The History of Medicine in Context

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Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Southern Europe

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Contents

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CHAPTER FOUR

Demand and Charitable Supply: Poverty and Poor Relief in Austria in the 18th and 19th Centuries

Martin Scheutz

According to Ernst Schubert's definition of the phenomenon in all its various forms, poverty constitutes 'a threat to one's existence, not just economically, in the sense that one is forced to go begging, but very much in physical terms as well'.[1] For historians of Central Europe, the history of poverty is generally divided into three main phases, with the period from circa 1750 to 1850 being viewed as the third major turning point in society's treatment of the issue.[2] While the chronological demarcation of the earlier phases can be reasonably easily identified via the caesuras of 1348–9 (the Great Plague) and the start of the 16th century (when new forms of municipal policy towards the poor become visible), it is much more difficult to state precisely when the phenomenon of 'working poverty' began to emerge. Nevertheless, it is clear that new ways of thinking about poverty developed from the Enlightenment onwards. Poverty was no longer seen as an evil deriving from God's will, but was now understood as an economic problem. Enlightened thinkers believed that the state should play a constructive role by creating new workplaces and sources of production, and that the poor should be educated into work much more decisively than they had been done before. In other words, the 'charitable activities' practised by state institutions were based on a new ethos towards work as far as the poor were concerned. Given that enlightened thinkers considered that everyone – including the poor – possessed value and economic usefulness, people were defined and evaluated according to the labour function that they could fulfil in society.

In keeping with this view of the world, more severe and increasingly more efficient approaches to the disciplining of the unemployed or work-shy emerged. The state's new role thus consisted of the education of the lower classes into work by means of disciplining institutions such as the detention house *(Zuchthaus)* or poorhouse, and the dissemination of a strict work ethos, so that the poor could ensure their own economic independence and security.[3]

In order to escape from their desperate situation, impoverished individuals are necessarily reliant on support from the surrounding environment, seeing as they are unable to improve their position themselves because of their lack of property and income. The degree of support that the poor can expect to receive depends on how the authorities and the population view the problem of poverty at any given time. In short, the poor's chances of survival are determined by the image of poverty existing in the minds of the better off. Generally speaking, attitudes towards poverty changed substantially during the modern period. In place of the essentially positive views held about the poor in the medieval period, in the early modern era poverty was increasingly loaded with negative connotations. Poverty was more or less put on a par with criminality,[4] to the extent that the poor were viewed as potential petty criminals and as a security problem. Lack of provisions and income most often found expression in the resort to petty theft, which became the 'standard crime' of the 18th and 19th centuries. As the example of a wandering beggar from Styria in the first section of this chapter illustrates, care of the poor in the modern period alternated between the provision of relief and the imposition of discipline.[5] Following on from this case study, a second section will analyse how the issue was dealt with in terms of legislation. Finally, the last part of the chapter will look more closely at the gradual process of differentiation between the various institutions in Austria dealing with the poor during the 19th century.

Poverty on the run: prostitution and migrancy as one beggar's response to inadequate provision for the poor

One July evening in the year 1801, as a Styrian cottager – the owner of a small house without any surrounding land – wanted to fetch some lard out of the pantry for her supper, she made a surprising discovery. She was unable to find the lardpot, although she always kept it in this part of the small dwelling. She immediately suspected a thief, and her suspicions were soon confirmed when she went to the loft to check the wooden chest in which her movable property was to be found. The chest, which was

normally closed, stood open with the key stuck in the lock. Or as the robbed cottager later testified in court: 'I discovered that the key was stuck fast and the chest half empty, and the other boxes had likewise been opened up and many things were missing'.[6] Aside from the lard, it was mainly clothes that were missing, along with some unworked linen, a small tin of tobacco, a jar of honey and a small bottle of brandy. In this respect, it is important to note that the theft of clothing was by no means a trivial offence at that time, given that nearly all items of this kind – no matter how old and torn – still possessed an intrinsic worth in a society where scarcity was the norm.

In full cry, the cottager immediately informed her husband and the other inhabitants of the house about the crime. Her neighbour then informed her that towards midday, a suspicious-looking woman had been seen in the village carrying a heavy basket. Strangers, and especially vagrants, always aroused the attention of the local population: members of the 'face-to-face' society that still existed in the transitory phase between the early modern and modern periods not only watched each other very closely at all times, but were also particularly alert towards strangers. In 18th and 19th century court cases, witnesses often testified in court with detailed descriptions of suspects, including physical and facial characteristics, the time of day, and – what was always vital for the prosecution – the clothes they were wearing. In this particular instance, the robbed cottager immediately set about the task of finding out the thief for herself, as was usually the case when thefts occurred. Most often, the person who had been robbed – and not the local court official – would set off in pursuit, in order to try and surprise the thief 'red-handed', with the stolen goods still on them. As the cottager later stated: 'I followed the route that she had taken until evening'. It seems that everywhere she went, the cottager asked after the whereabouts of the suspicious woman with the full basket. This meant that the surrounding neighbourhood was very quickly informed as to what had happened, as the statements later made by witnesses indicated. The already negatively laden image of the migrant was thus further criminalized as word passed from mouth to mouth. Eventually, a charcoal-burner woman who lived by the wayside heard about the theft as well, upon which she immediately sent for the cottager, because some unknown beggar woman had just entrusted her with some suspicious items of clothing for temporary safekeeping. Once the clothing was brought out to view, the suspicion was confirmed, as the cottager straightaway recognised the clothing as belonging to her. Everyone then waited for the beggar woman to return and, after a long day's wait, the episode ended with the thief being arrested. The beggar woman, whose name was Anna Maria Pfennewart, was immediately confronted by the cottager she had

stolen from and admitted the deed. In admitting the crime, Pfennewart may well have been influenced by the knowledge that an immediate confession could sometimes lead to an out-of-court-settlement, such that the thief would offer to make good the wrong one way or another. In this case, however, the beggar woman was not to be so lucky: two peasants arrested her and immediately brought her before the local judge.

The court case that subsequently ensued, held at the district court in Gaming (Lower Austria) in 1801, highlights two interesting points: firstly, the personal history of the 26-year-old beggar woman reveals some of the potential survival strategies adopted by the vagrant poor; secondly, it demonstrates the problematical relationship between peasants and the phenomenon of poverty, be it resident or migrant. This was in fact the third time that Anna Maria Pfennewart, an unmarried woman of Catholic upbringing who had been born illegitimately to a serving maid, had undergone the painful experience of appearing before court. In 1795, she had stolen clothing as well as an altarcloth (a more serious crime) from a pilgrimage site. Two years later, she had again stolen an altar-cloth, which she apparently viewed as being especially valuable because of its allegedly magical powers. These crimes had been punished with six-month and four-year prison sentences respectively, to which birching had also been added in both cases. Initially, it seems that the young woman had worked as a serving maid, and it was only after her first spell in prison that she no longer found it possible to enter into normal service in a new household. The only alternative left to her was thus to search for crumbs wherever she could find them and hope to receive alms from the resident population. In order to attract more sympathy and increase the amount she would be given, she often said that she and her home were the victims of a fire; in this way, she had 'got something everywhere'. Pfennewart actually came into contact with the authorities again during a check of beggars carried out in Lower Austria in 1800, when she was categorised as a vagabond who was capable of work. Accordingly, she was sent back to her birthplace, Schladming in Styria, but that was precisely the last place where she wanted to stay. The parish only provided a minimal amount of support, which was insufficient for her to survive and remain in the village: a mere four weeks later, she was thus on the road again.

Particularly noteworthy about this case are the descriptions that emerge of the beggar woman's circumstances, because these help us to understand better the relationship between the resident population and vagrants. Most obvious of all is the extent to which the arrested woman's life history indicates the enormous difficulties that the children of poor parents would have to face. Her parents, a beggar who died prematurely and a serving woman, represented the classic stereotype of people without

real means of support. Soon after the death of her husband, Pfennewart's mother had married a penniless day labourer and sub-let accommodation from a farmer, in exchange for which she was obliged to carry out labouring duties on a daily basis. As a young child, Anna Maria Pfennewart was put into service as a cow-maid when she was a mere four years old.[7] However, a short time afterward, the farmer sent the child back home, because she had allegedly 'sworn' while in service and had proven stubborn. Because she was unable to support the child herself, the mother whipped her daughter out of the house and again sent her out into service. The result of this formative experience was that mother and daughter completely lost contact for many years, and it was only when Pfennewart was sent back to her home village in 1800 that they came across one another again. However, the stepfather refused to take her into their home and the young beggar woman thus set out on the road again before the onset of winter, in the hope that she would find quarter at a farmhouse over the cold months.

It was scarcely possible for Pfennewart to be taken in by a poor institute, because only a very modest form of poor relief was in existence at that time. Although as many as 106 poor relief institutions existed in Styria by 1750, the actual capacity only amounted to 1600 places in care, as against a total population of 700 000. In other words, just 0.2 per cent of the province's inhabitants could be provided with fixed relief and could count on a comparatively high level of support.[8] When the beggar woman left her home village once more, she was already heavily pregnant. Two weeks before the birth, she covered a long and arduous stretch of road, leading over high mountain passes to the Carinthian border, where she bore the child at a farmstead. The children of beggars were often given local peasants or artisans as godparents, who would frequently donate a small sum of money to the child and provide accommodation to the mother for a while after the birth.

The fact that the accused woman had become pregnant was not by chance, but was closely connected to her poverty and vagrant way of life. As the beggar woman herself later admitted in court, she had secured enough to live off 'through begging and going with men'. Prostitution thus became a temporary alternative to poverty.[9] The impoverished woman was trying to earn enough money to tide her over in case things got worse and 'to acquire enough for the winter through begging and from men'. A woman who, out of pity, had given the beggar shelter for a few days, later told the court that the latter made commercial use of her body. Given her continual mobility and way of life, Anna Maria Pfennewart saw the eight-week-old child, a boy named Matthias, as a hindrance. For this reason, she entrusted the infant to a fifty-year-old beggar woman, who was supposed to

take the child to Pfennewart's grandmother. As a reward for delivering the child, the young mother gave the woman a shawl and a scarf, as well as an old blouse and some lacework. Pfennewart hoped in future 'to be be able to get along better alone, by begging and going with men'. As it turned out, the grandmother seems to have refused to take in the child for fear of provoking the stepfather, which meant that the old beggar woman was obliged to care for the child as a foster mother, whether she liked it or not.

The level of security and provision attained by vagrants is influenced by the extent to which they are able to establish firm relationships with the resident population. Beggars had to build up a circle of possible sources of accommodation amongst the resident underclass and wealthier farmers by means of good behaviour, or if need be, through more 'threatening' attitudes. The case of Anna Maria Pfennewart proves the point very clearly. Pfennewart had been told by a knacker's wife, who likewise belonged to the underclass, that 'she would buy off her anything that she managed to snatch from the "bastards", as she called the farmers. She should take what she could, it wouldn't do the farmers any harm'. As this statement implies, the relationship between farmers and town-dwellers on the one hand, and the resident or vagrant underclass on the other hand, became increasingly tense during the 18th century. Aside from their high degree of mobility and sometimes aggressive style of begging, a standard part of the vagrant poor's life was petty theft, which the latter viewed more or less as a 'customary right'.[10] The beggar woman Pfennewart had already used the knacker's wife for six years, and the latter had previously bought off her any bread she had managed to beg; she had also offered to buy any other wares Pfennewart obtained by begging or stealing. Although it was strictly forbidden to offer vagrants a doss for the winter, or even a night, beggars nevertheless found a place to bed down in one place or another, in return for payment or services in kind. One impoverished accommodation provider summed up the position of many like her, who – despite the illegality of what they were doing – still gave shelter to beggars: 'because I have to keep both myself and my mother from my work, and also because our house has no land attached to it. Sheer need forced me to earn something in this way, and I believe that in all the small houses around here which don't have any land, people try and earn a bit extra just like this'. Another poor woman, who likewise took in beggars, told the court how she had established contact with the beggar woman Pfennewart, making sure to persuade the authorities that she was left with no alternative: 'This beggar woman came to my house eight days before Whitsun and asked me for some crockery so that she could make a salad, and because some bad weather arrived just as she had finished eating her salad, she asked desperately if she could stay overnight, so I let her'. In ways such as this,

beggars could always find a doss for the night amongst the resident rural underclass – by which are meant knackers, charcoal-burners, cottagers, servants or impoverished peasants – not least because the latter knew all too well the precise circumstances in which the beggars lived. Resident and vagrant poverty were in practice nearly identical and the booty that beggars brought with them from their begging and thieving trips could be used as barter among those sections of the rural population who themselves lived on the margins.

