that these tasks were put into practice. Communal functionaries, including a judge (Hu: *biró*), a notary and a communal guardian, were the first responders in cases of tutelage at communal level (Zámbó 2004: 62-63).

 The 1877 law defined the attributions of top communal functionaries. For example, it was the communal/circuit notary's task to issue a death certificate, to verify the bequest and draw up a probate inventory, and

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[1] The initial draft bill submitted to the Chamber of Deputies made a reference to parental authority (Hu *szülői hatalom*), but a majority of deputies were unwilling to allow mothers quasi-equal rights over children to those of fathers, and the concept was modified, with the final variant foregrounding the "father's authority" (Hu *atyai hatalom*). See: Képviselőházi napló X: 325-347; Anna Loutfy 2004: 5-22.

nominate a guardian if such a person had not already been designated by testament. These clauses were included in chapter VI of the law, but were later removed with Law XVI/1894. However, the new legislation did not introduce significant changes, apart from the fact that the drawing up of the probate inventory now had to be authorized by the Board. After the public guardian, the notary was the official who had to make sure that inexperienced guardians submitted their reports (Zámbó 2004: 63).

The Structure of the Orphans' Department under the Dual Monarchy

The orphans' department were created under Law XLII/1870 (the Law of administrative organization) as bodies representing the interests of under-age orphans and wards. There were orphans' boards at county level, in free cities with organized councils, and in large communes. According to the clauses, the boards comprised a chairman, at least two assessors, a notary and auxiliary staff, jurists from free cities with an organized council (with no voting rights), and an exactor. The chairman of a jurisdictional, county board was supposed to have a degree in law. His roles included supervising the speed and appropriateness of procedures used by the board, checking the reports submitted by staff, and submitting monthly reports on the cases handled by the board to the administrative commission of the county/town. He was the one who allocated cases, presided over sessions, communicated decisions, solved complaints and appeals, issued directives in emergencies, etc.

The assessor (or orphans' board notary replacing the assessor or performing his duties) was the board's referee: his task was to review the case studies submitted to the board on a daily basis and forward to the chairman those that needed urgent attention. He had to deal with cases allocated to him by the chairman, present them in session and suggest solutions, as well as keep accurate records of the cases he was in charge of.

The orphans' board notary' duties included the usual notarial tasks: taking minutes in board sessions, writing up reports for individuals who made applications to the board, signing off decisions of lesser importance, and, occasionally, performing tasks as referee. The position of jurist on the orphans' board could only be filled by someone with a law degree, one who therefore could take on other cases privately, alongside orphanhood cases. In matters pertaining to orphans, the jurist's opinion was sought every time cases were heard in court.

Moreover, it was the jurist who verified that the orphans' board complied with all the laws and ordinances on orphanhood throughout its activities and procedures. On appointment from the board, the jurist also represented the interests of individuals under tutelage and trusteeship in their dealings with the authorities (Zámbó 2004: 65-67).

The board's exactor verified the reports submitted by the guardians and trustees, supervised the management of moneys from the orphans' fund, and kept records of all financial transactions (Zámbó 2004: 67).

The higher appellate body in orphanhood and tutelage cases was the Administrative Commission (Hu *közigazgatási bizottság*), which dealt with conflicts among various regional jurisdictions regarding areas of competence, among orphan boards' staff, as well with complaints against the board, appeals to its decisions, etc. The supreme appellate body was the Ministry of the Interior, which created a special Department for orphans (Zámbó 2004: 69-70).

The Commune Guardian

By law, the communes were required to have a communal guardian, elected to the post for a three-year mandate. In addition, there was a circuit guardian who covered an area – or a circuit – of several smaller communes. Communal tutors kept records of all individuals in the commune placed under tutelage and conservatorship; supervised the work of guardians and trustees and sent reports to the commune or the board in cases of misconduct; nominated guardians, while acting as guardians themselves until someone suitable was appointed; liaised between guardians and the wards' kin; participated in the drawing up of probate inventories (often as the persons designated to safeguard minors' interests); supervised the sequestration of assets by notaries (pending the final decisions on the inheritance); wrote up and forwarded reports on the basis of verbal communications by inexperienced (or possibly illiterate) guardians; in communes that had a fund for orphans or minors under trusteeship, communal tutors were sometimes asked to act as cashiers or fiscal inspectors (Zámbó 2004: 64).

Law and Procedure. Case Study: Sedria Comitatensa Alba de Jos

The tutelage files of the Alba de Jos county's Orphans' Board (*Sedria comitatense*) shed light on the procedure for succession in cases where a parent's death left behind an under-age heir. Having received notification of the death, the jurisdictional county orphans' board allocated the case to an assessor. The first stage was the registration of the death, which involved the commune's notary, attended by a representative of the local authorities (the communal

guardian or the mayor of the village/commune), and by the heirs or their representatives. A special form had to be filled in by the tutelary authorities, which included: the personal data of the deceased (name, social and matrimonial status, age, religion, birthplace, the date and place of the death); details on widow/widower; the names and personal data of adult children or heirs; the names and personal data of under-age heirs or minors under trusteeship, information on yet unborn children. The authorities also tried to ascertain whether there was a testament, whether the deceased had been a tutor or had managed public funds, whether the bequest included medals that had to be returned, foreign accounts or valuable items, and whether the deceased had life insurance. The form also asked for details on the nature, value, and location of the estate and on any measures that may have been taken for its safeguarding (in accordance with §226 of Law XX/1877). If a testament had been drawn up, the form asked for the names, status, and place of residence of the heirs specified therein, and details on executors, guardians, trustees as listed in the will. The authorities queried whether the father was prevented from exercising his paternal duties (§23 of Law XX/1877), and whether, in the father's absence of when a guardian had not been appointed by testament, the mother as natural and legitimate guardian wished to administer the minor's inheritance (§23 of Law XX/1877). If there were no surviving parents and a testamentary guardian was not available, details were asked of the names, status, and residence of the person nominated as legal guardian (§39 of Law XX/1877). If there were no parents and grandparents, the authorities asked for a list of family members deemed appropriate as executors of the minor's affairs (§142 of Law XX/1877). Family members were invited to recommend a guardian for minors above 14 years of age were asked for their own preferences, and so were the priest, the communal guardian and notary. Finally, the nominated person was asked whether he or she accepted the role (SJAN Alba dos. 1/1881: 10-13).

Once the death was registered, the communal notary[2] drew up a probate inventory – often using a specific form – in the presence of the local authorities, of witnesses and heirs, or the latter's representatives. The inventory listed all movable and immovable property under the category "active assets" (buildings, lands, with their sizes, annual gross revenue, and approximate value expressed in *forint*) or under "passive assets," i.e. the outstanding debts (funeral expenses, the fees of clerks involved in the succession procedure, etc.) (SJAN

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[2] Among the documents held by the Orphanhood *Sedria* of Alba de Jos there are examples of inventories drawn up by the communal guardian (named "orphanhood guardian" [Ro *tutore orfanal*] in documents). See: SJAN Alba, fond: Prefectura Județului Alba, Sedria Orfanală, dos. 1/1881-1901, 11-12.

Alba dos. 2/1881-1902: 35-36). The inventory had an extract from the real estate register as an annex. The appointed assessor collected the documents (death certificate, extract of estate register, copies of birth certificates of minors) and, if there were legal issues around the inheritance, he sent the file to the district court for a decision on the distribution of assets. Before the case could be closed, the dossier was also forwarded to the Office for tax and revenue for a decision on the amount of inheritance tax to be paid. In some cases, the *Sedria* appointed a notary to negotiate the succession. (SJAN Alba dos. 1/1881: 9).

Tutelage files also contained reports on the situation of the ward and his or her inheritance. If both parents were deceased and the minor was placed under the tutelage of kin, there was also a text confirming the solemn oath taken by the latter pledging to take good care of the minors[3].

Tutelage ended when the ward turned 24, irrespective of gender, with one proviso, however, namely that for women article XXIII of 1874 was still in force, stipulating that "any woman, irrespective of age, becomes a major t upon marriage and retains this status even if she becomes a widow, is legally separated from her husband, or her marriage is annulled before the aforementioned age." (Corjescu 1921: 410). The commune tutor in charge of an individual case notified the *Sedria* of the ward coming of age, whereupon the tutelary authority ended the guardianship and informed the former ward that he could now manage his inheritance. The authorities also asked the former guardian to submit a report on the assets of the former ward and notified the local authorities. Thereafter, the Orphanhood Department sent a request to the district court asking for the status of minor be erased from the estate register, allowing the former ward full rights over the administration of his or her wealth. (SJAN Alba dos. 4/1881).

