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History of Education Quarterly

Volume 54, Issue 4

November 2014

Pages 465–485

Original Article

Practical Reformers: Women School Owners in Imperial Germany

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First published:

23 October 2014 [Full publication history](#)

DOI:

10.1111/hoeq.12079 [View/save citation](#)

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In the early 1860s, the Ruhr Valley town of Dortmund had no schools for girls beyond the elementary level with the exception of a few private establishments that trained domestic servants. This dearth of educational opportunities is hardly surprising in a town of just 25,000 people at a time when even many larger German cities were bereft of secondary schools for girls. By 1914, however, when Dortmund's population had grown tenfold to well over 250,000, girls or their parents could choose among numerous types of institutions beyond the basic elementary school—several secondary schools, middle schools, and a variety of vocational and commercial institutions, most of them under municipal control.

These two snapshots might give the impression that this transformation was a case of the vaunted German city administration and the Prussian educational bureaucracy responding promptly and decisively to a changing population and new social needs. Yet a close examination of the intervening fifty years reveals that this was far from the case. Much more than most existing scholarship acknowledges private initiatives by women and competition between Protestant and Catholic populations initiated new types of schooling for girls on the local level. For several decades, female educators played an important innovative role that came to an end only under the impact of state reform in 1908 that brought about the gradual absorption of their schools into the municipal system. Building on historian James Albisetti's magisterial body of research of secondary school reform, this article revisits the history of girls' education in Imperial Germany by exploring it from a local perspective and argues that the reform of girls' schooling in Prussia advanced locally when reforms on the state level were stalled.¹ This vantage point brings to light new factors that affected women's reform efforts on the local level, particularly the importance of religious rivalries as a motor of innovation, and the weight of financial concerns behind municipal reluctance to support and invest in new school types.

The National Debate

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Prussia led the way in the reform of secondary education for boys. Between 1888 and 1901 the Prussian state standardized, modernized, and diversified the secondary school system for boys, placed increased emphasis on science and technical skills, and created three institutional tracks to gain university privileges.² In contrast, the Prussian Ministry of Education paid little attention to the largely unregulated secondary school system for girls and women. In the early 1870s, bureaucrats were not even sure who was responsible for supervising the so-called "higher girls' schools" (*Höhere Mädchenschulen*). A national conference of educators in 1872 finally addressed the need for reform, only to conclude that the purpose of women's education was merely to make them better companions for their future husbands.³ In response to this setback, female reformers redoubled their efforts to promote the improvement of female education. In 1887, they submitted a petition to the Prussian Ministry of Education demanding better training and an increased presence of women teachers in the upper grades of higher girls' schools. At the same time, Helene Lange, the later cofounder of the General German Women Teachers' Association (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Lehrerinnenverein*, ADLV) and cofounder of the Federation of German Women's Associations (*Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*, BDF) published a pamphlet, the so-called "Yellow Brochure," in which she denounced the limitations and deficiencies of the existing secondary education options for girls.⁴ Although these protests ensured that the public debate continued, the Prussian state did not institute any substantive changes, and the secondary school system for girls remained a hodgepodge of private and public establishments. Resistance from the Prussian State Ministry precluded any reform until 1908, when persistent lobbying by feminist reformers and teachers' organizations finally paid off and reform-minded officials in the Prussian Ministry of Education called a national conference. The result of these debates was a comprehensive reform package that established updated curricula, regulated the training of female secondary school teachers, transformed the unregulated and decentralized secondary school system for girls into a coherent set of institutions, and opened four paths for women to gain equal access to Prussian universities.⁵