After the lengthy trial, the verdict pronounced upon Pfennewart proved harsh from any point of view. On the 30th of October 1801, she was sentenced to five years 'hard prison' for stealing the clothing (prostitution was not mentioned in the verdict); in addition, she was forced to do public work-service in the Viennese detention house. Her plea to the appeal court for the sentence to be diminished on the grounds of poverty was rejected. The Viennese detention house, which had been founded in 1671 as a more elaborate form of poor institution, thus assumed responsibility for the 'care' of this beggar woman for a fixed period. As for Pfennewart's subsequent history, little more is known: her traces disappear from the historical records, as is so often the case with individuals who feature in judicial documents.

The normative foundations for a history of poverty in the 18th and 19th centuries – the restrictive use of residence rights (*Heimatrecht*)

Broadly speaking, we can summarise the multiple causes of poverty as resulting from the conjuncture of interlinked structural factors. Agricultural crisis and the beginnings of industrialisation had led to the massive impoverishment of wide sections of the population – on top of the considerable numbers of poor or near-poor who already existed around the end of the 18th century. The more traditional manufacturing and artisanal sectors were no longer able to compete with the emerging industrial mode of production and had to lay many people off. From our perspective, what contemporaries described as 'pauperism' and witnessed as wide-scale impoverishment can be seen as a period of economic transition and a temporary deterioration in living standards.[11] The thousands of poor, the so-called rabble, gradually formed themselves into a class which reacted to conjunctural hunger crises[12] and increased food costs in the years 1770–72,[13] 1816–17 and 1846–7 by public rioting, which in turn led to tightened police measures against poverty.[14] Over the same period, it is also possible to observe a higher incidence of other long-standing forms of social protest,

such as poaching, the theft of wood, smuggling, charivaris and machine-breaking.

In the years prior to the revolutions of 1848–9 the problem of poverty became known as 'the social question', as the 'proletariat' began to articulate its interests with greater purpose. In the first half of the 19th century, the 'old' form of conjunctural, vagrant poverty coincided with the 'new poverty' provoked by agricultural crisis and early industrialisation. The impoverishment of large sections of the population was accentuated by population growth,[15] expanding urbanisation and increased internal migration. As might be expected, those most affected by these cyclically recurring crises were people on the lowest incomes. In the town of Salzburg, for example, approximately 50 per cent of the population were poor or threatened by impoverishment in the period 1815–48.[16] Above all, it was wage-labourers who most easily fell victim to the changing relationship between supply and demand in the labour market, and they and their families were faced with a permanent struggle in the fight for survival.[17] As traditional patterns of work changed, the familiar form of household and labour organisation, where employer and employee would live in the same building, lost its importance as industrialisation took hold, the guilds declined and agriculture's share of the economy decreased. The worrying state of the population's health is indicated by the number of recruits deemed unfit for military service in the second half of the 19th century. This reflected the prevalence of cramped living conditions in the industrial centres in particular. The phenomenon can also be interpreted as a question of low nutrition levels, although it should be recognised that the western half of the Habsburg Monarchy, where industrial and commercial development was initially concentrated, fared much worse in this respect than the eastern half.[18] When they were not fatal, debilitating illnesses such as smallpox and cholera could lead to further impoverishment. In response to all these difficulties, the growing working-class learned to represent its interests more effectively, as the history of legislation passed in the second half of the 19th century demonstrates.

Be that as it may, the classic triumvirate of factors causing poverty – old age, unemployment and illness – long maintained their importance throughout the 19th and into the 20th century. Poverty was frequently accompanied by standard symptoms such as large numbers of children, housing shortage, alcoholism and bad family relationships. The very young and the elderly, as well as the ill or disabled, were more likely to find themselves in a position of poverty. In addition, women were disproportionately affected by poverty, as the records of poor relief institutions suggest.[19] Men seem to have been more often in a position where they could react more quickly to difficulties in the labour market by

migration and they also usually had a wider range of possible jobs open to them. According to the testimonies made in court by members of the lower classes, wars or natural disasters, such as fires, floods or earthquakes were also common causes of impoverishment. There were only the bare rudiments of a pension system, and it was mainly civil servants, artisans or miners who were able to make a minimal provision for old age.[20]

If we look at the contemporary discussion more closely, it emerges that the tightening of marriage controls also played a considerable role in the lives of the poor in the 19th century. During the first half of the 18th century, poor men and women had been forbidden from marrying unless they could demonstrate a sound material basis for their union. In this way, the authorities hoped to stop the reproduction of poverty, although in practice the chief effect of this legislation seems to have been a further criminalization of the poor via the increased numbers of indecency cases that came before the courts. The authorities only rarely gave poor people permission to marry, in the form of the so-called 'political marriage approval' (politischer Ehekonsens), because they feared that the offspring of such marriages would become long-term cases for the local poor relief institutions. Not until labour shortages appeared from the 1760s onwards did a forceful economic argument develop for the loosening of marriage restrictions.[21] In several areas though, many parish councils pleaded strongly for renewed restrictions, because they blamed the prevalence of poverty on the 'all too generous liberality that the political authorities exercise with regard to marriages'.[22]

During the second half of the 17th century, the often similar-sounding decrees issued against beggars and vagrants became noticeably more aggressive in tone. This development owed much to the flood of beggars that appeared after the end of the Thirty Years' War, but it was also a clear sign that the more powerful early modern state was capable of enacting greater disciplinary measures. The hereditary lands of the Austrian crown (an area larger than, but coinciding with much of today's Austria) had remained relatively unaffected by the immediate consequences of the war. For this reason, these lands had been a place of relatively safe haven throughout the Thirty Years' War and hence a lucrative place for beggars and refugees from the war to ply for alms.23

With the wars against the Ottomans in the second half of the 17th century and the Hungarian rebellion at the start of the 18th century, war returned to the Austrian hereditary territories. Accordingly, it is possible to observe a greater concern with policy on poverty under Emperor Charles VI (1711–40). A typical decree from the year 1714 once again declared begging to be unlawful. The decree went on to complain about the hordes of beggars moving about 'in greater numbers than before', among whom

many allegedly 'fit' beggars were to be found, that is to say, individuals who were physically capable of carrying out a regular job of work.[24] This particular decree completely forbade begging by poor students, by artisans, invalids and, indeed, by all men and women, on the grounds that the activity constituted a heavy burden for all the Emperor's subjects. The new legislation expected that lordly domains, villages and towns would fulfil their obligations to feed their own resident poor, and to expel any foreign beggars from their area of jurisdiction. The decree elaborated on the ordinances promulgated in the late medieval period, which had only foreseen poor relief for local, resident beggars who were incapable of work. Fit and healthy beggars were supposed to be put to work or drafted into the army, while alien beggars were to be prevented from entering the country; if they did manage to enter, in spite of the restrictions, they were to be expelled immediately. According to the rather illusory ideal envisaged by the decree, manorial, village and municipal authorities should use their powers to check beggars' papers, and to control all known begging routes, suspicious houses and places of shelter. Late 17th-century and 18th-century legislation thus strongly criminalized begging and poverty, and even connected their prevalence to the outbreak of epidemic diseases and plague.[25]

In the instructions given to civil servants, the combative approach towards begging went hand-in-hand with the provision of poor relief, which was motivated not so much by humanitarian concerns as by both the authorities' and the population's fear of 'aggressive begging' by vagrants.[26] The Austrian system for expelling beggars began to be implemented with greater rigour from 1721 onwards, in a way which differentiated more carefully between various types of beggars and poor.[27] According to the expulsion decree of 1724 (re-published in 1749), male, house-owning subjects on each manor were obliged – with help from the army – to look for vagrant poor and beggars in an assigned area. Vagrants found without a travel pass or workbook were to be apprehended and sent back to their home village. The provisions of the imperial police ordinance of 1530 and the Ferdinandean police ordinance of 1552 had made each manor or village responsible for looking after all poor people born within their district.[28] The poor could only claim the right to parish relief once they had been resident in a place for ten years. Because this situation led to financial burdens, manorial and village authorities often disputed their obligations, with the result that the 'expelled' poor frequently became political footballs, passed backwards and forwards between the respective administrations in the place of arrest, which could not wait to get rid of them, and the home village, which refused to take them back in.

Gradually, government policy towards the poor became articulated in increasingly negative terms, as the fight against 'do-nothings' included such measures as forced labour, the military recruitment of fit beggars, work-creation schemes and assignment to detention houses or poor-houses. However, owing to the lack of resources available, the early modern state did not prove as effective as it wished as regards the surveillance of the principal routes on land and water, the demolition of beggars' huts, the removal of illegal doss-holes and marriage restrictions on those without income. The Austrian system of expulsion, which remained in place right up until the Monarchy's collapse in 1918,[29] constituted an extremely repressive set of police measures designed to combat begging, but – as the opening example indicated – it was unable in practice to diminish the problem of poverty. Nonetheless, it seems that the authorities' imposition of legal obligations to look for beggars had an educational and disciplining effect on the resident population as a whole, and strengthened the latter's rejection of poverty.[30] Official attempts at stemming the mobility of the underclass were doomed to failure all the same, because migration – whether short or long-distance – was one of the few survival strategies available to the poor, who were forced to resort to begging amongst as wide a circle of alms-givers as possible.

During the reign of Maria Theresa (1740–80), the state intervened somewhat hesitantly in the spheres of charitable activities and poor relief, while making the already repressive policy towards beggars still more severe (in so far as that was possible). For the early modern state, the regular searches for beggars apparently offered the only remedy to a problem that was a subject of increasing public concern and debate. While it was constantly stressed that the poor should be educated into being industrious, no moves were made towards a unified body of legislation on the poor or the centralisation of poor relief institutions. It was not until the rule of Joseph II (1780–90) that incapacity to work became the decisive criterion for the receipt of poor relief and that the first measures were introduced with the aim of improving the distribution of poor relief to the 'truly needy' on a centralised basis. At the same time, the concept of public care for the poor received a much firmer legal foundation, including a more precise definition of those who were entitled to claim poor relief. Generally speaking, state policy towards the poor improved markedly due to administrative centralisation, while the resources made available through public collections, subscriptions, compulsory levies and donations were pooled together to form a unified fund.

The Josephist parish institutes for the poor represented the first attempt by the government to implement care for the poor on a more centralised basis, and was the most important reform of its kind in 18th-

century Austria. The impulse for this reform came from the southern Bohemian estates of Gratzen and Rosenberg, which were owned by the legally trained Count Johann von Buquoy (1741–1803).[31] In 1779, Buquoy had set up a poor institute, which attempted to provide relief to the 'real' poor and needy local residents while fighting against vagrant beggars. The new institution was run by a religious order whose leadership and organisation came from one of the parishes in Buquoy's county. The brotherhood's members were obliged to support and care for the poor through financial contributions and personal involvement. (Religious orders like this had existed as a form of organisation within the Catholic Church since the Counter-Reformation and sought to combine religious thought with charitable activities). Lists of the poor were drawn up for each parish, and this attempt to identify and categorise the ranks of the 'deserving poor' in itself represented a significant innovation, seeing as it also provided some of the first organised statistics on poverty. Parish priests administrated the poor relief in their capacity as directors of the district poor institutes. They were assisted in their work by schoolteachers, who usually acted as accountants to the poor funds, and by so-called 'fathers of the poor', people who assumed responsibility for the distribution of alms and the collection of donations. Contributions to the poor fund, which were always made on a voluntary basis, were collected by a respected local citizen, accompanied by two members of the poor; the same people then handed out the resulting funds directly to needy individuals. To do so, they used a carefully fixed scale, calculated on the basis of the parish poor-lists: 'full portions' of four *Kreuzer* per day only went to those completely incapable of work; the partially fit and orphans usually received two *Kreuzer* per day, and the poor who were capable of work just one *Kreuzer*. These parish poor institutes were not therefore residential institutions for the care and sheltering of the poor, but constituted rather an organisation for the collection and distribution of alms. Thanks to this more centralised and efficient use of donations, the Josephist reforms took an important step away from church-centred charitable provision towards a public system of poor relief. They also showed a marked preference for the distribution of alms in the community as opposed to confining the poor in closed institutions.