The archival fonds of the local orphanhood boards includes documents that reveal the procedure followed by officials when tutelage had to be set up following the death of the father or of both parents. The files are ordered in descending chronological order, starting with the cessation of tutelage. It was at that moment that officials from various bodies asked for or

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[3] In a case of succession where both parents were deceased, the legal guardian appointed for the four minors was one of the children's uncles. Here is the oath he swore before the notary: "I Jurca Dumitru take this oath for the minors Ioan, Nicolau, Nistor, and Precup, as well as the disabled Sofia, placed in my care after the death of ştefan Morariu from Abrud-village, that I shall steer them towards honesty, fear of God, and morality, that I shall raise them to be useful citizens according to their status and the law, that I shall represent them, managing their assets with loyalty and care, and in everything I shall be guided by the letter of the law." (SJAN Alba, fond: Prefectura Judeţului Alba, Sedria Orfanală, dos. 4/1881, 46.)

issued documentation which showed not only the ward's individual journey but also, and especially, the status of his or her movable and immovable property.

The documentation required for the cessation of tutelage sheds light on the procedural sequence set out in theory for every new case of orphaned minor (in the definition of Law XLII/18700. The first step was the registration of the death, followed by the probate inventory, the appointment of a guardian, the taking of the oath, the annual reports, the supervision by the commune guardian, and finally the cessation of tutelage. The cases selected and analyzed here show that, in fact, far from being a smooth, straightforward, controlled process as set out in theory, most often the tutelage system meant simply placing the minor in the care of kin. Quite often, the guardian family used the orphan's meagre assets to pay for court hearings, taxes, travel expenses, leaving little for the ward's own use after the cessation of guardianship. The movable and immovable property inherited from the defunct parents were often riddled with debts, owed either to third parties or to the state (in unpaid taxes and fees), and quite often these debts had an unclear status. There were often issues related to the distribution of the inheritance among the rightful owners – siblings and other collateral kin of the deceased – or to prior arrangements made by parents/grandparents and signed before witnesses, which were often unknown to heirs and led to numberless appearances in court. These made the institution of tutelage a convoluted, problem-ridden process where concern for the economic assets was the priority rather than the ward's welfare.

The cases selected for the present study highlight three types of situation: 1. children orphaned after the father's death and thereby left outside parental authority; 2. children orphaned after their mother's death, who could inherit along the maternal lineage and were placed in the care of the father as natural guardian; and 3. children orphaned of both parents and placed by the tutelary authorities under the guardianship of kin, in accordance with legal regulations.

Probate Inventories and Social Stratification in Tutelage Cases

As already mentioned, probate inventories were included in tutelage dossiers. Most often, they included lands, buildings, outbuildings, and livestock, but also outstanding debts. Thus, Vasilie Bărbat, who died in October 1878 at Blaj, left a testament that listed: "two bulls aged 4 years, with a value of 200 frt., 8 sheep (16 frt.), two piglets half-a-year each (10 frt.), one cart (15 frt.), one plough (2 frt.), and immovable goods including 17 plots of arable land and a pasture, all

totaling 643 frt." For these items, the treasury was owed "a tax of 16 frt. and 40 kr". In addition, there were outstanding debts to be deducted for "expenses on medicine and medical treatment – 80 frt. and 50 kr., funeral expenses of 50 frt. and debts to Stoian of 8 frt. – in total 154 frt. and 90 kr". Consequently, the inheritance inventoried in 1881 in the presence of the pretor (Ro *solgăbirău*) Vasile Moldovan, the notary Tornya Lajos, the witness Niculae Barna, the commune guardian Mikulinovics János, and the widow Anica Bărbat, amounted to 488 *forint* and 10 *kreutzer* once all the "passives" were deducted. Subsequently, following up on the widow's statements, the authorities discovered estate registers that listed lands in neighboring villages and raised the value of the inheritance to 778 *forint* and 10 *kreutzer* (SJAN dos. 3/1881: 13). On 18 September 1900 Iova Bărbat, the female heir of Vasilie Bărbat, turned 24 and the commune guardian submitted an application for her to be released from her mother's guardianship and be granted full rights over her inheritance, which at that time included movable assets valued at 243 *forint* and immovables valued at 870 *forint*.

Outstanding debts were often onerous. For example, in the succession case "after the wife of Takács János" passive sums included debts of 80 *frt.* to the Savings Bank (Ro *Casa de Economii*) in Aiud, 100 *frt.* owed to a resident of Ocna Mureș, 44 *frt.* in unpaid taxes, and 29 *frt.* for funeral expenses. This meant that the total of 449 *frt.* in the inheritance, which, as we shall see, was disputed, was reduced to 228 *frt.* (SJAN Alba, dos. 2/1881-1902). Another probate inventory completed at Sohodol on 20 January 1874 after the death of twice-married George Berindei, aged 54, shows the property left by the deceased man: four acres of land, cattle (two cows, a sow, and two piglets), "a house with clapboard roof in a bad state – 15 frt., a shed with two partitions, in ruins, and a collapsed shed … merely rotten wood." In the house itself, there were "two bench seats, one bed and a broken-down bathtub." (SJAN dos. 9/1881: 18).

Gender and Guardianship

The cases we have looked at from the substantial fonds of the Orphans' Board of Alba show that both widowed mothers and fathers could take on legally the role of natural guardian. Law XX/1877, while remaining paternalistic in its general orientation ("paternal authority is exercised by the father") was a far cry from the older regulations that granted mothers only the right to educate their children, while the inheritance was administered by a trustee chosen from among the father's kin. According to article 29 of Law XX/1877, if the mother had not been excluded from tutelage in the father's testament and if she was

willing and able to do so, she could take on the role of guardian with the family's consent. Article 35 was even more explicit: "When a guardian has not been appointed, guardianship is granted to the mother as natural and legal guardian with full rights over the management of her minor child's inheritance as long as she does not remarry" (Legea XX/1877, Bolovan at al. 2009: 236). The new legislation represented significant progress, and the cases we analyzed in the present study endorse this view. Here is, for example, the case of Anica Bărbat, née Spinean, widow of Vasilie Bărbatu, who was recognized by the family as being able to handle the property left by her husband, which consisted of movable and immovable assets to the value of approximately 1,000 *frt*. She took over as guardian upon her husband's death in 1878 and in 1900, when her daughter came of age, she delivered her complete share of the inheritance, namely "half of movable items to the value of 243 *frt*. and immovables to the value of 740 *frt*." (SJAN Alba dos. 3/1881).

Things were different in the Boglea family of Abrud-village. The property of Sofia Boglea, née Virteiu, described as the third wife of Naniție Boglea, was registered in the estate register under her husband's name. Although Sofia died in 1863, the probate process only opened in 1881 and the inheritance was divided among the deceased woman's three children. One of the children, Nicolae, was already dead by the time of the probate, therefore his part of the inheritance was allocated to his own three children, Ana, George, and Lazăr, all minors, represented by their mother, Lina Boglea. She had been recommended by the parish priest, the commune guardian, and the notary as natural guardian to her three children. In 1887, the commune guardian, Sándor Drumar, requested a copy of the probate inventory of "Boglea Sofia, wife of Naniție," explaining that "although a legal decision had been made to register one third under the names of the minors Boglea Ana, George, and Lazăr, nevertheless the entire movable and immovable estate is owned and used exclusively by Boglea George, and although I have summoned him repeatedly to place the parts of the minors under the management of their mother, Boglea Lina, it was all in vain …" (SJAN Alba dos. 1/1881: 23). Moreover, the guardian claimed that mother and children had been forced to move to the commune Cărpiniș, where the mother was said to "own a small inheritance from her parents." At that point the children were aged 13, 11, and 9 respectively. However, the two older children, Ana and Lazăr, died within months of each other in 1890 in circumstances that have remained unknown. Consequently, in the same year, 1890, the commune guardian notified the Orphans' Board of Aiud of the two children's death and requested the opening of succession procedures in favor of the sole remaining brother, George, who

was still under his mother's tutelage. The meagre assets registered under George Boglea's name on 30 October 1890 show that, in fact, the minors had not yet come in possession of their inheritance, which should have been valued at 603 *frt.* in mobile assets and 856 *frt.* and 88 *kr.* in immovable assets. The inventory simply lists "no cash, a wooden hut valued at 25 frt., and land valued at 40 frt., a total of 65 frt." The funeral expenses for the two deceased children amounted to 52 *frt.*, the fee of the commune guardian who valuated the inventory was 2 *frt.* and 50 *kr.*, the inventory stamp was 36 *kr.*, the fee of witness Petru Negru was 50 *kr.*, totaling 55 frt. and 36 *kr.* Consequently, the value of the inheritance left under the mother's management was only 9 *frt.* and 64 *kr.*! Given the lack of liquid assets, presumably the mother borrowed money or sold land to cover these debts. In 1892, following a request from the Orphans' Board of Alba de Jos County, the royal notary from Abrud, Cirlea Mihai, compiled a summary of the succession proceedings showing that George Boglea, as collateral heir, inherited the parts of his deceased siblings' inheritance left by Sofia Boglea, amounting to a gross value of 144 *frt.* and 64 *kr.* The summary also stated that his mother, Lina Boglea, on her own behalf and on that of her minor child, applied for a court decision granting her ownership of the inheritance (SJAN Alba dos. 1/1881: 9). In 1893 the tutelary authority issued an official authorization for the transfer of immovable assets under the heirs' names. But because the inheritance tax had not been established in a timely fashion, the case remained unsettled as late as twelve years after the start of the succession procedure. Unfortunately, the next available document is dated 13 August 1900 and is the application by the public guardian to have George Boglea's status as minor erased so that he could manage his inheritance independently. This was a lengthy, convoluted case beset with difficulties. The change of residence of the Boglea family from Abrud-village to Cărpiniş, combined with the inefficient prosecution of the case by the commune guardian and the authorities, led to the application being rejected in the early stages, because the name George Boglea could not be found in the estate register for Cărpiniş. It was only in December 1901 that the District Tribunal of Abrud notified the *Sedria* that George Boglea's status as minor had been deleted from the estate registry of Abrud-village. We do not know whether George gained ownership of his inheritance while he was still a minor or whether he continued to fight for it as an adult, because the paper trail stops at this point and his new status as an individual freed from tutelage was no longer supervised by the Orphans' Board. The case spanned twenty years (thirty-seven if we take into consideration the date of Sofia Boglea's death as George's heir). The refusal of one heir to cede ownership of the