The Local Context

The prolonged period of debate and government inaction before 1908 created a window of opportunity for private schools. Some institutes, such as the courses sponsored by Lange in Berlin or the first girls' Gymnasium in Karlsruhe in the liberal German state of Baden, achieved national acclaim because of their academically challenging curricula, but the direction of private initiative was often shaped by local conditions.⁶ Therefore, a microhistorical approach is best suited for uncovering the dynamics that influenced local change.⁷ Conditions in the Ruhr valley city of Dortmund, located in the most densely populated and industrialized region of Prussia, are representative of the educational shortcomings and challenges that were to emerge under the impact of a rapidly changing urban environment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Thanks to its thriving coal and steel industries, Dortmund transformed from provincial backwater to industrial powerhouse within a very short time. In the 1890s, Dortmund was one of the fastest growing cities in the German Empire and its population reached the 100,000 mark around 1894. Both in terms of its social composition and youthful age structure, Dortmund exceeded national averages: around 1900, more than 70 percent of its population belonged to the working class, and 31 percent were sixteen to thirty years old.⁸ Massive in-migration was also unsettling the religious balance of the city. Dortmund had been Protestant ever since the Reformation, but the Catholic share of the population was growing rapidly and peaked at 44 percent around 1900.⁹ As was typical for the Rhine Province and Westphalia as a whole, confessional shifts created tensions, and the relationship between the two confessional groups in Dortmund was often hostile.¹⁰ During this time, Catholics were gradually making inroads into Dortmund's middle class, but the Protestant elites—old notable families and the representatives of the new industrial wealth—continued to dominate the social and political life of the city. Few Catholics served in the city's executive, the *Magistrat*, and thus were mostly excluded from the most important municipal decision-making body.¹¹

Changes in the educational landscape of the city were closely tied to industrialization and rapid demographic change. The secondary school system for boys quickly expanded because of the growing need for trained craftsmen, technicians, and engineers, and a variety of trade schools and technical institutes such as the Royal Engineering School (*Königliche Maschinenbau-Schule zu Dortmund*), founded in 1893, came into existence with the support of local industry. In contrast, girls' education and practical training languished as Dortmund's main industries—coal and steel—employed almost exclusively men. As late as the 1860s, parents who wanted their daughters to acquire an education beyond the basic skills taught in the *Volksschule* had to send them to out-of-town boarding schools for the lack of local options.¹² Without the support of industry or the municipal administration, women took the lead in expanding the educational offerings for girls. Female school owners' educational ventures were diverse; some operated schools that offered traditional curricula and catered primarily to a wealthy bourgeois clientele, while others established middle schools, vocational and trade schools to provide both a general education and practical training for young women from middle- and working-class backgrounds. The popularity of these schools compelled the local administration to accept their institutional presence despite the city's principled hostility toward female-led private institutes and to consider a broadening and diversification of the existing school system for girls. By the early twentieth century, the municipal administration had come to acknowledge the need

for and popularity of these school types and incorporated them into the municipal education system. Hence, the female founders, owners, and operators of private girls' schools constituted a group of practical reformers who responded to local conditions and local needs, thereby influencing municipal school policy and shaping the educational landscape of their city.

Private Schools—Public Scrutiny

Not much was private about private schools in Dortmund or anywhere else in Prussia. Private school owners had to deal with local school board members, municipal administrators, and Prussian officials on a regular basis; it was impossible to run a private school without frequent interference from local and state authorities. In Dortmund, as in other Prussian municipalities, the *Magistrat* made most important decisions concerning the local school system, but in many matters, such as the licensing of private schools, they had to defer to the provincial government in Arnsberg. Licenses could be withdrawn at any time with little redress. District and local governments did not always agree on school issues, and local school owners often got caught in the middle of administrative squabbles. Once a private school had been established, school owners had to submit detailed annual reports to the city on their students, teachers, curricula, and on themselves. State-appointed district inspectors (*Kreisschulinspektoren*, also responsible for *Volksschulen*, an indication of the official low regard for girls' schools) would visit the schools regularly and comment on the quality of instruction and on the condition of the school building and equipment, often demanding changes. In short, supervision was persistent and intrusive, and frequently hostile and petty. Any woman who operated a school had to be prepared to deal with constant scrutiny.

Religious Divisions: The Catholic and Municipal Higher Girls Schools

Local *Volksschulen* were organized according to religious confession, and this division also extended to the secondary school level. In 1864, Catholic nuns from the Congregation of the Sisters of Christian Charity founded the Catholic Higher Girls' School (*katholische höhere Töcherschule*), the first institute of that kind in Dortmund. The driving force behind the school was Pauline von Mallinckrodt (1817–1881), a member of one of Dortmund's old elite families, who had founded the Congregation in 1850.¹³ Initial enrollment was small, just twenty-one girls, but ten years later, in 1874, already 128 girls attended the school.¹⁴ Historian Rebecca Ayako Bennette's assessment that German Catholics often displayed a "distance [to] ... or even outright rejection" of higher education has to be carefully tested against local conditions.¹⁵ At least in large cities such as Dortmund, secondary education for girls found vigorous support from prominent local Catholics, who saw the founding of the school as a way to assert their place alongside the city's Protestant leading families.