Following the Buquoy model, which at first was used only on the Count's private estates in Bohemia, Joseph II laid down guidelines in 1781 for the reorganisation of the poor-system in Vienna and Lower Austria.[32] Under the new regulations, an office for charitable foundations, the so-called *'Stiftungsoberdirektion'*, was placed under the administrative control of the state and assumed central responsibility for the charitable funds previously pertaining to hospitals, poor-houses, charitable foundations and

other institutions involved in caring for the poor. In addition, Joseph II abolished all religious corporations ('Bruderschaften') in 1783, and the assets belonging to them were to be re-invested in new institutions, such as birth clinics, foundling hospitals, orphanages and the new general hospitals, all of which were involved in caring for the poor. Parish priests functioned as the chairmen of their local poor-institute, whose area of competence coincided with the parish boundaries. In place of the now abolished religious corporations, new 'Love thy neighbour' associations took on the job of administering the poor-institute and these associations were in practice dominated by artisans. Aside from the priest, who played a significant organisational role, 'fathers of the poor' were also especially significant in the working of the new system. Drawn from the ranks of the well-to-do citizenry, the 'fathers' took over the task of collecting and distributing charitable donations. From this point of view, the combination of religious and secular bodies reflects the influence of the enlightened Italian thinker Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), who was a leading proponent of Reform Catholicism.[33] The Josephist poor reforms clearly aimed to use the church for public ends, making it serve social and educational purposes.

On 6 October 1783, the new Viennese poor institutes began distributing alms and by 1800 consisted of between 70 and 80 'fathers of the poor', with the system covering 32 parish districts. Initially very successful, a significant gap soon arose between the institute's large expenditure and relatively small income.[34] Nevertheless, before the Viennese and Lower Austrian experiment had even properly started the government decreed on 2 June 1783 that the Buquoy model be applied throughout the Monarchy. Despite being chronically under funded, the system established itself most effectively in Lower Austria and Bohemia,[35] and Buquoy himself was made president of the court commission for charitable foundations, which in effect made him the head of the Austrian state's social security and health system. However, owing to the lack of adequate financial resources, Buquoy was unable to realise fully his vision of how the parish poor-institutes should function and to implement complementary legislation regarding work creation and tighter controls on begging. It proved particularly difficult to establish parish poor-institutes in many parts of the countryside, because the rural population frequently insisted on the maintenance of direct, hand-to-hand alms giving and did not wish to see the government authorities taking over responsibility for the institutional care of the poor. From 1798 onwards, copies of poor-institute accounts were lodged with the local magistrate, as well as the parish priest and 'fathers of the poor'; in this way, the administrative political unit of the

commune *(Gemeinde)* was installed as the authority responsible for care of the poor.

Contrary to many other innovations introduced by Joseph II, the new poor relief system survived the monarch's death in 1790 and laid the foundation for the public care of the poor in the 19th century. Nevertheless, the Josephist poor institutes were unable to deal with the issue of 'real' poverty or to encourage the authorities to adopt a different response to the problem. In practice, a bewildering array of private, ecclesiastical and municipal poor relief institutions continued to exist side by side at the local level well into the second half of the 19th century, and it was only after 1850 that a gradual process of centralisation became visible. The start of Francis II's reign in 1792, for example, did not bring any changes in poor relief policy, despite the latter's essentially centralistic style of government. The Josephist system remained in place without any alterations, while planned reforms came to nothing due to the Napoleonic Wars and the state's economic difficulties.

In their intention, the planned reforms to the Josephist system had modelled themselves on the well-known poor institute in Hamburg, which had been founded in 1788 by the Protestant businessman and philanthropist Caspar Voght (1752–1839)[36] and had achieved a considerable reputation throughout Europe. The Hamburg system relied heavily on the involvement of private individuals as well as the clergy, and above all, concentrated on promoting work as a means of alleviating poverty.[37] Thus, the main Viennese newspaper, the *Wiener Zeitung*, published an appeal on 5 June 1802, in which burghers, nobles, priests and civil servants at all levels were asked to get involved as 'fathers of the poor' and to help in the process of classifying who belonged to the poor. The poor were supposed to provide for their own existence in work-institutes and, according to this ideal, they would only receive minimal help from the public purse. The institutions would confine their activities to the care of the elderly, the ill and those unwilling to work, who would be placed in workhouses. However, Emperor Francis II's reform project was abandoned at the planning stage because of the enormous financial costs it would have entailed.

Between 1804 and 1816 the court commission on charitable activities met regularly and produced innumerable reform proposals, although these nearly all remained unrealised. Such was the fate of a planned industrial school for poor children, the construction of medical institutions and the establishment of an institution for poor or out-of-work household servants. Likewise, suggestions were made for the building of housing-blocks for the poor, which were to include central cooking and heating facilities, thereby improving the situation of the homeless as well as counteracting rises in rent levels. Yet, these too failed to get beyond the

drawing-board (as the 19th century progressed, the unsolved problem of housing scarcity was to become one of the major issues in policy towards the poor). The reform plans envisaged a trial phase for the Hamburg model in the imperial capital, but it was only partly implemented and with little success. The only really tangible achievements of the rapidly abandoned project were the distribution of meals from public soup kitchens (Rumford-soup), which were set up in considerable numbers in the Viennese suburbs,[38] and the foundation of a workhouse in the dissolved Carmelite monastery outside the centre of Vienna.[39]

The period prior to the 1848 revolution was characterised by the coexistence of the Josephist poor institutes, individual alms-giving, organised private charities (usually in the form of associations) and ecclesiastical institutions. The authorities viewed the increase in begging during this period as a result of the continued sense of charity felt by the bourgeoisie and nobility, which meant that the poor no longer had any incentive to work. Ignoring the reality of the situation, the government sought to implement stricter punishments against begging. After the 1848 revolution, the provisional law on communes promulgated on 17 March 1849 formally established administrative autonomy at the communal level; it also gave villages and municipalities greater responsibility for the provision of poor relief, in view of the fact that the abolition of serfdom had reduced the legal authority of landowners.[40] The only slightly modified Josephist parish poor-institutes continued to exist as providers of relief, although the poor's claim to relief from the commune depended on whether or not they were conceded resident rights in a particular locality.

Residence rights applied to two categories of citizen within any given community: taxpayers, and non-taxpayers, with the poor being subsumed within the latter category. Accession to residence rights essentially occurred in one of three ways: first, an individual could acquire the rights by a formal decision from the village or municipality; second, they could be obtained by marriage into the community, in which case the husband's rights were automatically extended to the wife; third, by entering into public office in the community. Particularly crucial for the poor question was whether or not an individual could acquire residence rights by remaining continuously resident in a particular locality for a period of four years. If the locality was prepared tacitly to tolerate the individual's presence, the latter could then eventually lay claim to poor relief as well, as was laid down in legislation enacted in 1849. The new law represented a significant easing of residence qualification requirements, given that the stipulations contained in both the decree on the expulsion and care of beggars of 15 November 1754, and the decree on conscription of 25 October 1804, both foresaw ten years as the qualification period.[41] People

without a 'residence certificate' could be expelled from the community, which was not obliged to provide them with financial or institutional support.

Further legislation embodied in the law on communes of 24 April 1859 (together with a subsequent law of 5 March 1862), which was valid throughout the Habsburg Monarchy, made the communal authorities solely responsible for the concession of residence rights. At the same time, however, the law contained a substantial tightening of the acquisition process, in that residence rights could no longer be gained via tacit toleration: they now had to be explicitly awarded by a community. Moreover, an individual had no legal claim to the acquisition of residence rights. The situation remained somewhat unclear until a specific law on residence rights *(Heimatrechtgesetz)* came into force on 3 December 1863. The new law finally established clear-cut criteria regarding the distribution of poor relief: 'Residence rights entail the right to undisturbed permanency of residence in a community and the right to claim poor relief'.[42] The result of the new law was that communities were extremely restrictive in applying the provisions of the new legislation, because the concession of residence rights potentially entailed considerable financial consequences. Quite apart from the fact that there was still no unified, coherent body of poor legislation applicable to the entire Monarchy, the new residence law was particularly disadvantageous for community residents, who saw the resources available to meet their eventual needs severely diminished. The proportion of 'foreigners' in a given community rose markedly, and with it, the cost of expelling them back to their home district. In practice, the proportion of individuals in the entire population possessing full residence rights sank from 78.7 per cent in 1869, to 69.7 per cent in 1880, and 63.9 per cent in 1890.[43] The residence law, which remained virtually unchanged until 1938, contributed to the exclusion of a considerable part of the population from the poor relief safety net, and in effect produced an army of the poor, who functioned as a permanently available – and then dispensable – labour reserve.

As the total transfer of responsibilities to the local community had made the Josephist poor institutes essentially obsolete, the latter were gradually abolished in most of the provinces which make up today's Austria. These institutions, which had provided the backbone of the state and ecclesiastical poor relief system for the best part of a hundred years, thus disappeared in the late 1860s and 1870s and their resources were transferred to communal poor funds. Only in Styria and Vorarlberg did the parish poor institutes survive until the end of the 19th century, while in Tyrol they remained in place right up until 1938.[44] The former ecclesiastical principality of Salzburg, which formally became a part of

Austria in 1816, was something of a special case as it had only introduced the Josephist legislation on 8 June 1827. Here, the legislation proved fairly unsuccessful, owing to the large, sprawling rural districts usually encompassed within the average communal jurisdiction.[45] Indeed, the traditional system existing in far-flung rural districts still played an important role and often remained different from that in the towns. In the countryside, the poor were obliged to continue wandering at regular intervals from one farmhouse to the next, where they would be given alms and shelter.

If we were to sum up the general direction of legislation during the 19th century, the trend was very much for the local community to be entrusted with full responsibility for caring for the poor, while the provinces and districts (the latter being an administrative unit established post-1848) were only obliged to bear the costs for the institutional care of the poor and sick. After the abolition of the parish poor institutes, the Habsburg Monarchy's various crown territories began to pass their own provincial legislation dealing with poor relief and welfare.[46] A ban on begging formed a fixed part of these laws and applied to all members of the poor, be they resident in, or alien to, a particular locality. Communities were legally entitled to punish violations themselves by arresting transgressors for up to eight days. Despite the proliferation of provincial laws, poor relief was still hampered by important shortcomings in the existing legislation, the two main evils continuing to be that it was only resident members of a community who could claim subsidies and the fact that the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole lacked a unified law on the subject.

The inadequacies of the community-based system of poor relief are perfectly illustrated by the Styrian provincial poor law of 1896, even if contemporaries actually considered it to be quite a successful solution to the problem.[47] Many of the smaller peasant communities simply lacked the resources to provide a sufficient level of subsidy to the poor. In addition, those entitled to subsidies often no longer lived in their home community and did not wish to be sent back there in a state of complete impoverishment. As one commentator on this poor law stated at the time, the home communities only needed 'to offer the claimant poor relief in their official place of residence and they can be sure that, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, this will not be accepted. A poor individual, who frequently has not been resident in his home village for decades, prefers slowly to hunger in his current place of domicile in conditions of unbelievable deprivation before he is prepared to receive charity from the natural relief available in his home village'.[48] In Styria at least, the burden of providing for the poor was therefore divided up anew between local communities, the districts and the province: a specially created communal

poor committee was responsible for subsidising the poor within the community; the districts assumed part of the costs for caring for the poor and the sick outside of the institutional infrastructure, while the provincial poor fund covered the expenses involved in caring for the poor and sick in hospitals and other welfare institutions.

Following a model first established in Lower Austria in 1886, most Austrian provinces also set up what were known as 'rest stations' (Naturalverpflegsstationen),[49] which were designed to care for those among the vagrant poor who were fit to work. Spread throughout the respective provinces, these rest stations would take in poor individuals capable of working and give them shelter and sustenance for a period of up to 18 hours duration, during which time they would remain free from intervention by the police. In this way, communities hoped to avoid the problem of opportunistic petty theft, while simultaneously saving the considerable expenses incurred through forcibly sending beggars back to their home villages or towns. While these new institutions certainly did not offer a long-term solution to the problem, they nevertheless proved a success within a very short space of time. In the small province of Vorarlberg, for example, 34 286 people made use of such rest stations in 1892, while the equivalent in the much more populous province of Lower Austria catered for 431 211 in 1899.[50]

If no specific law dealing with poverty was forthcoming in the Habsburg Monarchy, other laws promulgated in the late 19th century affected the poor in a number of ways. Thus, the 1871 expulsion law unified the various regulations hitherto in existence. As well as demonstrating that expulsion was still seen as a catchall solution in the repressive fight against poverty, the legislation was particularly directed towards the work-shy and vagabonds. In practice, however, no differentiation was made between the work-shy and the unemployed, mainly because the interpretation of what constituted unemployment rested with those in officialdom (the same was also true of the law on vagabondage passed in 1873). Particularly during the severe economic depression between 1873 and 1896, for example, stronger police measures were taken against the unemployed. The state introduced yet further restrictions under the compulsory labour law of 1885, which led to the establishment of forced labour workhouses and so-called 'improvement institutes'. These institutions aimed to deal with those out-of-work or devoid of trade, who were wandering around without any visible means of supporting themselves.