inheritance, combined with the delays in the authorities' handling of the legal process, meant that ultimately the rightful heirs were not granted ownership and that the descendants of Sofia Boglea's defunct son did not receive the assets that could have made their live easier. Lina Boglea, the heirs' natural guardian, was the defunct woman's daughter-in-law and sister-in-law to the man who refused to comply with the court's ruling. She was an outsider in a family that had repudiated her upon the death of her husband, which explains why she had to return to her native village and the modest assets left by her parents to bring up her children. Even the loss of Lina's two children did not lead to the return of the part of the inheritance due to them and, as already mentioned, we do not know whether the property transfer ever happened.

Sometimes the situation of inheritances and heirs was complicated following decisions made by the testators, which often required court appearances, money, and numberless applications to various official bodies. Thus, for example, upon their mother, Rachela's death in 1881, Takács János and Takács József were left under their father's tutelage. Although their mother had owned immovable assets worth around 100 *frt.* down the paternal lineage, this was not granted to the minors because in the estate register it was listed under the father's name. The case was further complicated in 1899 upon the death of the children's grandfather, Takács István, Rachela's father. He was a widower living on his own and, in the last days of his life, in the presence of four witnesses, he is said to have left a nuncupative will leaving his wealth to the family who took care of him during his sickness and, also via an oral arrangement, he may have sold lands. According to the routine procedure generally followed in succession cases, his heirs were his grandchildren, aged twenty-three and twenty respectively, with their father appointed trustee for the inheritance, amounting to around 400 *frt.* The oral testament delivered by old Takács was not recognized by the heirs or by the authorities. When József Takács applied for the elimination of his status as minor from the estate register, he was told that this was not possible while there was still an ongoing court case about his inheritance from his grandfather. In 1900 a man named Köble Márton and his wife took the heirs to court, claiming that during the winter of 1899 they had cared for their ailing grandfather, who suffered from a "terrible disease of the stomach," for about a month, from 25 December 1898 to his death on 30 January 1899 (SJAN Alba dos. 2/1881-1902). According to the complaint of the Köble couple, a short time before his demise, old Takács was alleged to have sold "three immovable items" to Köblös Ferenc, a resident of Uioara de Sus. From the sale money, the named Köblös was said to have given 60 crowns to the Kőble family to cover the funeral expenses. During the

succession trial, the oral testament delivered by the old man in favor of the Kőble family was declared invalid and the estate in its entirety, including the lands that were the object of the agreement between old Takács and his carers, was given over to the two grandchildren. As a result, in his claim, Köble asked for "70 crowns as an honorarium for maintenance over 30 days and 60 crowns for funeral expenses that we had to return to Köblös." At the trial Köblös showed that the sale contract was genuine and that the old man had been *compos mentis* when he decided to sell, and the tribunal decided that the defendants recognize the validity of the contract and Köblös's rightful ownership of the lands. The court reached the decision in the late 1901: from the total sum of 600 crowns representing the value of the three plots of land, after the payment of debts (to the Mutual Aid Society [Ro *Casa de Ajutor Reciproc*], outstanding tax, cash-in-hand payments, funeral expenses) and of court expenses (a total of 93 *crowns.*), the heirs were left with 101 *k.*, out of which half belonged to József, still a minor in the care of the orphans' *Sedria*. In January 1902, with his father's authorization, József applied to the *Sedria* for a sum of 50 k., because he was to come of age and get married. On 29 August 1902, Takács József from Gâmbaș turned 24, was taken off the tutelage system and was granted possession of a much diminished estate. The assets had been significantly reduced after delayed payments and forced-execution obligations that József himself had to take care of: half of the mobile items at the value of 20 *crowns*, and immovables at the value of 898 *crowns.*, riddled by debts amounting to 474 *crowns*. This was not much. This case, as well as the case of the aforementioned Boglea family from Abrud-village, show that delays, the refusal of one part to accept testamentary clauses or court decisions, as well as forced executions resulted in a much diminished value of the estate once the rightful heirs came of age.

The case of the Morar orphans from Abrud-village illustrates the way in which guardianship was set up when both parents were deceased. Ioan, Nicolau, Nistor, and Precup Morar lost their father in 1875 and their mother in 1877. Dumitru Jurca, who was married to one of the father's sisters, took on the guardianship of the minors as well as the task of managing their modest property. At the same time tutelage and conservatorship was arranged for Sofia Morar, the mentally disabled sister of the deceased, George Morar. The probate inventory was only drawn up in 1880 and listed movable and immovable property valued at around 300 *florins*. The guardian was nominated in 1881 and was accepted by both the family and the official case workers. However, difficulties soon emerged when the siblings of the deceased parents, especially of the father, claimed their part of the estate. The transfer was made

as late as 1884: in the meantime, the property had been halved since the probate of 1880 and was distributed equally among the brothers and their disabled aunt. When the orphans came of age and applied for the tutelage to be removed from the estate registry, their request was rejected because the property was not listed under their names. In the case of Nistor, for example, the officials noted that he had "sold his part of the items listed in the estate registry," but no buyer was specifically named. Ioan and Nicolae were told that no property was listed as theirs under their own names. In all cases, their uncle's tutelage was removed. A document extracted from the estate register no. 658 shows that the property listed under the deceased parents' names had included a wooden house with an outhouse and yard, a garden, a hayfield and three pastures (SJAN Alba dos.4/1881: 29). The inventory also lists debts of 43 *frt.*, which were probably settled from the sale of items not mentioned in documents: for example, we do not know what happened to the house, but we know that when they came of age none of the three children had any property left. Also lacking are the annual reports that the guardian, Dumitru Jurca, was supposed to have sent to the commune guardian and, via the latter, to the *Sedria*, therefore we do not know what happened to the children. However, by March 1898, when the tutelage of the youngest of them ended, there was nothing left of the inheritance.

There is evidence showing that the laws were not always applied as stipulated and that even the commune guardians were not always familiar with the demands of their post:[4] as the case above shows, some guardians failed for years to send their reports on the management of estates and the situation of the wards. Thus, in 1899, the commune guardian Pataki sent a complaint showing that Totoian Gligor, the natural guardian of the minor Simion Totoian, had never submitted reports on the estate ever since he had been made guardian in 1883. The *Sedria* replied that, as natural guardian, Totoian was under no obligation to do so, but requested from the latter a report on the ward's personal situation and on his baseline inheritance (SJAN dos. 10/1881: 14). In 1900 the father replied, explaining that his son had no "movable or immovable assets" and that he was being "raised according to the moral principles suitable to his status and attended the local people's school" (fol. 12). However, in 1893, the district notary Deák from Mihalţ reported that "the minor's property is in the same state as listed in the inventory, and the minor himself is treated like a servant" (fol. 13). The dossier also shows that Simion

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[4] During parliamentary debates on the adoption of the law, there had been statements, justifiably, to the effect that the "problem is to be found not in the law, but in the individuals in charge of its application," by which was meant that the officials were not properly trained for their roles.

was born from his mother's second marriage, and he had a stepbrother from her previous marriage (there had been three children born of that marriage, but two were already deceased when the mother died).

One common aspect to all cases studied here is the relatively lengthy periods over which data were collected on the individuals involved. From the registration of a parent's death to the cessation of the tutelage over the minor, the orphans' boards accumulated massive dossiers that are now invaluable sources for Transylvania's social history at the end of the nineteenth century. For example, in the aforementioned Totoian case, the mother's death was registered in 1879 and the guardianship over her descendant, Simion, only ended in 1902. In all this time, there were transfers of property, changes in the minor's status (who, according to the father's reports, attended school, but, according to the commune guardian, was like a servant at home), and even deaths of some of the individuals in the dossier, specifically the deceased woman's co-heirs.