Dortmund's Protestants quickly responded to the Catholic challenge. The idea of a municipal secondary school for girls had been debated since 1859, but the decision to establish the school was not made until 1864, the same year the Sisters of Charity had opened their school. The new Municipal Higher Girls' School opened in 1867 as a Protestant institution and under the leadership of a male

principal. Even when it lost its denominational status in 1877, its enrollment continued to be predominantly Protestant.¹⁶ It remained the only municipal institute for girls' secondary education until the 1910s. Thus, secondary schools for girls, as they came into existence in Dortmund in the 1860s, were the product of female initiative, confessional divisions, and municipal ambition.¹⁷

While the municipal school enjoyed steady growth, Kulturkampf legislation of the early 1870s (Bismarck's attempt to curtail Catholic influence in politics and society and especially in education) struck a devastating blow to the Catholic school. In Dortmund, anti-Catholic measures first led to the replacement of nuns in the *Volksschulen* with lay teachers.¹⁸ When the *Magistrat* proceeded to close down the private Catholic Higher Girls' School because it feared that the removal of nuns from the *Volksschulen* would increase enrollment at the private Catholic institute, the state-appointed district administrator for Dortmund (*Landrat*) complained to the state authorities in Arnsberg "that those [nuns] who run the school act in the conviction that state supervision is not justified and should be evaded as much as possible."¹⁹ These allegations echoed the accusations voiced by supporters of the Kulturkampf: members of religious orders and congregations could not be trusted as educators because they lacked loyalty to the German state. Pauline von Mallinckrodt pleaded with the administration in Arnsberg and even traveled to Berlin to gain an audience with the Kaiser, but the school was shut down. In a last act of defiance, the nun-headmistress refused to hand over the names of the school's pupils, and the city was forced to advertise the closing of the school in the local press, when they would have preferred a more discreet approach to making known a decision that was certain to cause great dismay among Dortmund's Catholic population.²⁰ For a few years, a private Catholic school with a lay female teaching staff operated with the consent of the district administration, but in 1882 the school was closed for good. There was a plethora of complaints: the headmistress did not have the required qualifications, the school was understaffed, and the school building was in a bad state. The teachers were accused of catering to parents' whims and wishes to maintain enrollment, thereby "undermining general regulations about school attendance."²¹ As will be seen again later, this view of private schools as subverting the disciplinary power of the state was a recurring complaint.

The school closing released a storm of protest from many Catholic fathers who interpreted the city's decision as a thinly veiled attempt at eliminating Catholic girls' higher education in Dortmund altogether and of forcing their daughters to switch to the Municipal Higher Girls' School.²² And indeed, in February of 1884 forty-nine of the 337 girls enrolled at the municipal school were Catholic.²³ The Catholic elite of the city continued to complain about what they perceived as a civic embarrassment and a slight of their community by the Protestant-dominated administration. In 1885 dozens of prominent Catholic fathers—merchants, lawyers, doctors, manufacturers, jewelers, innkeepers, and teachers—sent a series of letters to the Prussian government in Berlin in which they pointed out that Dortmund, as "the largest city in Westphalia," with 45 percent of its population being Catholic, did not have a Catholic higher girls' school.²⁴ All these protestations notwithstanding, the Sisters of Charity were only permitted to return in 1892 after the end of the Kulturkampf and Bismarck's tenure as chancellor. They immediately reestablished their school, and from that point on no longer resisted regular municipal supervision and peacefully coexisted with the Municipal Higher Girls' School. Enrollment increased steadily, and the school received good marks during annual inspections. Pauline von Mallinckrodt and her Sisters can be credited with not only having established a tradition of Catholic higher education for girls in Dortmund but also for having forced the municipality to respond with the establishment of a public school.