As before, however, the main problem affecting care of the poor remained financial. Above all, towns and villages sought to free themselves from the burden of poor relief at the expense of provincial administrations.

From the 1880s onwards, the so-called Elberfeld system, named after a town in the German Wuppertal, was adopted by numerous towns in Austria as a potential solution to the problem.[51] Like previous experiments, the system received a trial run in Vienna and sought to replace the bureaucratised form of poor relief administered by town and village councils with a voluntary, self-governing system, featuring 'poor councillors' and the individual supervision of claimants.[52] In short, the goals of official policy towards the poor had barely changed since the days of Joseph II: support for the genuinely poor, a lessening of the budgetary burden, distinction between those capable of work and the work-shy, the reintegration of the needy into the productive economic process and the removal of begging.

Despite the persistence of traditional attitudes to the poor in many areas and particularly at the community level, there were nonetheless signs of change by the end of the 19th century, thanks to the development of a more interventionist social policy, which replaced individually donated alms with anonymous contributions from the authorities and institutionalised forms of care. For example, the trade ordinance *(Gewerbeordnung)* of 1859 had already amounted to a significant state intervention into existing working practices. For the first time, the trade ordinance laid down a comprehensive set of regulations relating to the workplace, such as wage guarantees (e.g. abolition of payment in the form of exchangeable tokens, the so-called *'Trucksystem'*), working conditions, equipment and facilities, working hours and the protection of children.[53] Equally, workers' social security substantially improved under the terms of the trade inspection law of 1883, while further legislation saw the introduction of compulsory accident insurance in 1887, compulsory insurance against ill-health for wage labourers in 1885 and the reduction of the working day to a maximum of 11 hours in the renewed trade ordinance of 1885. Social policy was developed in the face of increasingly organised action by the working class and became a key area of government legislation. A new law on residence rights in 1896 obliged communities to acknowledge the residential rights of people who had paid taxes for five consecutive years or who had lived voluntarily and without interruption in a given locality for ten years; with the right of residence came the community's obligation to accord subsidies to those in need. The move was designed to put an end to the widespread practice of moving the elderly and ill outside the community. Towards the end of the 19th century, the provision of poor relief still rested with the financially burdened local communities, but the onus was also being shifted onto private institutions too, even if these were often soon overstretched in both financial and organisational terms. Significantly, it was only a year before the

Monarchy's collapse, in 1917, that the government decided to set up a Ministry for Social Provision.

The gradual transition from ecclesiastical, private and municipal poor relief to a centralised state system

General historical overview

In 1671, in the area of Vienna known as Leopoldstadt, a poorhouse-cum-workhouse was established to house 'wicked villains'. The new institution represented the first translation into practice of the aggressive language used in the various decrees and ordinances on begging and idleness, with the clear aim of instilling social discipline in the lower classes of the population. Cameralist thinking seems to have played a relatively minor role in the foundation of the earliest compulsory labour institutions, because the authorities were primarily concerned to get rid of the criminalized 'masterless villains' and 'aggressive' beggars on the streets. The detention-centres-cum-workhouses served as centres of correction and forced education for impoverished household servants, artisan journeymen, beggars, children and orphans. By employing the latest pedagogical concepts, the inmates were supposed to be imbued with the sense of discipline, values and working rhythms of the emerging industrial age. In the Viennese orphanage founded in 1742, for instance, male orphans were already drilled for their future role as soldiers at an early age: the state saw them as a means of making good the shortage of recruits and creating useful servants of the state.[54] Another example, from Tyrol, illustrates especially well the multiple functions that these new institutions performed. The prison-house in Innsbruck, which was founded in 1725, served as a manufacturing centre for the combing and spinning of wool,[55] as an orphanage and workhouse, as well as a prison for criminals from throughout the province. The first important functional modification occurred some sixty years later, in 1785, when the orphans were placed in a home of their own, after which the prison-house was named the 'General Provincial Criminal Prison'.[56]

Rather than the prison-houses being seen as places of punishment, the Metternichian police state wished them to be seen much more as education centres, as a form of crime prevention among the poorest classes and as institutions of virtue, order and industriousness. It was not until later on in the 19th century that a formal distinction was made between detention and work institutions, although in practice the forced labour centres and detention houses barely differed from one another in functional terms.[57] In other respects, the history of poor relief since the second half of the 18th

century is characterised by the increasing diversity of care institutions and by the attempt to differentiate more precisely between the numerous forms of poverty. The poor were to be treated differently from the sick, the mentally ill from the unfit to work, expectant mothers from bedridden invalids and so on. Given the sheer volume of institutions of one kind or another, it is virtually impossible to provide a meaningful overview of the different local and regional poor institutions. What follows, therefore, are sample illustrations of the main types of institution.

While the documentary sources are not as rich as for the towns, the history of rural care institutions nevertheless gives an unambiguous picture of grinding poverty in the countryside.[58] From the late Middle Ages right through to the end of the 19th century, care for the poor in the countryside was dominated by the giving of alms or gifts in kind (foodstuffs) from the local poor fund. Particularly in the alpine provinces, it was scarcely feasible to move towards the institutional centralisation of poor relief because seigniorial estates and village communities simply lacked the means to do so. The most common forms of poor relief in rural areas were short-term lodging, the humiliating process of being passed from house to house, and the feeding of the elderly and poor on a rota basis. The poor themselves much preferred the possibility of shelter in a poor-house to the unpopular lodging system, whereby they could only expect to stay for a very short period with unwilling house owners and farmers in the few dwellings that made up a village or hamlet.[59]

During the 18th and 19th centuries, municipal, ecclesiastical and private organisations were responsible for the running of numerous institutions, such as hospitals, homes for the elderly sick, leper-houses and plague hospitals, which cared for the poor and the ill alike and were nearly always located in larger towns or cities.[60] These institutions were financed from a variety of sources, with the imperial house often providing support as well. Institutions of this kind possessed land and housing in reasonable measure and usually collected donations through alms-boxes placed in the local church or other much-frequented places in the community. Beggars also often went around with collecting-boxes, either directly for themselves or for poor institutions. In 1724–5, Emperor Carl VI had established a court commission 'for matters of public security and the provision of secular foundations', whose remit was the coordination of poor relief (it is significant to note that poverty was subsumed under security matters). The aim was to provide greater cohesion to the supervision of the various hospitals in existence and to centralise their administration. In the late 1720s and early 1730s, this court commission sought to establish an overview of the number and capital resources belonging to the Habsburg Monarchy's secular and ecclesiastical foundations. However, the sheer

variety and number of different kinds of institutions made it very difficult in practice for the state authorities to gain an accurate impression of the poor relief situation or of the actual condition of the underclass. An initial attempt was made to unify the diverse ordinances relating to institutions for the care of the poor, but further centralisation efforts failed due to lack of finances.[61]

Around mid-century, the government set up a commission specifically to supervise the Monarchy's numerous hospitals and poor funds.[62] Yet just how difficult it proved to be to come up with sufficient money for poor relief was evidenced in Vienna, the largest city in the Monarchy and hence the city with the greatest potential resources. As an official source lamented in the year 1752: 'The poor fund (*Cassa pauperum*) has sent out 181 collectors in aid of the Great Poorhouse and the St John Nepomuk Hospital to particular locations throughout the city (in churches, postal offices, the city gates and the outer walls). In this way, a mere 3000 Florins are collected annually. Therefore, from now on we will only be sending out 45 collectors, who are known for their honesty, and will set up more alms-boxes. Anyone caught fiddling the collection will be threatened with the workhouse'.[63] The *Cassa pauperum*, which received its funds via collections from private houses and in church, was originally intended to provide money for those poor and sick who could not find a place in a hospital. Before long, however, it became responsible for providing poor relief to all Vienna's poor. Aside from this source, poor relief also came from the imperial house which paid money from the dynasty's private purse on a yearly basis into what was known as the 'Court Alms Fund'.[64]

The first signs of institutional diversification come from the reign of Empress Maria Theresa, with the foundation of an orphanage in 1742, and an institute for the deaf and dumb in 1779. Documents from Styria from the year 1750 indicate that there were basically two kinds of poor institutes in existence: the smaller group consisted of ecclesiastical and private foundations or institutions set up by the early modern state, such as work and detention houses, orphanages, and poor-houses, while the greater part of care institutions were constituted by the traditional hospitals. At this particular moment in time, the Austrian state had four main poor relief centres in Styria: a poor-house, a work and detention house, and two hospitals (one of which served the salt-mine workers in Aussee). These state institutions were mostly located in the provincial capital, Graz (the exception being Aussee). The rest of the province had a further 99 hospitals, which were in the hands of various towns, monasteries or seignorial estates. In other words, by far the majority of poor relief was decentralised and provided by sources other than the state.

Admission to a hospital followed the logic of the laws on residence rights, which meant that the wandering poor were usually excluded from this source of poor relief.[65] Whenever possible, hospital inmates who were either elderly or unfit for work were obliged to invest their own money in the hospital, in order to help place the often indebted institutions on a more stable financial footing. The hospitals' available capital usually consisted of cash resources and debt notes written either to the local administration or to farmers and burghers from the surrounding area. Most hospitals had been in existence since the Middle Ages and would possess land holdings in the town and outside. The so-called 'burgher hospitals' in the towns and market centres saw their duty primarily as that of caring for impoverished local citizens, rather than being concerned with the problem of poverty in general.[66] Accordingly, the inmates of such hospitals were comparatively much better looked after than the great mass of the poor and ill who lacked access to institutional assistance. The hospital-master, town council or whoever was responsible for admissions, only rarely showed mercy towards servants or poor people who were old or unfit for work.[67] The main obligation that the inhabitants of these hospitals had to undertake was to pray for the hospital's founder and the parish community several times a day. An individual's stay in the hospital essentially depended on whether these prayers were carried out in an 'orderly' fashion.

The first decisive move towards the centralisation of poor relief came with the Josephist reforms from 1782–3 onwards. At the same time, a gradual process of specialisation is recognisable, as a whole range of new institutions were established during Joseph's reign: the poor institute, general hospital, mental asylums, birth clinics and foundling homes. The latter were meant to solve the problem of illegitimate births and were partly financed by the religious fund, which had been established using the proceeds from dissolved monasteries.

The situation in the 19th century differed significantly from the mixture of ecclesiastical and secular poor relief, which had characterised the Josephist period. The government's fear of political unrest meant that the police became the main enactors of social policy in the period prior to 1848. In contrast to the 18th century, much greater emphasis was placed on the activities of private individuals, predominantly parish priests, the nobility and wealthy bourgeoisie. The state intensified its efforts to help people into work, but could not keep pace with the growth of a large proletariat, which formed a reserve force of cheap labour. The goal of official policy towards the poor was – as far as was possible – to try and secure the independent existence of those classes of the population threatened with impoverishment. In view of the limited resources available to the local administrations on the ground, and the fact that most poor relief

concentrated on caring for the old, the infirm, the mentally ill and those unfit for work, the involvement of private and ecclesiastical bodies in the provision of poor relief was extremely welcome to the authorities. Indeed, many provincial governments expected help from such sources as a means of easing the burden on public finances.

To give a few examples of the kind of private initiatives that took place, set out below is a list of charitable associations founded between 1810 and 1848 (excluding burial associations and groups founded for the support of widows, orphans and the ill).[68] All these associations were carefully watched by the police for possible political activity. Generally speaking, the foundation of these groups testifies to the gradual individualisation of poverty, in the sense that the poor were increasingly recognised as people either with specific difficulties such as blindness, mental illness and so on, or as individuals in a dependent situation (e.g. children, the elderly). Accordingly, the new associations also promoted educational and resocialisation programmes. Likewise noticeable is the establishment of religious societies, particularly in the case of the Jewish associations founded in the imperial capital.