Conclusions

The legislation for the care of orphans under the Dual Monarchy underwent shifts that led to a greater cohesion of the legislation and institutions created for the protection of this vulnerable category. However, the main impetus behind this legislative effort appears to have been a concern for the legal and appropriate management of the orphans' inheritance: an entire apparatus of institutions and officials was created over the entire region for this purpose. The process of setting up and ending guardianship suggests weaknesses in the legal process: some of these arose from the failings of the authorities themselves (due to insufficient training of clerical staff especially at commune level), while some pertained to moral values and customary practices inside the families themselves, which often had a negative impact on orphans placed under guardianship. As shown in the cases of orphanhood under scrutiny here for the period after 1878, the long years taken by the prosecution of legal cases, the slow responses from the authorities, the lack of liquidities (especially of cash for the payment of inheritance taxes, notarial fees, travel expenses), all took their toll on the fate of the estate. Quite often, young people emancipated from tutelage were left with next to nothing. In cases where the natural guardian appointed was the mother or the father there was comparatively greater care for the administration of the estate, as shown in the comparative analysis of probate inventories and in the estate registers issued upon the cessation of guardianship. In many such cases, the value of the estate even increased. In contrast, where the appointed guardian was a relative rather than

a parent, the wards found out when coming of age that they had nothing left. However, we lack lists of revenue and expenses or sale contracts that might explain how goods were alienated from the estate and why heirs were impoverished. In addition, once the wards were of age, the orphans' boards (the *sedria*) stopped issuing relevant documents and it is impossible to follow their journey after that date.

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Development of Care for Orphans in Bohemia until 1918[*]

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Abstract. Social care for orphans has deep roots. Regulations concerning the security of orphans date back to the Middle Ages. The paper focuses on depicting the situation in Bohemia in the 19th century. It focuses on legislation protecting children and on the form of care for orphaned children and its changes, especially in the 19th century. The article mentions the origin of a new type of institute - an orphanage. It describes how orphanages cared for children and youth. It also depicts other institutions focusing on orphan care (such as asylums and foster care). The issue is analysed until 1918 when the Czechoslovak Republic was established.

Care for orphans or abandoned children and social care have become popular topics in the field of social history and history of the everyday (Roman 2018; Skořepová 2016; Halířová 2012). In addition to monographs, papers and studies have been written, focusing on the issue of being orphaned, and on the care for children in past centuries (Stoklásková 2019: 101-123; Slavíčková 2014: 181-192). Principles of orphan care in the early modern period on different rural estates and manors, and disposal and management of orphans' property have also been discussed (Siglová 2002: 3-40). Nevertheless, what remains less explored is the period of 18th and 19th centuries, when the concept of caring for the poor changed and foundation of institutional care was laid. The paper therefore focuses mainly on the 19th century, while also briefly mentioning the changes that occurred in the 18th century.

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[*] The article is based on a published book (Halířová 2012).

The development of care for orphans has been studied not only based on official sources and documents, but also based on correspondence addressed to the authorities, educational and theoretical guides from the period in question, and memoirs. Sources relevant for the care for orphans in specific areas can be found in district or municipal archives, depending on the area of responsibility of each orphanage or according to the origin of its founder. Each founder of an orphanage had to apply for a permit from central authorities to establish such an institution. The majority of preserved collections of documents from orphanages has not been processed by archives, thus the information regarding the operation and activity of orphanages is derived from annual reports and data sent to central authorities.

Caring for orphans and endeavours to improve such care are related to the protection of childhood that originated in the 18th century. The protection of childhood was a major topic in particular at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. At that time, many works were published about the vulnerability of childhood. Such books were published not only in Bohemia, but in other countries of Western Europe as well (Červinková-Riegrová 1894; Engel 1911). Changes brought about after 1900 were associated with changes in the society and with reformist efforts of some teachers and psychologists. Around 1907, the first Austrian congress on the protection of children convened in Vienna. Information on the issues discussed at the congress can be found in published brochures about protective care for children (Wolfring 1907). The next congress took place in 1913 in Salzburg, and there are minutes of the meeting available (Baernreither 1913). Thus, the contents of presentations serves as one of the sources to gain insight into the form of protective care at the time of the congress. Another valuable source showing different forms of protective care in Germany and Austria is the *Encyclopaedia of Protection of Childhood* published in 1910 in Leipzig (Heller et al. 1910-1911). Therefore, at the beginning of the 20th century there is a large number of philanthropic, medical and sociological books and articles about child care. Moreover, texts containing new scientific knowledge of the theories of education and care for children were written at that time. For the purposes of this paper the author analysed different sources, using the sampling method.

Care for orphans from the Middle Ages to the Age of Enlightenment in the Czech kingdom[1]

Social care for orphans has deep roots in the area of the Czech kingdom. There are documented regulations on security of orphans from the Middle

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[1] The Czech kingdom was a state unit headed by a king from the 13th century to 1918.

Ages. Underage orphans were in need of assistance from others, and the level of such assistance depended, among other things, on the social origin of their parents. The care for people from noble families differed from the care provided among the bourgeoisie or in the poorest class. Wealthy orphans usually paid for their living expenses from the estate bequeathed by their parents. The care for the poorest without any property was provided by the Church. At that time the sovereign presented himself as the protector of all orphans who cared for their welfare and wellbeing. The sovereign delegated the task of taking care of, protecting and supervising widows and orphans to judicial authorities that acted as his agents, and gradually transferred his rights and authority to the Regional Court and regional officers, and these later became a High Guardianship Office. Originally, the cases involving orphans were not separate from other court cases. However, since 1543 there were four specific days on which cases involving orphans were heard during each of three court sessions organized every year. The court had the authority and responsibility to oversee proper management of orphans' property, and to rectify any discrepancies or misappropriation of such property. In addition, orphans could appeal to the court in all important matters, such as marriage, establishing or terminating a guardianship, selling property or compensation for any damage caused by the guardian (Kapras 1904). In the early modern period, manorial lords were responsible for indigent orphans living on their manor, and this obligation was fulfilled through their office. During those times orphans were sent to serve on farms on the manor's land, or they served directly in the manor house.

The 18th century brought about a change as the state tried to control the care of poor orphans more consistently and rigorously through various regulations. In 1754 a regulation entitled "Bettler-, Schub und Verpflegsordnung" was issued, stipulating the principles of caring for the poor. These principles also applied to the care of orphans. Only people staying permanently in one place were entitled to receive aid, and when a person moved they were entitled to such aid only after ten years of residence (Himl 2009: 55-76). The quality of care for orphans was monitored by parish priests. In addition to their spiritual duties, parish priests were managers of so-called parish institutes for the poor. They supervised and kept evidence of orphans living in the parish. Therefore, parish priests were no longer only spiritual administrators, but began performing the duties of a public officer.

During the reign of Maria Theresa the poor were controlled more consistently through different means and using different methods, one of them being primary schools, educating the poor in the population. Through this

education people learned how to take care of their own health as well as proper behaviour. To achieve its goal the state had to promote school attendance as intended already in the school decree (*Schulpatent*) issued during the reign of Maria Theresa. According to this school decree children need to be protected against excessive straining of their organism due to hard physical labour, and there should be schools established in workshops and factories where poor children and orphans worked. Considering the paid labour of orphaned children and the fact that these children were living on the premises of workshops and factories, the issue of health and morality became increasingly relevant; as a result regulations on health protection and regulations prohibiting early physical contact between boys and girls followed after the school decree. At the same time there were new institutions established in the Czech Lands, specializing in education or re-education of orphans. Despite the fact that establishment of these institutions was supported by the state, there was no proper legal definition or regulation of the orphan care (Halířová 2012).

Legislation and rules for the care for orphans in the 19th century

In the 19th century the question who an orphan was and how orphans should be cared for was addressed in the Austrian Civil Code from 1811 that included a definition of orphans and other provisions regarding the duties and responsibilities of guardians. Moreover, the Civil Code regulated remuneration for caring for an orphaned child (Obecný zákoník občanský císařství rakouského: 1862). An orphan was any underage child whose father had passed away. This implies that a child whose mother had passed away was not considered a full orphan. At the end of the 19th century this concept was amended and an orphan was understood as a child whose mother and father both had passed away, and the new term of "half orphan" was introduced, meaning a child whose mother or father had passed away (*Zákoník zemský království Českého* 1903: 141). For an orphaned minor, the court had to appoint a guardian who was supposed to take care of the minor and manage their property and assets. When appointing a guardian the court respected the father's wishes, and if the father did not name any guardian in his last will, child's relatives were supposed to become guardians, first the paternal grandfather, then mother, after that paternal grandmother and other relatives. If it was not possible to appoint a guardian in this way, it was up to the court to appoint a different guardian. Every guardian, with the exception of immediate family, had to promise by a handshake that they would lead and encourage the underage child to live honestly and in the fear of God, be

virtuous, and become a good citizen. Furthermore, the guardian had to promise to act on behalf of the minor and manage the property and assets of such minor. Every court was responsible for keeping a so-called "book of orphans", containing the minor's name, surname, age and all important events that occurred during the guardianship. If the child's mother or grandmother became the child's guardian, a co-guardian was to be appointed, and such co-guardian provided advice on property management or education. If the child had inherited some money, his/her guardian received only the amount necessary for educating the child and managing the property or household. At the end of every year each guardian had to submit accounting books (including notes or appendices) to the court, describing in detail his/her revenues and expenses arising from his/her care for the orphan. In addition, the Civil Code addressed the issue of poor orphans. The court was supposed to find the closest wealthy relatives of poor orphans, and order such relatives to pay maintenance of the child, even though this type of support was not regulated by law. (Obecný zákoník občanský císařství rakouského, §§187-284) Guardians of poor children could ask public beneficial associations and institutions for assistance provided until their ward could start working for living. The court had the option to allocate annual remuneration from saved earnings to good guardians. The maximum remuneration was 4000 Gulden per year. Nevertheless, the guardianship introduced focused primarily on wealthy children. There is only one clause about poor orphans in the text of the Civil Code. (Obecný zákoník občanský císařství rakouského 1862: s. 188 - s. 266). It was not until social care developed after the World War I that the aspect of wealth lost its significance.

In some cases it was near impossible to find suitable and willing individuals interested in becoming a guardian. This problem was addressed by paid community guardianship. Establishment of community guardians was initiated by the order of the High Regional Court no. 15316 of 22 October 1910. The proposal was prepared by Antonín Tůma[2] and approved on the request of the State Committee on 18 November 1911 at a meeting convened by the High Regional Court presidency. The Ministry of Justice accepted the proposal in its decree no. 34098 of 11 December 1911. The Civil Code amendment passed in 1914 became the legal basis for community guardianship. Public authorities or associations for youth protection were eligible to become community guardians. In reality, district committees for

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[2] Antonín Tůma (1867-1945) was a member of the Czech parliament since 1908. He was interested in youth welfare and cooperated with the association called The Czech Regional Committee for Youth Welfare in Bohemia, he wrote many works about the protection of childhood, for example (Tůma A. 1911 and 1915).

youth welfare were usually appointed as community guardians. The tasks of community guardians included co-guardianship and custodial care (Hoffmanová 1982: 419 – 443). The institute of professional guardians was introduced, and such professional guardians took care of several children at the same time and were paid for their work. Appointment of "community guardians" was supported by *Regional Committees for Child Protection and Youth Welfare* (Ochrana mládeže 1915: 123). Community guardianship became a means to improve the care for children, as until the Civil Code amendment the guardians were not paid by town councils for their services and this fact sometimes affected the quality of care. According to the Civil Code amendment, even women who were unrelated to the child could become guardians (Obecný zákoník občanský císařství rakouského, §192). Previously, only the child's mother or grandmother could become the child's guardian as stated in the legislation.

The form of care for orphans in the second half of the 19th century

In 1850s a more modern network of local governments (i.e. town and district councils) was established. More attention was given to the issue of orphans and caring for orphans (Osten 1935: 17 – 33). Voluntary social care was an important component of the care for orphans throughout the 19th century. Different associations, organizations and individuals provided voluntary social care. The obligation of local governments to take care of its residents was laid down in the domicile law approved in 1863 (Janák 1975). The poor, poor orphans, half orphans and abandoned children had to rely on the assistance provided by their hometown, and the form and extent of such assistance provided to the child depended on the hometown. Most towns and villages chose from three options: orphans were sent to permanent foster care (the aim was to pay the lowest remuneration possible to foster parents); or children were accommodated in local shepherd's house and different local families took turns caring for the child; or the orphan was sent to the local or district orphanage with cost of institutional care paid for. Establishment of different local institutions, including orphanages, was usually a voluntary initiative, and only poor children domiciled in that particular town or village were accepted in such an orphanage. This form of care was provided to the wealthy only under special circumstances. It was not until the act no. 38 of 1895 on soup kitchens for the poor that district councils were put in charge of establishing different institutions, such as hospitals, hospices and orphanages, but there was no official policy regarding model institutions.

Care for orphans outside the orphanage

Various sources imply that the poorer and more impoverished the town or village was, the worse was the situation of an abandoned or orphaned child. There was a certain lack of interest in children in custody of their hometowns in particular in cases when the child was transferred to the town from a different location where the child used to live with his/her parents and the child had no relatives or acquaintances in his/her hometown. Such children were mostly seen as aliens undeserving of any assistance because their deceased parents used to pay their taxes elsewhere, but according to the law the hometown had to provide assistance to and pay for its residents who never worked or paid taxes there. Foundlings were specifically unwanted, but the board of the Regional Maternity Hospital and Foundling House in Prague sent foundlings to their hometowns once the child was six years old. However, the community felt that these children were not worthy of any assistance because they were born out of wedlock. Sometimes the towns even refused to accept such children. They often argued that the child's mother had not stayed long in the town, thus the town should not be the one to care for the child. (Červinková-Riegrová 1888 : 31) In most cases such arguments against sending the child to his/her hometown did not succeed, and the care for abandoned and homeless children was costly, it is therefore not surprising that the local governments sought to save money and provided only minimum care if any.

Some orphans and foundlings that were to be maintained by the community were placed with a family. Every foster parent received a foster allowance from the local government. In poorer and remote regions such foster allowance did not exceed 30 or 40 guldens per year. Children were standardly "auctioned off" and put in the care of those who requested the lowest remuneration for such care. As a result, children were often in custody of people who themselves were dependent on the local government, such as village servants, watchmen or shepherds. (Secký 1910: 5; Pražák 1948: 18, 19) If no person showed interest in a poor orphaned child, the child was sent to the local shepherd's house that served as its accommodation, but the child had to go from house to house to get food. The hometown provided support to the child's upbringing on a regular or temporary basis, in accordance with the principles of assistance for the poor, but these principles and their application were largely relative. The misfortune of such child whose life was in the hands of the community was multiplied by prejudices. Many children raised in this way became morally corrupt, thus some citizens automatically viewed poor orphans and abandoned children as future criminals and considered the money used for raising such children a waste of money (Červinková-Riegrová 1888). In fact, the forms and

methods of education and upbringing of these children, without any social safety net, in some cases indeed resulted in such children becoming future vagrants and criminals.

Institutional care for orphans and abandoned children

The first orphanages appeared in the Netherlands, Germany, Belgium and Switzerland in the 16th and 17th centuries. In Germany these included Lübeck in 1547, Augsburg in 1572, Hamburg in 1597, Mainz in 1665, Erfurt in 1670, Frankfurt am Main in 1679, Dresden in 1685, Bremen in 1692, Halle in 1694 and Leipzig in 1701. These institutions were mostly founded by individuals establishing a foundation to finance the orphanage and its activities (Bauer 2004; Sträter and Neumann 2003). In Bohemia the Vlašský špitál (Italian Hospital) in Malá Strana (Small Town of Prague) was established by the Italian Congregation around 1602 and partly served a similar purpose as an orphanage. The Italian Hospital took care of orphans, foundlings and unmarried expectant mothers, and there was also a special ward for elderly. Care provided to children at the Italian Hospital was specific as the youngest children were in the care of foster parents but at the age of six the children returned to the institution with full board and schooling. When children turned fourteen the hospital ceased to provide its care. After leaving the institution boys were employed as apprentices and girls as servants (Svobodný 1987: 113 – 134).

During the 18th century the number of orphanages had grown due to the general consensus that such institutions provided the best care to orphans. Most of orphanages were established in Prague. Historical documents mention also orphanages based in other towns, but in their case the question is whether or not these orphanages were real orphanages because the sources state that there were also workshops or manufacturing plants in such institutions, thus it is possible that the institutions were in fact workshops or small factories using child labour (Marková 1998).

At the end of the 18th century some philanthropists and doctors, influenced by new ideas of education and upbringing, voiced their views that raising children in natural family environment should be preferred. Establishment of orphanages was criticized, in particular for high child mortality in such institutions. A new impulse to resolve the issue of educating abandoned children came from Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi[3], a Swiss pedagogue who attached great importance to physical work in education. According to Pestalozzi, work and outings in nature influenced the child's

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[3] Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), a Swiss pedagogue and educational reformer.

moral development. His concepts were put into practice by Philipp von Fellenberg[4], a philanthropist who established an orphanage in Hofwil near Bern in 1799. The orphanage introduced a so-called "family system" where children were divided into smaller groups. This institution became a model for other orphanages founded in Europe (Secký 1926).

The abovementioned Italian Hospital, founded probably in the 17th century, is considered the oldest orphanage in Czechia, but it was closed down in 1789 as part of the reforms of healthcare and welfare introduced by Joseph II. In 1773 a private orphanage was established at the Church of Saint John the Baptist in the New Town in Prague. Originally the orphanage was intended for both boys and girls, but with time it focused on orphaned boys. One of the better known institutions was the Orphanage of the Sisters of Mercy of St. Borromeo established in 1860s in Karlín (formerly an independent town, now part of Prague). In addition to its traditional role, the orphanage in Karlín was also a branch of the Regional Foundling House. As a result, foundlings who according to the Court of Guardianship[5] were domiciled in Prague were sent to this orphanage in Karlín (Videátní kniha fondu Zemské porodnice a nalezince I 1843-1874: 330). The extent of care for wards in various institutions differed. Some provided basic child maintenance and care as well as education, whereas other institutions offered lodgings only (Osten 1935: 17-33). The number of orphanages in Prague was not very high and could not satisfy the demand. Despite this, Prague was one of the cities with the highest number of institutions of this type. Every orphanage had a small farm or garden with small livestock. Farming and gardening helped to reduce the cost of meals for orphans, and orphans learned to work on the farm or in the garden as work was considered an important means of education.