1810	The society of noble women for the promotion of the good and the useful
1811	The association for the subsidy of the shameful poor in Matzleinsdorf, Nikolsdorf, Margarethen, Hungelbrunn and Laurenzergrund
1814	The association for the subsidy of Austrian-Imperial military invalids
1815	The association for the subsidy of worthy and needy students
1816	The association for the subsidy of the needy
1819	The Schottenfeld parish poor association in aid of the poor institute
1829	The association for the provision and employment of blind adults
1831	The private association for the employment and subsidy of foodless people

1832 The central association of care institutes for small children in Vienna

1841 St. Joseph's children's hospital association in Wieden

1842 The Empress Maria Anna children's hospital association; The Jewish women's charitable association; The Jewish association for pious and charitable purposes

1843 The association for the promotion of handicrafts among native Jews; The maintenance association for a Jewish children's care institute

1844 The Viennese association for the protection of individuals released from centres of punishment and detention

1846 The association for the clothing of needy schoolchildren

1847 The Viennese general aid association; The association of the cross; The central association for the supervision of children and infant cots

1848 The women's charitable association for Vienna and district; The association for the subsidy of aidless individuals released from mental asylums

With the expansion of social security and health insurance as the 19th century progressed, state and private institutions no longer had to dispense poor relief on such a massive scale, even if the new social provisions offered by the state had their limits. Far-reaching social reforms were nevertheless still a long time coming and it was only in the second half of the 19th century that the state expanded the extent of social provision and created a new institutional infrastructure.

Examples of institutional diversification: poorhouses, foundling hospitals, birth clinics and mental asylums

The gradual move towards the centralisation of poor relief institutions can best be illustrated by a look at the Austrian capital, Vienna, as the provinces were comparatively slow in bringing in innovations. A poorhouse had been erected in Vienna under Emperor Leopold I as early as

1693, modelled on the 'Hôtel des Invalides' that had opened in Paris in 1671. Originally designed to cater for invalids from the Ottoman wars and the countless numbers of Viennese beggars, the poorhouse already provided for around 1000 people by 1700.[69] The first large-scale institution for the poor, it was financed by taxes on beer and carriages, and from private alms and legacies. After 1726, the institute was expanded into what became known as the 'Great Poorhouse', a vast building with five main blocks – the largest complex built in the whole of baroque Vienna – which had capacity for 5000 people in 1733.[70] Following the reorganisation of provision for military invalids in 1752, further alterations to the building were necessary, so that a total of 6000 of the poor and needy were able to find refuge there.

When Joseph II set about the reorganisation of the hospital system and the functional adaptation of poor relief institutes, this 'town of invalids and poor' in the Viennese suburbs formed the starting point for his actions. After extensive modifications, the enormous Great Poorhouse was turned into the so-called 'General Hospital', which opened in 1784. The General Hospital was placed under the supervision of the chief physician to the Emperor, Joseph Quarin (1733–1814), who was meant to ensure that the institution did much more than merely 'serve as accommodation for mostly unworthy villains'.[71] (Plate 4.1) The new foundation, which soon found imitators in other parts of the Monarchy,[72] marked the first step on the road away from ecclesiastical and municipal poor relief towards a centralised, state welfare policy. At the same time, the General Hospital embodied the transition from the old-style multifunctional hospitals to a medical institution exclusively devoted to the care of the sick.[73] Patients at the hospital were categorised according to their ability to pay. There were four classes of patient in all, the last of which comprised people without any means of support: this group alone was guaranteed free treatment. As the hospital became more established, specialist institutes were added, such as a centre for pox vaccinations in 1802,[74] a foundling home, birth clinic and a mental asylum (which soon became known as the 'fools' tower', after the building in which it was housed). (Plate 4.2) Eventually, a university clinic was added, which laid the foundation for the famous Viennese medical school in the 19th century.

Table 4.1: Care institutions (CI), poor-houses (PH), and civic hospitals (CH) 1830–1906, together with the numbers of patients (NP) in their care

	CI	NP	PH	NP	CH	NP
1830	1,282	19,056	4,880	116,149	129	57,389
1850	1,242	19,353	5,363	152,123	213	116,070
1870	981	23,055	6,806	154,966	426	193,191
1890	1,833	42,587	11,058	297,915	597 (1)	336,450(2)
1906	1,812	58,522			715 (3)	622,237(4)

Note: Figures for civic hospitals refer to both public and private institutions
Source: Health statistics cited in Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller[75]

> (1) Of which 186 public, 411 private;
> (2) Of which 251,290 in public care, 85,160 in private;
> (3) Of which 254 public, 461 in private;
> (4) Of which 496,308 in public care, 125,929 in private.

Plate 4.1
Ground plan of the General Hospital and the home for disabled soldiers in Vienna, Alserstrasse (in the first court see the director's building). Detail of the bird's-eye-view-map by Josef Daniel Huber, around 1770.
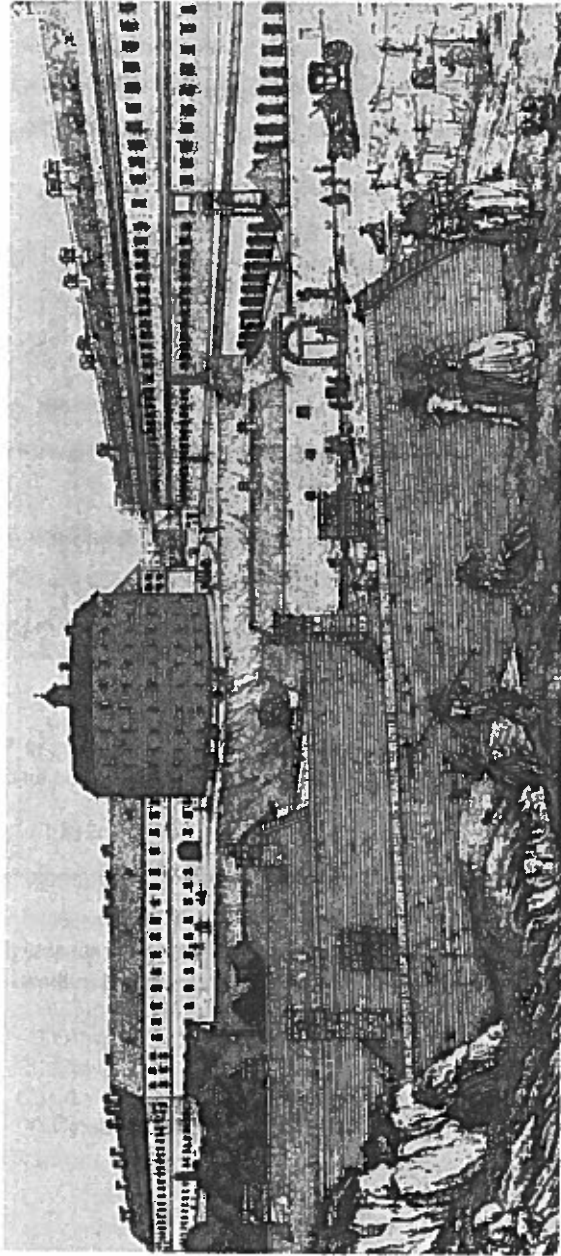
The birth clinic-cum-foundling home, which was founded in 1784 and lasted until its closure in 1910, was likewise a result of the Josephist reforms to the health system. The background to its establishment indicated the influence exercised by criticism from enlightened thinkers and public reactions towards cases of infanticide in the late 18th century.[76] Single – for the greatest part, impoverished – mothers could give birth to their children in the newly created institution while retaining their anonymity. The Viennese home, the second biggest in Europe after that in Moscow, aimed to decriminalise unmarried mothers subsequent to Joseph II's abolition of political marriage approval. Initially intended to give protection to single mothers, over the course of the 19th century the institution increasingly became involved in poor relief. At the same time, another of the objectives behind the institution's foundation remained unfulfilled: in line with cameralist thinking, the state had hoped that the birth clinic would help raise population numbers. However, the annual mortality rate among the children cared for by the foundling home lay significantly above 50 per cent, reaching the tragic peak of 74 per cent in 1811. The main source of infant mortality appears to have been infectious diseases, as well as intestinal and stomach-related illnesses.

In exchange for their free admission to the clinic, the penniless mothers, most of whom were servants, were obliged to act as 'live experimental material' for young doctors and midwives undergoing their training. The foundling home, which simultaneously served as a vaccination centre, was likewise available to all pregnant women free of charge and independent of background or religious confession (all babies were, however, automatically baptised as Catholics and this remained the case with Jewish babies, for example, until 1868).[77] Although there also existed three categories of paying mothers alongside those receiving free care, the proportion of payments declined steeply over the course of the 19th century and poor mothers, who had to be able to show a certificate proving their lack of means, formed the overwhelming majority of admissions. Single mothers who were taken on as wet-nurses in the foundling home, underwent a thorough medical examination upon entry. Once inside, they were subject to strict institutional controls: they were usually allowed to breastfeed their own babies for a maximum of four months while nursing additional children; their freedom of movement around the home was restricted and they were only allowed to leave the building in the company of a warden. Lastly, wet-nurses were responsible for cleaning the building, in addition to their child-care duties.

In practice, it was nevertheless the case that most foundling children did not stay long in the home, leaving it a few days after birth. The babies were looked after – in return for payment – by 'care-women', who

Plate 4.2
Mental asylum, called "Fools' Tower" (part of General Hospital). Design by Josef Schaffer, 1787.

often lived a long way from Vienna. As a rule, the process of giving away children to be cared for took place twice a week in the first half of the 19th century but, as numbers rose, this began to occur on a daily basis as the century wore on. Care-women were obliged to seek renewed permission from the parish or village authorities to take on children if four infants died in their care during a year. The statistical evidence suggests that there was indeed a correlation between foundling mortality and the amount of money offered to the carers: a reduction in the size of payments in 1830 was accompanied by worse chances of survival through until 1873, when an improvement in mortality rates followed a rise in care subsidies. Within the foundling hospital itself, wardens employed full-time were badly paid and frequently resorted to the extortion of tips from childbearing mothers or simply demanded cash for their services. Hence the complaint by one deputy to the Lower Austrian provincial assembly *(Landtag)*, that 'the practice of tipping in foundling homes is overly exorbitant'.[78] During the period of Liberal government in the Monarchy, the Viennese foundling home increasingly became the subject of public debate and was eventually shut down in 1910.

Table 4.2: Orphanages in the Habsburg Monarchy 1830–1906

	Orphanages	Children in care	Number of deaths in orphanages	Number of deaths outside orphanages
1830	15	5,480	511	3,798
1850	16	15,293	1.893	8,453
1870	15	14,647	1.900	7,910
1890	9	9,079	562	4,698
1906	9	10,995	467	3,075

Source: Health statistics cited in Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller[79]

The area where institutional diversification proved slowest in coming was that of mental health: it was a long time before mental illness came to be treated as a condition in its own right, rather than being lumped together with poverty or other illnesses. The first institution in central Europe specifically built for the care of the mentally ill was founded in Vienna in 1784; Prague was the next to follow in 1790. The impulse towards the

erection of the 'Fools' Tower' came from two sources: firstly, Joseph II's visits to similar institutions during his travels in France; secondly, the discovery of subterranean chambers used to hold mentally ill friars at the Capuchin monastery in Vienna.[80] The five-storey tower contained 139 individual cells and also represented a significant development in terms of architectural approaches to housing the mentally ill. Designed by the court architect Isidor Canevale, the round building represented a radical break from the standard baroque design employed in the surrounding General Hospital. The comparatively small-sized cells and five storeys allowed for a high number of patients to be accommodated on a fairly small square area. A special corridor for warders divided the tower into two halves. Access to the patients was only possible via the warders' area, meaning that the mentally ill inmates could be constantly observed. In terms of its style and construction, the Viennese asylum not only embodied a vision of absolute control, it also marked the beginning of the mentally ill's exclusion from the rest of society and represented an attempt to 'discipline' mental illness within confined institutional surroundings.