Even though the educational system in orphanages was considered to be overly scholarly and military-like, these institutions continued to be built. The largest increase in the number of orphanages was experienced at the end of the 19th century. In 1907 there were 83 orphanages in Bohemia (Foustka 1915: 43). It was rather costly to establish this type of institution, thus municipalities with their own orphanage or municipalities sending children to such an institution were an exception. In all of Bohemia, there were only 862 children in private or municipal orphanages in 1884 (Červinková-Riegrová 1894). This implies that at that time orphanages were not a widespread

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[4] Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg (1771-1844), a Swiss philanthropist and educational reformer.

[5] The Court of Guardianship was a part of district court. Each district court decided on orphan matters. The Regional foundling house had its seat in Prague, so the Prague district court decided about the destiny of children, that were in care of Prague foundling hospital.

institution. If a municipality established an orphanage in its cadastre area, such an orphanage tended to have a limited capacity and could not accept all children in need. Moreover, municipal orph anages struggled with financial problems limiting the standard of care and number of orphans therein. The fact that most orphanages were established in converted buildings that used to serve a different purpose (e.g. hospitals, former monasteries etc.),[6] and only in exceptional cases a completely new building was built for the orphanage, also shows how costly it was to establish an orphanage.

Rules for accepting new wards were set by founders of the institution. In most orphanages the lower age limit for being accepted was 7, i.e. the youngest children accepted were seven years old. The reason for this age limit might have been related to children entering the second phase of childhood that required a more intense education and training. Therefore, the lack of supervision by one's family was to be substituted by education provided in the orphanage. Shortly after the child enrolled in school the educators determined how the child behaved and whether the child had a specific talent, then the education in the orphanage was to be adjusted accordingly to support good characteristics and regulate the bad ones. Placement of children in the orphanage was usually requested by a living parent, guardian or member of local association or town council, and the board of the orphanage selected suitable candidates. (Falkenheim 1868; Zpráva o městském sirotčinci arcikněžny Gisely 1893-1908) Before accepting a candidate the boards of all orphanages investigated information about the child's life, his/her family, behaviour etc. By doing that, the institution learned more of the child to be entrusted in its care, while making sure that those who might want to send a child to the orphanage have certain moral standards.

For a child to be accepted in any orphanage in Prague, his/her parents had to be residents of Prague. Poor children were accepted into care free of charge, but if any living parent or relatives wealthy enough to pay for the care were identified, the cost of care was charged according to the wealth of such person. There were three categories of care, each with a different fee charged. Under certain circumstances, children from other regions were accepted to orphanages in Prague provided someone paid the fees for such care.(Osten 1935 , Falkenheim 1868; Strahl 1908)
Admission of new orphans was limited by capacity of these institutions as majority of orphanages could not care for more than 40 children. Of course,

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[6] E.g. the Regional founling hospital was a former monastery, also the Orphanage of John Baptist founded in 1773 had its seat in a former monastery, girl orphanage of holy Notburga founded in 1813 was in former Spork Palace.

there were also larger institutions with higher capacity of 170 children (Zpráva o městském sirotčinci arikněžny Gisely 1894: 14-15). There were no major difference in the care provided in researched orphanages. Children learned to follow certain rules. They learned to be respectful and obedient. The aim of their education was to prepare them well for life outside the orphanage and for them to become useful members of society. [7]Every action and every step of each boy or girl in the orphanage was controlled by teachers or care workers. To regulate their conduct children were reprimanded or adequately punished for any misconduct. Punishments used included mainly admonition or prohibition to do favourite activities, eventually corporal punishment. Some orphanages also used solitary confinement. (Domácí a kázeňský řád pražského městského sirotčince 1880 :18.).

There were strict house rules in every orphanage, including a precise daily schedule and responsibilities of different people in the institution. Every day was structured around different activities to be performed at a specific time. Children got up early in the morning, washed themselves and made their beds. Older children helped the younger ones with the bedding and cleaning. Then the children were to quietly leave for their class where they prayed and prepared for lessons. After that they had breakfast and went to school for lessons. After coming back from school, there was time for work, prayer, lunch and afternoon lessons. After their afternoon lessons there was free time, and in the evening children revised their lessons or did homework. In summer they had a short walk in the garden before dinner. After dinner children had time to play or read. After eight o'clock children prepared to go to bed. While younger boys could go to bed early, older boys cleaned their own clothing and shoes, and clothing and shoes of younger boys. At nine all children were supposed to be asleep in their beds. On Sundays and holidays all children got up at the same time as usual and went to Mass. There were usually outings planned for these days as a nice break. School education was therefore combined with work at the orphanage, walks and religious teaching, as well as entertainment or reading.(Domácí a kázeňský řád pražského městského sirotčince Její Výsosti paní arcivévodkyně Gisely 1880; Cornova 1923: 26)

In the public, wards from orphanages were distinguished from other children by their clothing of uniform colour (Osten 1935: 17-33) or distinct insignia, e.g. armbands (Falkenheim 1868), symbolizing that these children fell under the protection of a certain institution. The insignia were publically

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[7]To become a useful member of society meant behaving according to society's standards. The society´s standards were differnt for each gender. The boy had to have an employment, a girl had to get marry or to get corresponding employment to her gender.

announced, thus everyone knew that a child with specific insignia was from a certain orphanage. However, the purpose of such insignia was not to put children at a disadvantage, but on the contrary to identify them as less fortunate members of the community that should receive support. (Cornova 1923, Osten 1935)

Charitable institutions in Prague and elsewhere accommodated only a small number of abandoned and orphaned children. Children who had not been accepted by any institution or family were usually roaming the streets. Shelters and asylums were therefore established for these children. Asylums were special institutions intended for beggar and neglected children, but there was no clear line between orphanages and asylums (Engliš 1908: 123); as documented in reports from these institutions some of them were intended for orphans and abandoned children, other for neglected children.

On the other hand, shelters were usually charitable facilities intended as a basic shelter for the homeless. Some shelters were institutions reserved only for specific groups, e.g. apprentices, pupils, orphans or maids. People accepted by such shelters received aid to achieve a certain goal in their lives (*Ottův slovník naučný* 1907 (26): 265). There was a wide range of such institutions, mostly founded by beneficial associations or individuals. Furthermore, there were some shows of solidarity among the poor; children whose parents had died were often and in no time accepted by other poor families without any official process (Červinková-Riegrová 1894).

Efforts to improve the care for orphans

Beginning from the early 1900s local orphan councils were being established in attempt to improve the supervision and monitoring of compliance with the principles of care for orphans. Orphan councils can be considered one of the most important institutes in the care for the poor because their purpose was to harmonize the way care for orphaned children was organized in different communities. It is an interesting fact that contrary to the orphans' fund there were no nationalist conflicts, and even in Czech language areas orphan councils were established according to the proven German model. Under this model, orphan councils served as an authority of guardianship. This establishment of orphan councils was initiated by Franz Janisch[8], a judge who in 1900 began to organize private charitable activities by establishing associations for youth protection (Janisch 1905). On Janisch's initiative, district

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[8] There were no biographical data of Franz Janisch found, but we know that he was a judge, probably in the region around Česká Lípa. The majority of his writings were published in the town of Česká Lípa.

courts began to pay closer attention to youth protection and community orphan councils were established in Bohemia; from 1900 to 1908 these orphan councils were established in 91 districts (Tůma 1915: 12-16). Orphan councils were not established by order issued by central legislature, but predominantly based on an independent decision taken by district or local government. As a result, orphan councils differed significantly district from district. Their organization as well as scope of responsibilities varied. In some districts the orphan council was only an advisory body of the district council. Members of the orphan council were selected based on their personal qualities, and orphan councils had from 3 to 15 members. This group included 22 districts. In other districts, the orphan council had executive powers to supervise, advise and provide information. These orphan councils had no central office. They were organized either according to the Janisch's model, or on the initiative of the State Committee. Some district governments tried to combine these two principles, this was specifically the case of districts of Jilemnice, Královice and Velvary (Dvořák 1908).

Members of orphan councils were the town mayor, so-called "orphans' fathers", representative of the council for the poor, representatives of local schools, school doctors appointed by the local government, local police commissioner, and several female members of a charitable society for the care and protection of destitute children. Orphans' "fathers" were elected by the local council for the whole term of the local council. Eligible were trustworthy men from the village or town in question, who had never been convicted of any crime and who owed property of certain value. The Oorphan council convened at least once a month. It was responsible for keeping the book of orphans, i.e. list of orphans and abandoned children living in the village or town, regardless of their domicile according to the court of guardianship. An officer responsible for the agenda of orphans and the poor provided certificates with information about each orphans. This "orphan certificate" included biographical information of the orphan and columns where the responsible orphans' "father" recorded his visits. The orphan council was in cooperation with the court of guardianship responsible for finding suitable guardians. For this purpose the orphan council kept a list of married couples and individuals willing to take care of children. Orphan councils made sure that the information about the situation of their wards was properly filled in by the orphans' "father" and submitted to the court of guardianship in due time. The orphans' "father" was supposed to meet with orphans in his district, if feasible. His task was to make sure that these orphans become law-abiding citizens, and arrange a suitable vocation for his wards according to their skills

and competence. He was also authorized to sign agreements between guardians and employers when an orphan became an apprentice. One of his responsibilities was to ensure that the child was not exploited and abused by his/her guardian, any problems in this regard were to be reported to the court of guardianship via the orphan council.[9]

The drawback of regulations and instructions mentioned above was that there was no obligation to establish an orphan council or district committee. Some districts refused to establish a committee or council, arguing that there were not many orphans receiving aid from the regional orphans' fund, thus there was no need to have a special committee to monitor the standard of care. As a result not all orphaned children were subject to supervision, and their foster parents could therefore raise the child entrusted in their care as they deemed appropriate. Consequently, some children received unsatisfactory education and their food intake was inadequate. In spite of all problems and lack of supervision, foster care was preferred to institutional care. In contemporary opinions, foster care properly substituted the family life. Children from foster families were better prepared for their future life. According to contemporaries, "a child raised in an institution resembled a flower grown in a greenhouse, but later replanted into the wild where it is destroyed by a sudden icy night breeze" (Secký 1926). While a family was able to prepare a child for his/her life in the community and shield him/her from bad influence, an orphanage did the exact opposite and did not prepare children for future social interactions. Once the orphans left the orphanage they were clueless and unprepared to take care of themselves. Family was considered an irreplaceable foundation of the society, and institutional care was to be intended only for terminally ill or disabled children and children with mental disorders.

Establishment and activities of Regional Committees for Child Protection and Youth Welfare

On the occasion of the First Austrian Congress on the Protection of Childhood, Regional Committees for Child Protection and Youth Welfare were established, becoming an important organizer of care for abandoned children and orphans. The congress convened in Vienna from 18th to 20th March 1907. After the congress, its committees continued their work as voluntary societies until in 1908 they transformed into two new associations with regional competence, i.e. The Czech Regional Committee for Child Protection and Youth Welfare, and its German counterpart – Deutsche

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[9] *Sirotčí řád král. komorního města Pardubic*, Pardubice 1909.

Komission für Kinderschutz und Jugendfürsorge in Böhmen. These committees were to harmonize and organize activities of all associations and individuals assisting and protecting the youth, they kept central records of children in need of assistance and protection, and records of all institutions and associations active in this field. Their task was to inquire into all events, gaps and shortcomings in physical, intellectual and moral development of young people, and to inform the public how the youth was cared for and about existing institutions. One of the most relevant responsibilities of the committees was to streamline the existing network of beneficial associations and institutions. In addition to the above, allocation of funds from the regional orphans' fund was delegated to the regional committees. Interestingly, the committees also established their own institutions, thus widening and filling gaps in the existing institutional network. At the same time the regional committees encouraged the formation of district committees focused on supervision and monitoring social welfare of poor and orphaned children. Afterwards, their main task was to arrange a suitable care for each child. With support from the regional committee so-called family communities were established to raise orphans and abandoned children. Family communities were to replace foster care in families and were seen as something between the family and institutional care. Family communities were usually relatively small areas consisting of several housing estates to which children were sent to foster care. There the children were divided into groups of 10-15 and assigned to families who raised them. Family communities can be seen as predecessors of today's SOS Children's Villages. (Baernreither J. M. 1913, Dvořák 1908; Ročenka České zemské komise pro ochranu dítek a péči o mládež v království Českém 1909).

Certain conditions had to be met to establish a family community: Family communities required a local teacher or other trusted person able and willing to manage the community, and school places available at the school which the children from a family community were to attend. Family communities were to be preferably established near Prague and an important criterion was its accessibility by different means of transport. In addition, there had to be a sufficient number of families willing to take the children in and raise them in the town where a family community was to be established, and there had to be a doctor providing healthcare to children (Ročenka české zemské komise 1911). The welfare of children in a family community was monitored by a reliable and generally trusted citizen, usually a teacher (Secký 1926). Only children without any disabilities that would have required institutional care were accepted in such communities. One of the benefits of

family communities was a constant supervision and monitoring of child welfare and education. During their stay in a family community children were monitored and their behaviour and health assessed. Family communities served a special diagnostic purpose as a way to assess which type of care was the most suitable for each child, i.e. family or institutional care (Ročenka české zemské komise 1911: 40).

　　　With the establishment of *Regional Committees for Child Protection and Youth Welfare* the organization of care for poor children improved. Thanks to the fact that members of these regional committees included public officials (from the Office of Steward (Statthalter), State Committee, Regional Board of Education, Regional High Court, consistory, prosecution office, foundling house etc.) the committees were supported by regional authorities. In addition, the committees attracted public attention to child and youth welfare and social care. There was, however, the disadvantage of national fragmentation. On the territory of the Kingdom of Bohemia there were two regional committees, a Czech one and a German one. Both committees strived to harmonize philanthropic activities focusing on children and mothers, and to improve the health and moral condition of the population, using the ideas and information of emerging scientific disciplines, such as psychology, anthropology or special education. Even though their goals were the same, there were nationalist conflicts at the beginning of the 20th century, both on the countrywide (regional) and local levels. Tensions prevailed in particular in locations where both nations lived with one of them being a minority. The assumption was that future generations were endangered by "denationalization". As a result, there were disputes over individual children and jurisdiction, and the aim was to ensure that a "Czech orphan" was raised and educated in Czech language, and vice versa. Regardless, despite these disputes both regional committees can be seen as an element unifying the care for the underprivileged, and as a predecessor of child and youth care organized by the state.(e.g. Zahra 2006: 1378–1402).

The work of *Regional Commissions for Child Protection and Youth Welfare* during the World War I, and subsequent continuity in the First Czechoslovak Republic

when social care for children and youth was reorganized based on the activities and outcomes of these commissions, showed that the *Regional Commissions for Child Protection and Youth Welfare* became indispensable (Hoffmannová 1982: 419-443).

Effects of World War I on the care for orphans[10]

Before the World War I there was already a dense network of institutions for children and youth in Bohemia and Moravia, unparalleled in other parts of the Monarchy (Zahra 2006: 1380). During the war, more state and beneficial institutions became involved in and provided social care for children and youth, for example the *Austrian Red Cross*, *War Support Office* and *Ware Welfare Office*. The *Widows and Orphans Fund of All Armed Forces* provided care to the survivors and families of soldiers, and in Bohemia there was the *Regional War Support Commission* and the *Regional Relief Society of the Red Cross for the Kingdom of Bohemia*. Furthermore, the *Regional Orphans' Fund* and various beneficial associations focusing on child and youth protection and welfare also continued their work. Understandably, the number of orphans grew enormously during the World War I, and their total number in Europe cannot be established with certainty.

There were also children pretending to be orphans during the war. Soldiers sometimes took in and cared for boys who claimed to be orphaned. Among fake orphans there were for example young tinkers coming from Hungary, or runaway children. Some of these "*orphans*" counted on and relied on compassion of other people. They stayed where possible: in telephone booths, parked wagons or carts, on the stairs to the attic, demolition sites, small boats on the Vltava River or in waiting rooms of rail stations. As a last resort they went to one of the shelters in Prague where they were fed, washed, deloused and their hair cut (Schneider 1920: 15).

The war affected many orphanages and their activities. Some teachers and caregivers enlisted, and it was quite difficult for founders and managers to find a replacement. Due to the general lack of food it was much more difficult to provide meals to children in orphanages. One of the solution was to use garden beds to grow crops on site. Nevertheless, some orphanages ceased their activities during the war, either due to financial difficulties, or because their facilities were confiscated by the army. The State Committee tried to address the issue of decreasing number of orphanages by establishing family communities (Kallab 1915: 155). There were also towns that established shelters for war orphans (*Péče o mládež v zastupitelském okrese pardubickém*: 1917).

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[10] For more information on war childhood see Lenderová et all. 2015.

Nonetheless, nothing and nobody could replace children's fathers and lost sense of security. The World War I deprived children of security and basic needs, bringing hunger and hardship, forcing them to do hard labour, and exposing them to cold and diseases. With the end of the war new countries were established: the care for orphans in the newly formed republic of Czechoslovakia in many ways followed in the steps of and built on the legacy of former Austria-Hungary.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Kušniráková, I. (2019). *Za bránami sirotincov. Počiatky ústavnej starostlivosti o osirelé deti v Uhorsku (1750 – 1815).* [Behind the Orphanages Gates. The Care for Children in the First Hungarian Orphanages (1750 – 1815)]. Bratislava: VEDA vydavateľstvo SAV, Historický ústav SAV, 304 p. ISBN 978-80-224-1794-5.
Kušniráková, I, Mannová, E. (2020). „*Zabrániť bahnu morálneho rozkladu.*" *Starostlivosť o osirelé deti v Uhorsku / na Slovensku do roku 1945.* ["Preventing the Cesspool of Moral Decay." Care for Orphans in the Kingdom of Hungary / Slovakia before 1945.]. Bratislava: VEDA vydavateľstvo SAV, Historický ústav SAV, 2020. 536 p. ISBN 978-80-224-1858-4.