As was generally the case throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, only a small proportion of the mentally ill were handled in more specialist fashion or received careful treatment of their individual problems – the majority were handled in a uniform fashion, regardless of the social situation or the gravity of their illness.[81] Yet the 'Fools' Tower' did at least have the effect of removing the mentally ill from the amorphous mass of the poor, even if this in turn had its negative side. For example, the tower became widely known and a source of considerable curiosity for many an astonished visitor. One traveller, writing of his visit to Vienna in 1789, just a few years after the tower's opening, commented on this new sight of interest: 'a large number of the unfortunates locked away here are soldiers. Many are not incarcerated in the fastenings, but sit around or wander up and down the corridors. Some lie in chains in the cells, and remain fixed to the walls'.[82] The often-visited institution remained in operation until 1869, maintaining 'more the character of a prison than a place of healing and recovery'.[83]

Similar institutions were slow to emerge elsewhere in Austria: in 1816, further asylums opened in Mauerbach and Ybbs, and in Bründlfeld (Vienna) in 1853, but it was not until 1898 that a large-scale mental asylum was built, in Mauer-Öhling, while the extensively laid out new mental hospital in Vienna, the asylum *'Am Steinhof'* designed by Otto Wagner, was not ready until 1907. Moreover, these institutions had a fairly limited capacity. According to a survey carried out in 1880, there were 26 197 mentally ill in imperial Austria, approximately 77 per cent of whom were not admitted into institutional care, despite the fact that the overall numbers

of mentally ill in residential hospitals and institutes slowly increased over the course of the 19th century.[84] As might be expected, the situation in the countryside was considerably worse. In most cases, local officials only had available a single poor relief institution, in which place had to be found for the poor and the physically and mentally ill alike.

Table 4.3: Mental hospitals and patients treated 1830–1910

	Mental hospitals	Patients
1830	12	2,096 (1,191 male, 905 female)
1850	14	2,804 (1,503 male, 1,301 female)
1870	15	4, 893 (2,649 male, 2,244 female)
1890	30	15,311
1910	45	40,061

Source: Health statistics cited in Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller[85]

Conclusion

To sum up this overview of provision for the poor in 18th and 19th century Austria, we must conclude that neither poor legislation, nor the activities of private charitable associations, state and municipal institutions or individual initiatives were able to improve measurably the lot of the poor. While it is difficult to arrive at an accurate quantitative estimate of the numbers of the poor, owing to the lack of reliable data and the inconsistent and imprecise use of the term 'poverty', the overall picture is unambiguous.

The lack of a sound financial basis for the provision of poor relief prevented a decisive improvement in the situation, as did the inadequacy of institutional support for the poor and the ill. Although the expansion of social security and private insurance arrangements undoubtedly helped ease the burden on state institutions and private poor relief by the end of the 19th century, they were unable to offer an effective replacement for the existing system. One of the major problems was the persistent attempt by the authorities to classify the poor into the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor, as well as the confusion surrounding the right to claim poor relief. The main result of this situation was to place most of the responsibility for coping with poverty on local communities, which then tried to avoid fulfilling the obligations thrust upon them. It was only in the second half of

the 19th century – albeit at the provincial rather than the national level – that the combined efforts of ecclesiastical and political decision-makers produced a more efficient legal regulation of the poor question. At the same time, those most threatened by the prospect of poverty sought alternative solutions to their predicament, in the form of self-help organisations, widows' and workers' mutual insurance funds, or consumer associations.

During the second half of the 19th century, the main response by the provincial authorities to what they saw as the threatening problem of poverty was a mixture of greater institutional diversification and the attempt to 'individualise' the poor and the sick: hence the creation of specialist centres such as detoxification clinics for alcoholics or institutes for epileptics. These new institutions aimed to meet the demand for the individual treatment of the specific problems afflicting the poor and needy. Nevertheless, many of those seeking institutional assistance remained excluded from such a solution and had to make do with the subsidies handed out in the community. Even if the overall situation at the end of the 19th century had become less desperate in certain respects, the traditional causes of poverty – old age, unemployment and illness – remained much the same as before, while those most at risk still proved to be children, women, the elderly and the ill.

Notes

1. Ernst Schubert, *Arme Leute, Bettler und Gauner im Franken des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1990), pp. 96–7. I would like to thank Alfred Stefan Weiss and Sabine Falk-Veits, both of Salzburg, for their help while writing this article. Special thanks go to Laurence Cole for translating the text from the original German.
2. Volker Hunecke, 'Überlegungen zur Geschichte der Armut im vorindustriellen Europa', in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*,1983, 9, pp. 480–512, see 491–6. For an overview of the history of poverty in Europe, see Wolfram Fischer, *Armut in der Geschichte. Erscheinungsformen und Lösungsversuche der 'Sozialen Frage' in Europa seit dem Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1980); Christoph Sachße, Florian Tennstedt, *Geschichte der Armenfürsorge in Deutschland, vol. 1: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 1. Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart, 1998), Bronislaw Geremek, *Geschichte der Armut. Elend und Barmherzigkeit in Europa* (Munich, 1988), pp. 245–97.
3. Sabine Veits-Falk, *"Zeit der Noth". Armut in Salzburg 1803–70* (Salzburg, 2000), pp. 9–18. See also Sabine Veits-Falk and Alfred Stefan Weiss, 'Salzburg im Wandel – Politik, Armenfürsorge und Bildung im späten 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Gerlinde Haid and Thomas Hochradner, eds, *Lieder und Tänze um 1800 aus der Sonnleitner-Sammlung der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien* (Vienna, 2000), pp. 166–78.

4. Regula Ludi, *Die Fabrikation des Verbrechens: Zur Geschichte der modernen Kriminalpolitik 1750–1850* (Tübingen, 1999).

5. Mainly for practical reasons, my chapter concentrates on the problem of poverty in the area covered today by the Austrian Republic. Discussions of the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole and a guide to further reading are given by Roman Sandgruber, *Ökonomie und Politik: Österreichische Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom Mittelalter zur Gegenwart* (Vienna, 1995) and (for the 19th century) Helmut Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa. Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie 1804–1914* (Vienna, 1997).

6. These court records are located in the Lower Austrian Provincial Archive, St. Pölten, Gerichtsarchiv Gaming, Karton 10, Diebstahlsfall Anna Maria Pfennewart.

7. For examples of child labour, see Otto Uhlig, *Die Schwabenkinder von Tirol und Vorarlberg* (Innsbruck, 1978) and (on Vienna) Peter Feldbauer, *Kinderelend in Wien vom 17.–19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1980).

8. Helfried Valentinitsch, 'Armenfürsorge im Herzogtum Steiermark im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, 1982, 73, pp. 96–100.

9. Robert Jütte, *Arme, Bettler, Beutelschneider. Eine Sozialgeschichte der Armut in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Weimar, 2000), pp. 206–8. An interesting comparison is provided by Helfried Valentinitsch, 'Aus dem Leben eines liederlichen Weibsbildes. Zur rechtlichen und sozialen Stellung von Randschichten der steirischen Bevölkerung im 18. Jahrhundert', in Kurt Ebert, ed., *Festschrift für Nikolaus Grass zum 70. Geburtstag* (Innsbruck, 1986), pp. 423–32.

10. On this, see Sabine Kienitz, 'Frauen zwischen Not und Normen. Zur Lebensweise vagierender Frauen um 1800 in Württemberg', in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 1991, 2, 54. On female mobility, see Helfried Valentinitsch, 'Frauen unterwegs. Eine Fallstudie zur Mobilität von Frauen in der Steiermark um 1700', in Heide Wunder and Christina Vanja, eds, *Weiber, Menscher, Frauenzimmer. Frauen in der ländlichen Gesellschaft 1500–1800* (Göttingen, 1996), pp. 223–36.

11. For Vienna, see Wolfgang Häusler, *Von der Massenarmut zur Arbeiterbewegung. Demokratie und soziale Frage in der Wiener Revolution von 1848* (Vienna, 1979), pp. 80–123.

12. On hunger as a theme in Vormärz literature, see Wolfgang Häusler, '"Wart's Gourmanninen!". Vom Essen und Trinken in Nestroys Possen und in Nestroys Zeit', *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur*, 1991, 35, pp. 217–41. For nutritional problems, see Roman Sandgruber, *Die Anfänge der Konsumgesellschaft. Konsumgüterverbrauch, Lebensstandard und Alltagskultur in Österreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1982), pp. 248–67.

13. Erika Weinzierl-Fischer, 'Die Bekämpfung der Hungersnot 1770–72 in Böhmen durch Maria Theresia und Josef II', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 7 (1954), pp. 478–514; Josef Kumpfmüller, *Die Hungersnot von 1770 bis 1772 in Österreich* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Vienna

1969). See also (including further references) Berta Höbarth, *Massenarmut und Sozialer Protest in Böhmen und Niederösterreich in den 1840er Jahren* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Vienna, 1990).

14. Wolfgang Greif, 'Wider die gefährlichen Classen. Zum zeitgenössischen Blick auf die plebejische Kultur im Wiener Vormärz', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 1991, 2, pp. 59–80. On smuggling, see Edith Saurer, *Straße, Schmuggel, Lottospiel. Materielle Kultur und Staat in Niederösterreich, Böhmen und Lombardo-Venetien im frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1989). An interesting study based on police reports is given by Julius Marx, *Die Wirtschaftlichen Ursachen der Revolution von 1848 in Österreich* (Vienna, 1965).

15. Statistics on the Habsburg Monarchy can be found in Johannes Wimmer, *Gesundheit, Krankheit und Tod im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Fallstudien aus den habsburgischen Erbländern* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 85–103; for the 19th century, see Birgit Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller, *Bevölkerungsentwicklung und Berufsstruktur, Gesundheits- und Fürsorgewesen in Österreich 1750–1918* (Vienna, 1978), Tables 1, 2.

16. Robert Hoffmann, 'Salzburg im Biedermeier. Die Stadt und ihre Einwohner in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 120/121 (1980-81), pp. 239–47.

17. On the relationship between poverty and food scarcity, see Wilhelm Abel, *Massenarmut und Hungerkrisen im vorindustriellen Deutschland* (Göttingen, 3rd edn, 1986), pp. 241–89; the situation in eastern Austria is described by Franz Heißenberger, *Das Armenwesen in Niederösterreich 1863–1914* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Vienna, 1985).

18. On this, see Emmerich Talos, *Staaatliche Sozialpolitik in Österreich. Rekonstruktion und Analyse* (Vienna, 2nd. edn, 1981), pp. 23–7.

19. For an extensive analyis of the varying causes of poverty, see the case-study on Salzburg by Sabine Veits-Falk, *"Zeit der Noth"* (as note 3), pp. 19–78. See also the typology of poverty suggested by Alfred Stefan Weiss, *"Providum imperium felix". Glücklich ist eine voraussehende Regierung. Aspekte der Armen- und Gesundheitsfürsorge im Zeitalter der Aufklärung, dargestellt anhand Salzburger Quellen, ca. 1770–1803* (Vienna, 1997), pp. 122–30. On mass poverty, see also Elisabeth Mantl, *Heirat als Privileg. Obrigkeitliche Heiratsbeschränkungen in Tirol und Vorarlberg 1820 bis 1920* (Vienna, 1997), pp. 143–8.

20. Bernd Wunder, 'Die Institutionalisierung der Invaliden-, Alters- und Hinterbliebenenversorgung der Staatsbediensteten in Österreich (1748–90)', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 1984, 92, pp. 341–406. For the reign of Joseph II, see Christoph Gnant, *Die Panisbriefe Josephs II. Studien und Quellen* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Vienna, 2000). For the 19th century, see Peter Gutschner, 'Von der kommunalen Armenpflege zur staatlichen Versicherung. Altersversorgung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert', in Thomas Weidenholz and Erich Marx, eds, *Hundert Jahre "Versorgungshaus" Nonntal. Zur Geschichte der Alters- und Armenversorgung der Stadt Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1997), pp. 31–64.