One topic – two extensive publications. Ingrid Kušniráková, the author of the first volume cited, as well as the team of authors led by Ingrid Kušniráková and Elena Mannová from the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, devoted their attention to orphaned children and their care in the Kingdom of Hungary and Slovakia over consecutive historical periods. Fundamentally, the overall themes of both volumes are complementary and observe developments from the 18th century to the middle of the 20th century, although the author of the first publication also addresses earlier periods in the introductory chapters.

As was implied by I. Kušniráková in her introduction, her aim was to write a book about the initial state of institutional care for orphans in the Kingdom of Hungary, the history of orphanages and their founders, their employees, their educational and confessional aims as well as their funding. In the first part of the book entitled *Institutional Care for Orphaned Children in Europe in the Early Modern Ages*, the author focuses on the situation in several European cities and highlights the Netherlands as a country which had an impact on the level of interest in institutional care for children in the German states. She exemplified this through the Pietistic orphanage in Halle, established by August Hermann Francke, and the military orphanage in Potsdam. She concluded the first part of her book with the disputes known in the historiography as *Waisenhausstreit*. These discussions that arose out of the influence of the Enlightenment were related to the strengths and weaknesses of institutional care for poor orphans.

As a result, a share of these orphanages were closed, and institutional care was replaced by foster care; however, the latter often turned into using children as a cheap workforce. Gradually, industrial schools were established as one of the solutions for the care of orphaned children; attendance of these schools was obligatory for children whose parents received support from the treasury for the poor. In addition to education, it was the intention that children would acquire work skills in the schools that would allow them to find employment and earn a living.

The author continues with a bloc of topics based on literature written in German, and presents the topic of *Institutional Care for Orphans in the Austrian Lands*. Through a mandate issued by Ferdinand I of Habsburg in 1552, a prohibition was set on children begging in the street, as the mandate defined the principles that later became the foundation for legislations for the care of the poor until the dissolution of the monarchy. The economic policy of the monarchy was supported by Mercantilism, which was one of the theoretical starting points for the Enlightenment reforms of the 18th century and had an impact on the education of orphans. According to the supporters of Mercantilism, fostering work skills in children helped to secure a valuable and obedient workforce for the emerging manufactures. After addressing the concept of Mercantilism, the author proceeds to Cameralism that aimed to achieve a higher standard of living for citizens and a better quality of life in general, including disadvantaged citizens and also poor orphaned children, basically as one of the chief interests of the state.

Institutional Care for Orphaned Children in the Kingdom of Hungary in the 18th Century was inspired by the experience gained in the German states; according to the author, the first to follow this concept was the Evangelical Church. However, both the state and the Catholic faith of the Habsburgs also played a role. Apart from the state, it was also the political and religious elites that funded the orphanages. In the second half of the 18th century, Maria Theresa focused on the modernisation of the school system in her effort to reform society. The author emphasises the importance of educational reforms in state modernisation. In 1776, Maria Theresa decided to include orphanages in the system of elementary education in the Kingdom of Hungary. In spite of the impact that the state had on the care for orphans and the use of modern educational methods, religious education still played a vital role. Fundamentally, little changed for poor children and orphans in the 18th century, despite all the evident good will.

Using the rich archive materials of the National Archives of Hungary, the archive of the National Széchényi Library, the Archives of the Diocese of

Szombathely, and archives in Bratislava, in the following chapters I. Kušniráková watched selected orphanages founded in the second half of the 18th century. To reinforce the position of the Catholic Church and to combat Protestantism, officials advocated for the necessity to take care of orphans. The author scrutinised the activity of the *Kőszeg Orphanage* from the mid-18th century until 1815. Extensive research in archives allowed a detailed analysis of the history of the *Royal Orphanage (1763 – 1815)* in Tomášikovo (hung. Tallós) – Senec (hung. Szenc), which later moved to Pressburg (present-day Bratislava) and finally to Győr, where it was dissolved in 1815. Finally, the author summarises the wide range of forms of care for orphaned and abandoned children in the Habsburg Monarchy, and especially in the Kingdom of Hungary during the 18th century.

The compilers of the second reviewed work, grouped together studies by authors from several social sciences – historiography, archivistics, legal history and literary science, in seven thematic parts. In the introduction of the joint monograph, Elena Mannová points out that the lives of poor orphans generally did not have such a fortunate ending as those portrayed in the classic tales of Cinderella or Snow White. The unfortunate fate of many orphans is well characterised by popular proverbs. The initial motive of the public orphan-related agenda was not the protection of children, but the care of the orphan's property; in principle it was generally considered a financial issue. In its introduction, the volume analyses the situation of orphaned children in the European society of the past and focuses on ecclesiastical and state care as a result of secularisation. Ján Golian points to the current importance of the topic, referring to the conflicts in the present world and the resulting impact on the lives of children.

The second and comprehensive section, entitled *Care for Orphans and the Protection of Their Property,* draws attention to the legislative, financial and social policy of the period, focusing on the origin of orphans. The authors discuss gender differences in the approach to aristocratic orphans, the care for the orphans of serfs on royal and noblemen's estates, as well as the act of stealing the property of orphans in towns. The following section, *Institutional Care for Orphaned, Rejected and Abandoned Children in the Kingdom of Hungary* builds on the above-mentioned book by I. Kušniráková regarding the orphanages of the 18th century. In this chapter, Gabriela Dudeková Kováčová examines the following period until the turn of the 20th century, highlighting the changes that lead to the nationalisation of social care. *A Short History of Selected Orphanages in the Kingdom of Hungary* is the fourth thematic bloc. The authors deal with the evolution of specific institutions of different types: the town

orphanage in Pressburg, the institute in Rimavská Sobota (hung. Rimaszombat), founded and run by an association, the extraordinary state workers' orphanage at Ľupča Castle (hung. Zólyomlipcse, present-day Slovenská Ľupča) and the first Slovak orphanage in Modra (hung. Modor).

 Private Charitable Activities in the Second Half of the 19th Century saved the "most vulnerable" local orphans who found themselves in an acute situation more quickly and more flexibly than the state or towns. E. Mannová deals with the role of voluntary associations in the care of orphans in the territory of the present-day Slovakia. Two types of societies took care of children in need. Charitable associations, especially women's and Jewish societies, supported poor local children whose parents were not their members. They would check what sort of environment the children came from, their diligence, piety, purity, orderliness and especially their level of obedience. The second category of numerous supportive societies, self-help associations, focused on providing for their own members, their own widows and orphans. These included mutual supporting associations of teachers, priests, clerks, military veterans, typographers and the like. Other forms of private care for orphaned children included care by close relatives (Daniela Kodajová deals with the life stories of orphans from the families of Slovak national activists) and patronage (Silvia Lörinčíková describes the extraordinary philanthropic activity of Francisca and Dionysius Andrassy).

 The sixth part, *New Forms of Care for Socially Dependent Children in the Interwar Period,* outlines the changes in care for children and youths after the establishment of Czechoslovakia. Miriam Laclavíková and Adriana Švecová, legal historians, highlight the differences in the approach to the care of orphans after the state took on certain tasks that had previously been dealt with by private patrons and the local churches in a non-systematic way. New forms of help included the state-sponsored associations, the District Care for Youth.

 In the section entitled *Orphans in Literature*, Dana Hučková analyses the image of orphans in Slovak fiction. The fates of orphans that provoked strong emotions among adult readers were also gradually addressed to children to reinforce their morals. An orphan who resisted their fate could be a role model, showing determination and heroism in real life. "The stories of orphans are a good example of the interference between social topics and literature". The author highlights the fact that the literary representations of orphaned characters help us to understand the perception and concepts of childhood, family and gender roles in society, the nation, charity, dependence and independence of that time. Through the motif of orphans, writers responded

to various social, moral and political problems that pertained to religion, nationalism, the position of socially marginalised groups and individuals. Several of them referred to Magyarisation and carried a racial discourse, where "the healthy blood of Slovak children was supposed to awaken the gene pool of the dying Hungarian nation".

At the end of the publication, I. Kušniráková, in her summary, states that the aim of care for socially dependent children in the 18th and 19th century was not the protection of their emotional or spiritual life. The education and upbringing of children in need, provided by charitable organizations, had confessional, nationalist, political and ideological goals. This included the provision of a sufficient level of education to children in order to turn them into independent adult members of society capable of making a living through work. It was not their goal to improve their position in the social hierarchy.

Both of these valuable monographs are a reflection on the phenomenon whose key concepts are children, orphans, orphanages, family and charity.

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