21. Josef Ehmer, *Heiratsverhalten, Sozialstruktur, ökonomischer Wandel. England und Mitteleuropa in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus* (Göttingen, 1991), p. 41–61.
22. Elisabeth Mantl, *Heirat als Privileg* (as note 19), pp. 141.
23. Compare the diary kept by Clara Staiger, abbess at the convent in Mariastein (near Eichstätt), who provided several nuns with begging letters so that they could travel around Austria seeking funds for the convent's reconstruction. See Ida Wallner, 'Clara Staiger. Ein Lebens- und Kulturbild aus dem 30 jährigen Krieg' (Bamberg, 1957), pp. 46–7.
24. See the legal patent "Regarding Beggars" ("Die Bettler betreffend"), in *Codex Austriacus*, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1748), 755–9 [Vienna, 1714, Juli 21]. Essential reading for the normative framework established by the Austrian poor laws is Hannes Stekl, 'Soziale Sicherung und soziale Kontrolle. Zur österreichischen Armengesetzgebung des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts', *Bericht über den 14. Österreichischen Historikertag in Wien* (Vienna, 1979), pp. 136–51. For the 19th century, see Ernst Mischler, 'Uebersicht über die öffentliche Armenpflege und die private Wohltätigkeit in Oesterreich', in Hans Heger, ed., *Oesterreichs Wohlfahrts Einrichtungen 1848–98*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1899), pp. VII–XLII and Ernst Mayerhofer and Anton Pace, *Handbuch für den politischen Verwaltungsdienst in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern*, vol. 5 (Vienna, 5th edn, 1901), pp. 213–318.
25. For example, see the plague ordinance ('Pestordnung') of 22 August 1715, in *Codex Austriacus* vol. 3 (Vienna, 1748), p. 800, and further examples on pp. 682, 755, 1002. The impact of "fear of the plague" on the creation of the Court Sanitation Department (Sanitäts-Hofdeputation) is covered by Erna Lesky, *Österreichisches Gesundheitswesen im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus* (Vienna, 1959), pp. 10–25, 118–40.
26. For an overview of Austrian poverty legislation up to and including the 17th century, see Helmut Bräuer, '... und hat seithero gebetlet'. *Bettler und Bettelwesen in Wien und Niederösterreich während der Zeit Kaiser Leopolds I* (Vienna, 1996), pp. 45–79. On the relationship between beggars and the rest of the population, see Martin Scheutz, 'Bettler-Werwolf-Galeerensträfling: Die Lungauer Werwölfe der Jahre 1717/18 und ihr Prozeß', *Salzburg Archiv*, 2001, 27 (in press).
27. Martin Scheutz, *Alltag und Kriminalität im Steirisch-Österreichischen Grenzgebiet im 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2001), pp. 457–86.
28. Hartwig Schweiger, *Obrigkeitliche Bekämpfung von Bettelei und Vagantentum vom Spätmittelalter bis ins frühe 18. Jahrhundert mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der habsburgischen Erbländer und des angrenzenden süddeutschen Raumes* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Graz, 1986), pp. 64–70.
29. Ilse Reiter, *Ausgewiesen, abgeschoben. Eine Geschichte des Ausweisungsrechtes in Österreich vom ausgehenden 18. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert* (unpub. Habilitation MS, Vienna, 1996). See Hannelore Burger, 'Paßwesen und Staatsbürgerschaft', in Waltraud Heindl and Edith Saurer, eds, *Grenze und Staat. Paßwesen, Staatsbürgerschaft, Heimatrecht und Fremdengesetzgebung in der österreichischen Monarchie 1750–1867* (Vienna,

2000), pp. 3–172 and, in the same volume, Harald Wendelin, 'Schub und Heimatrecht', pp. 173–343.
30. A useful survey of the literaure on begging is given in Karl Härter, 'Bettler–Vaganten–Deviante. Ausgewählte Neuerscheinungen zu Armut, Randgruppen und Kriminalität im frühneuzeitlichen Europa', *Ius Commune*, 1996, 23, 281–321. For Austria, see Gerhard Ammerer, *Vaganten ohne Lyrik. Studien zur devianten, nichtsesshaften Lebensweise in Österreich 1750 bis 1800–Ursachen und (Über-)Lebensstrategien* (unpub. Habilitation MS, Salzburg, 2000), pp. 224–36.
31. Margarete Buquoy, 'Das Buquoysche Armeninstitut–Vorläufer der staatlichen Fürsorge', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 1982, 31, pp. 255–70, along with the evaluation of the Buquoy Poor Institute's statistics on the poor in *ibid.* 'Die Armen auf dem Lande im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert', *Bohemia*, 1985, 26, pp. 37–78.
32. On Buquoy's activities in Vienna, see Josef Karl Mayr, 'Zwei Reformatoren der Wiener Armenfürsorge. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 1949/50, 8, 110–35. For the legal situation, see Barbara Malle, *Entwicklungen und Tendenzen in der Armenversorgung, der Armengesetzgebung und der Armenpolitik von Joseph II. bis zur Einführung der reichsrechtlichen Fürsorgebestimmungen im Jahre 1938*, vol. 1 (unpub. PhD. thesis, Graz, 1991), pp. 29–58.
33. On his influence, see Eleonore Zlabinger, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Österreich* (Innsbruck, 1970), pp. 145–7. A list of works by Muratori translated into German can be found in Fabio Marri, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori und Deutschland. Studien zur Kultur und Geistesgeschichte der Frühaufklärung* (Frankfurt, 1997), pp. 43–8. On religious corporation Rupert Klieber, *Bruderschaften und Liebesbünde nach Trient. Ihr Totendienst, Zuspruch und Stellenwert im Kirchlichen und Gesellschaftlichen Leben am Beispiel Salzburg 1600–1950* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999).
34. For Vienna, see Elisabeth Rachholz, *Zur Armenfürsorge der Stadt Wien von 1740 bis 1904. Von der Privaten zur Städtischen Fürsorge* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Vienna, 1970), pp. 53–64, see p. 63.
35. On the situation in Austria's possessions in south-western Germany ("Vorderösterreich"), see Alexander Klein, *Armenfürsorge und Bettelbekämpfung in Vorderösterreich 1753–1806 unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Städte Freiburg und Konstanz* (Munich, 1994), pp. 193–252.
36. Hannes Stekl, 'Ein gescheiterter Reformversuch–Caspar Voght und das Wiener Armenwesen um 1800', in Erich Braun and Franklin Kopitzsch, eds, *Zwangsläufig oder abwendbar? 200 Jahre Hamburgische Allgemeine Armenanstalt. Symposium der Patriotischen Gesellschaft von 1765* (Hamburg, 1990), pp. 203–12.
37. Josef Karl Mayr, 'Zwei Reformatoren der Wiener Armenfürsorge. Eine sozialgeschichtliche Studie', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 1951, 9, pp. 151–86.
38. For Salzburg, see Alfred Stefan Weiss, 'Das Projekt der Rumfordsuppe in Salzburg', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 1994,

134, pp. 399–408. On living conditions and housing shortages in Vienna, as well as further references, see Peter Eigner, Herbert Matis and Andreas Resch, 'Sozialer Wohnbau in Wien. Eine historische Bestandsaufnahme', *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 1999, 55, pp. 49–100.

39. Peter Feldbauer and Hannes Stekl, 'Wiens Armenwesen im Vormärz', in Renate Banik-Schweitzer, et al., eds, *Wien im Vormärz* (Vienna, 1980), p. 177. On the use of monasteries for the housing of the poor in the Rhineland and Westphalia, see Rüdiger Nolte, *Pietas und Pauperes. Klösterliche Armen-, Kranken- und Irrenpflege im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1996), pp. 183–221.

40. On poverty legislation during the 19th century, see Ilse Reiter, *Ausgewiesen, Abgeschoben* (as note 29).

41. For an overview, see Barbara Malle, *Entwicklungen und Tendenzen*, vol. 1 (as note 32), pp. 91–164; a briefer survey of poor relief legislation can be found in Gerhard Melinz and Susan Zimmermann, *Über die Grenzen der Armenhilfe. Kommunale und staatliche Sozialpolitik in Vienna und Budapest in der Doppelmonarchie* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 103–19.

42. Sieglinde Amann, *Armenfürsorge und Armenpolitik in Feldkirch von 1814–1914, räumlich begrenzt auf das Gebiet des heutigen Feldkirch, also inklusive der 1925 eingemeindeten Ortsteile Altenstadt, Tisis und Tosters* (Feldkirch, 1996), p. 24.

43. Hannes Stekl, *Österreichs Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser 1671–1920. Institutionen zwischen Fürsorge und Strafvollzug* (Vienna, 1978) p. 42; for Vienna, see Gerhard Melinz and Susan Zimmermann, *Über die Grenzen der Armenhilfe* (as note 41) p. 106.

44. *Ernst Mischler, Armenpflege, in Ernst Mischler and Josef Ulbrich, eds, Österreichisches Staatswörterbuch*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 2nd edn, 1905) p. 321: Niederösterreich [Lower Austria]: Aufhebung der Pfarrarmeninstitute 1870, Oberösterreich [Upper Austria]: Aufhebung 1869, Kärnten [Carinthia]: Aufhebung 1870, Wien [Vienna], 1873.

45. Sabine Falk-Veits, *Zeit der Noth* (as note 3) p. 93.

46. Compare the respective provincial laws on poor relief: Bohemia (1868); Lower Austria (1882, 1885, 1893); Upper Austria (1873); Carinthia (1886); Krain (1883); Styria (1873, 1896); Vorarlberg (1883); Salzburg (1874, 1886); Vienna (1873); in Moravia, Tirol, Galicia, Bukovina and the free port of Trieste, there was no provincial legislation specifically dealing with the poor.

47. On legislation dealing with the poor in Styria, see Barbara Malle, *Entwicklungen und Tendenzen*, vol. 1 (wie Anm 32), pp. 165–201 and Ernst Mayerhofer and Anton Pace, *Handbuch*, vol. 5 (as note 24), pp. 297–312.

48. Barbara Malle, *Entwicklungen und Tendenzen*, vol. 1 (as note 32), pp. 197–8. Quoted in Rudolf Bischoff, *Der Anspruch auf Armenversorgung. Eine verwaltungsrechtliche Studie* (Graz, 1903), p. 33.

49. Following the Lower Austrian example of 1886, care hostels were introduced in the Austrian provinces in Moravia and Upper Austria (both in 1888), Vorarlberg (1891), Silesia and Styria (both in 1892), and Bohemia (1895). On

this, see Ernst Mayerhofer and Anton Pace, *Handbuch*, vol. 5 (as note 24), pp. 313–18.

50. See the data compiled by Elisabeth Dietrich, *Übeltäter, Bösewichter. Kriminalität und Kriminalisierung in Tirol und Vorarlberg im 19. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck, 1995), pp. 125–6. Franz Heißenberger, *Das Armenwesen* (as note 17), p. 86.

51. Ernst Mischler, *Armenpflege*, vol. 1 (as note 44), pp. 345–6; Heinrich Cardona, 'Die Armenpflege nach dem Elberfelder Vorbild in den österreichischen Städten', in Hans Heger, ed., *Oesterreichs Wohlfahrts Einrichtungen 1848–98*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1899), pp. 390–419; Gerhard Melinz and Susan Zimmermann, *Über die Grenze der Armenhilfe* (as note 41), p. 130.

52. For an interesting case study, see Jutta Maucher, *Das Armenwesen in Böhmen und Mähren 1861–1914* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Vienna, 1993), pp. 135–43.

53. Essential reading: Emmerich Talos, *Staatliche Sozialpolitik in Österreich. Rekonstruktion und Analyse* (Vienna, 2nd edn, 1981) and Josef Weidenholzer, *Der sorgende Staat. Zur Entwicklung der Sozialpolitik von Joseph II. bis Ferdinand Hanusch* (Vienna, 1985). For an overview, see also Heidrun Maschl, 'Von der Fürsorge zur Sozialgesetzgebung. Bemühungen um eine Sozialgesetzgebung in der letzten Phase der Habsburgermonarchie', *Zeitgeschichte*, 1983/4, 11, 175–88. On the much earlier measures regulating child labour, see Peter Feldbauer, *Kinderelend in Wien. Von der Armenkinderpflege zur Jugendfürsorge 17.–19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1980).

54. Gernot Heiß, 'Erziehung der Waisen zur Manufakturarbeit. Pädagogische Zielvorstellungen und Ökonomische Interessen der Maria-theresiansichen Verwaltung', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 1977, 85, pp. 316–31, see 321, and Hans Pemmer, 'Das Parhamersche Waisenhaus auf dem Rennweg', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 1973, 28, pp. 33–8. On the orphanage in Linz, see Willibald Katzinger, 'Das Theresianische Waisenhaus. Ein Kapitel über Kinderarbeit im Linz des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1984), pp. 75–109. For Freiburg im Breisgau, see Alexander Klein, 'Die vorderösterreichische Kinder- und Waisenfürsorge in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrhein* 142, N. S. 103 (1994), pp. 183–97.

55. Detention houses were already founded on Austrian territory in Wroclaw/ Breslau (1668), Vienna (1671), Innsbruck (1725), Graz (1735), Prague (1737), Salzburg (1753), Klagenfurt and Ljubljana/Laibach (both in 1754), Altbreisach (1769), and Linz (1775). Compare Hannes Stekl, *Österreichs Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser* (as note 43), p. 63.

56. Hannes Stekl, *Österreichs Zucht- und Arbeitshäuser* (as note 43), pp. 67–8 and *ibid.* '"Labore und Fame" – Sozialdisziplinierung in Zucht- und Arbeitshäusern des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts', in Christoph Sachße and Florian Tennstedt, eds, *Soziale Sicherung und soziale Disziplinierung. Beiträge zu einer historischen Theorie der Sozialpolitik* (Frankfurt a. M., 1986), pp. 119–47. For Graz, see Helfried Valentinitsch, 'Das Grazer Zucht- und Arbeitshaus 1734–83. Zur Geschichte des Strafvollzugs in der Steiermark', in Kurt Ebert, ed., *Festschrift Hermann Baltl zum 60. Geburtstag* (Innsbruck, 1978), pp. 495–

514; Helmut Beneder, 'Das Salzburg Zucht- und Arbeitshaus in der Zeit von 1754/5–79', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 1998, 138, pp. 338–442.

57. On the development of different architectual styles in prison buildings, see Horst Riedl, *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Gefängnisbaues bis 1938* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Graz, 1968).

58. For more detailed studies of provinces and towns in the area covered by today's Austra, see (among others): Elisabeth Kammesberger, *Die sozial-caritativen Einrichtungen der Stadt Linz von ihren Anfängen bis zum Tode Maria Theresias* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Vienna, 1962); Willibald Katzinger, 'Das Fürsorgewesen der Stadt Linz bis zu Kaiser Josef II', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1978), pp. 11–94; Christoph Volaucnik, 'Aspekte der Bregenzer Armenfürsorge vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert', *Montfort* 40 (1988), pp. 247–65; Sabine Veits-Falk, *Zeit der Noth* (as note 3); Alfred Stefan Weiss, *Providum imperium felix* (as note 19); Wolfgang Scheffknecht, 'Armut und Not als soziales Problem. Aspekte der Geschichte vagierender Randgruppen im Bereich Vorarlbergs vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert', *Innsbrucker Historische Studien*, 1990, 12/13, 69–96; Herta Haydinger, *Fürsorge und Betreuung der Armen, Kranken und Waisen in Grazer Pflegeanstalten bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Graz, 1972); Elisabeth Rachholz, *Zur Armenfürsorge der Stadt* Vienna (as note 34); Helga Olexinsk, *Die Geschichte der Armen- und Krankenpflege in Kärnten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Klagenfurter Versorgungsanstalten* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Vienna, 1969). Essential reading for the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole: Hans Heger, ed., *Oesterreichs Wohlfahrts-Einrichtungen 1848–98*, 4 vols., (Vienna, 1899–1900).

59. Sabine Veits-Falk, *Zeit der Noth* (as note 3), pp. 165–7.

60. For a detailed study which concentrates on the plague of 1713–14, see Johannes Werfring, *Europäische Pestlazarette und deren Personal: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Wiener Verhältnisse* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Vienna, 1999). For an example of a private charitable foundation, compare Sabine Falk-Veits, 'Die Mathias Bayrhammer'sche Armen- und Suppenstiftung in Seekirchen: Nur für "sittlich würdige Arme", nicht aber für "alte Lumpen und unverbesserliche Säufer"', in Elisabeth und Heinz Dopsch, ed., *1300 Jahre Seekirchen. Geschichte und Kultur einer Salzburger Marktgemeinde* (Seekirchen, 1996), pp. 705–14.

61. A case-study of Styria is given by Helfried Valentinitsch, 'Armenfürsorge im Herzogtum Steiermark im 18. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Steiermark*, 1982, 73, pp. 93–114. On the 'Court Commission for Provincial Security' *(Landessicherheitshofkommission)*, see Gernot Peter Obersteiner, *Theresianische Verwaltungsreformen im Herzogtum Steiermark. Die Repräsentation und Kammer (1749–63) als neue Landesbehörde des aufgeklärten Absolutismus* (Graz, 1993), pp. 199–204.

62. See the legal provisions on charitable foundations and hospitals in *Codex Austriacus* vol. V (1777), pp. 479–81 [February 14th, 1750]. On the poor fund,

see Karl Weiss, *Geschichte der öffentlichen Anstalten, Fonde und Stiftungen für die Armenversorgung in Wien* (Vienna, 1867).

63. Elisabeth Rachholz, *Zur Armenfürsorge der Stadt Wien* (as note 34) p. 33.

64. For a brief overview, see Monika Kropf, *Die Wohlfahrtspolitik des österreichischen Herrscherhauses im Vormärz* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Vienna, 1966).

65. On the question of poverty among the elderly, see Hannes Stekl, 'Vorformen der geschlossenen Altershilfe in Österreich. Ihre Entwicklung von Joseph II. bis zur Ersten Republik', in Helmut Konrad, ed., *Der Alte Mensch in der Geschichte* (Vienna, 1982), pp. 122–47.

66. Among the literature on municipal hospitals, see Martina Abendstein, *Die historische Entwicklung des Leobener Bürgerspitals von seiner Gründung bis zum Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Graz, 1990); Sandra Kloibhofer, *Das Bürgerspital von Eisenerz* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Graz, 1993); Sibylle Michaela Naglis, *Das St. Elisabethspital in Murau. Die Geschichte eines steirischen Spitals und seiner Kirche* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Graz, 1994); Ute Weinberger, Armenversorgung der Stadt Radkersburg vom Beginn der Neuzeit bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (unpub. M.A. thesis, Graz, 1993); Klaus Wurmbrand, *Das Wiener Neustädter Bürgerspital im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (unpub. PhD. thesis, 2 vols. Vienna, 1972). For an example of a court hospital, see Ernst Nowotny, *Das Heilig-Geist-Spital in Bad Aussee. Geschichte eines steirischen Spitals und seiner Kirche* (Graz, 1979), pp. 61–93. On the municpal hospital in Vienna during the Middle Ages, see Brigitte Pohl-Resl, *Rechnen mit der Ewigkeit. Das Wiener Bürgerspital im Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1996). A history of the municipal hospital in Salzburg can be found in Thomas Weidenholz and Erich Marx, eds, Hundert Jahre "Versorgungshaus Nonntal" (as note 20).

67. For example, see the work on Linz: *Historische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Graz*, ed.: 'Tod in Armut. Zu den Totenbüchern des Barmherzigen Brüderspitals in Linz von 1757 bis 1850', *Historisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* (1984), pp. 11–73.

68. Peter Feldbauer and Hannes Stekl, 'Wiens Armenwesen im Vormärz', in Renate Banik-Schweitzer, ed., *Wien im Vormärz* (Vienna, 1980), pp. 191–2. For an additional example of private charitable associations, see Elisabet Torggler, *Jüdische Frauenwohltätigkeitsvereine in Wien von 1867–1914* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Vienna, 1999).

69. Bernhard Grois, *Das Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Wien und seine Geschichte* (Vienna, 1965). See also Helmut Wyklicky and, Manfred Skopec, eds, *200 Jahre Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Wien* (Vienna, 1984).

70. Gabriela Schmidt, 'Die Wiener Medizinische Fakultät und das Allgemeine Krankenhaus', in Alfred Ebenbauer, Wolfgang Greisenegger and Kurt Mühlberger, eds, *Historie und Geist. Universitätscampus Wien*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1998).

71. Bernhard Grois, *Das Allgmeines Krankenhaus in Wien und seine Geschichte* (Vienna, 1965), p. 36.

72. General hospitals were founded in Brno/Brünn and Ljubljana/Laibach (1786), Olomouc/Olmütz (1787), Linz and Graz (both in 1788), and in Prague, Lwow/

Lemberg, Tschernowzy/Czernowitz and Klagenfurt (all in 1789). For Graz, see Herta Haydinger, *Fürsorge und Betreuung* (as note 58), pp. 78–97.

73. Alfred Stefan Weiss, *Providum imperium felix* (as note 19), pp. 170–75.

74. Sabine Falk-Veits and Alfred Stefan Weiss: "'Hier sind die Blattern". Der Kampf von Staat und Kirche zur Durchsetzung der (Kinder-) Schutzpockenimpfung in Stadt und Land Salzburg (Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis ca. 1820)', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde* 131 (1991), pp. 163–86.

75. Birgit Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller, *Bevölkerungsentwicklung* (as note 15), Tables 71 and 75.

76. On the Viennese Foundling House, see Verena Pawlowsky and Rosa Zechner, with contributions from Ingrid Matschinegg, *Das Wiener Gebär- und Findelhaus (1784–1910)*, 3 vols, (unpub. research report, copy held in the Institute of History, Vienna University, Vienna 1993). See also Verena Pawlowsky, *Mutter ledig – Vater Staat. Das Gebär- und Findelhaus in Wien 1784–1910* (Innsbruck, 2001).

77. On the compulsory baptism of Jewish children, see Anna Staudacher, *"Wegen jüdischer Religion – Findelhaus". Zwangstaufen in Wien 1816–58* (Vienna, 2001).

78. Verena Pawlowsky and, Rosa Zechner, 'Verwaltete Kinder. Das Wiener Findelhaus (1784–1910)', *Wiener Geschichtsblätter*, 1992, 47, pp. 129–49, here p. 141; See also Verena Pawlowsky, 'Trinkgelder, Privatarbeiten, Schleichhandel mit Armen: Personal und Patientinnen in der inoffiziellen Ökonomie des Wiener Gebärhauses (1784–1908)', in Jürgen Schlumbohm et al., eds, *Rituale der Geburt. Eine Kulturgeschichte* (Munich, 1998), pp. 206–20.

79. Birgit Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller, *Bevölkerungsentwicklung* (as note 15), Table 74.

80. Elisabeth Scherhak, *Die Klosterkerker in der österreichischen Monarchie des 18. Jahrhunderts. Studien zu ihrer Situation nach staatlichen und kirchlichen Visitationberichten* (unpub. PhD. thesis, Vienna, 1986), pp. 93–9.

81. For statistical material relating to the 18th and 19th centuries, see Günter Fellner, ' "Irre" und Gesellschaft in Österreich 1780–1867', in Erika Weinzierl and Friedrich Stadler, eds, *Justiz und Zeitgeschichte*, vol. IV (Vienna, 1982), pp. 33–46. In 1869, there was one institutionalised patient for every 4 553 inhabitants in the Austrian (Cisleithanian) half of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

82. Alfred Stohl, *Der Narrenturm oder Die dunkle Seite der Wissenschaft* (Vienna, 2000), p. 280; the quotation is taken from Anon., *"Reisen durch das südliche Teutschland"*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1789), pp. 310ff. See in particular the illustrations in Ernst Hausner, *Das Pathologisch-Anatomische Bundesmuseum im Narrenturm des Alten Allgemeinen Krankenhauses in Wien* (Vienna, 1998). On the development of mental asylums in Austria, see Dieter Jetter, *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Irrenhauses* (Darmstadt, 1981), pp. 25–33 and 60–67.

83. Adalbert Tilkowsky, 'Das öffentliche Irrenwesen in Oesterreich', in Hans Heger, ed., *Oesterreichs Wohlfahrts-Einrichtungen 1848–98*, vol. 3 (Vienna, 1900), pp. 357–77, see p. 363. On the "Fools' Tower" (Narrenturm) in Vienna, see Jasmine Köhle, *Der Narrenturm in Wien oder das Paradigma des Wahnsinns* (unpub. M.A. thesis, Vienna, 1991).

84. Further asylums were established in Linz-Niedernhart (1867), Valduna in Vorarlberg (1870), Graz-Feldhof (1872), Kosmanos (1869), Lwow/Lemberg (1875), Klagenfurt (1877), Dobrzan and Pergine (both in 1883), Tschernowzy/ Czernowitz (1886) and Salzburg-Lehen (1896). See also the regional case-study by Gernot Egger, *Ausgrenzen–Erfassen–Vernichten. Arme und 'Irre' in Vorarlberg* (Bregenz, 1990).

85. Birgit Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller, *Bevölkerungsentwicklung* (as note 15), Table 73.