Pauline Goeker's Higher Girls' School

Throughout Germany, the number of private schools for girls had continued to grow over the course of the nineteenth century.²⁵ In Dortmund, the first such a school was established rather late. In 1885, at a time when the Municipal Higher Girls' School had an almost complete monopoly over secondary girls' education, a teacher named Paula Goeker applied for a license to open a private school for girls older than ten, a setup that would have brought her into direct competition with the Municipal Higher Girls' School. She only received permission to accept girls up to nine or ten years of age to prepare them for the municipal school, but was allowed to take in a few older girls on a case-by-case basis.²⁶ The girls enrolled in Goeker's school came mostly from Protestant middle-class families; among the fathers were government officials, bankers, inn keepers, brewers, business men, and merchants.²⁷ Parents would send their daughters to Goeker's school for a variety of reasons: some girls had knowledge gaps—especially in foreign languages—that had to be filled before they would be accepted into the municipal school, others had health problems that made regular school attendance difficult, and a third group consisted of girls with discipline problems who had actually left the municipal school for that reason.²⁸

The requirement to seek individual permission for each older girl was the first of many issues that brought Goeker into conflict not only with the *Magistrat* but also with the principal of the Municipal Higher Girls' School, Dr. Knörich, who regarded her school as unwelcome competition. In 1886, the *Magistrat* accused Goeker of instructing nine older girls without permission. Goeker submitted detailed reports for each girl in question and claimed that students were merely receiving private instruction. The *Magistrat* promptly forwarded her letter to Knörich, who dismissed her arguments. In response to those girls who were at Goeker's school because of their poor health he replied that his school was attended by a large number of “weakly, even very weak girls.” He was particularly irritated by Goeker's assertion that she was better able to handle girls with discipline problems because it evoked the impression that girls left his school because the discipline was too harsh. He was convinced that a “well-organized public school” was a better place for them.²⁹ Knörich's criticism mirrors the complaints leveled against the private Catholic girls' school just a few years earlier. He was convinced that a female-led, private school could not exert the same level of authority, order, and discipline over its female students as a male-run public school would.

Goeker continued to request permission to teach older girls, and her argument that her school was rendering the city a valuable service by catching the overflow of the obviously overcrowded Municipal Higher Girls' School eventually even convinced Knörich.³⁰ He reluctantly admitted that “Goeker's depiction more or less (*ungefähr*) responds to reality. The Municipal Higher Girls' School is strongly filled ... and it might be to the benefit of our citizens to give Goeker the opportunity to enlarge her school.”³¹ However, the district administration in Arnsberg feared that granting permission to Goeker would encourage “Catholic circles” to press for their own school (which indeed happened a few years later in 1892, as described above). Thus, in order to protect the Municipal Higher Girls' School as a *paritätisch* school, that is as a school that was attractive to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish students alike, the establishment of any competing private schools was to be discouraged.³² Moreover, district officials claimed that Goeker was mostly concerned about her “own interests,” and therefore not the

best choice to further the city's school system. Prussian school administrators resoundingly rejected the very idea of a woman making a living as a school owner and educational entrepreneur.

When her license was not renewed in 1891, Goeker had to resort to giving private lessons for a while—to girls who had left Knörich's school. A year later Arnsberg finally relented and granted her permission to open a higher girls' school. Knörich consoled himself with the thought that Goeker's track record "showed no favorable achievements so that one would not have to worry about competition from her side."³³ His somber predictions did not come true. Goeker's school thrived with an average enrollment of about 170 girls. Her curriculum offered a broad variety of classes: German, French, English, mathematics, history, geography, natural science, religion, singing, drawing, crafts, and gymnastics.³⁴ Goeker employed a faculty of twelve teachers, nine of them female. She also moved her school to a new building in 1901, which was located just a few houses down from the municipal school.³⁵

At least for a while, Goeker was able to run her school without getting involved in any direct conflict with the city. The district inspector's review of her school in 1902 however revealed that the fundamental objections that school officials harbored against her school had by no means disappeared. The report was very critical about many aspects of the school routine and the teachers themselves. One teacher's style seemed "very appealing" to the reviewer, but another one was dismissed as "boring, dry, and unclear." He found evidence of lack of order even in the school's furnishings. The girls' desks were criticized for not having modesty panels and the teachers' desks for being on the same level with the girls, thus displaying a lack of spatial hierarchical order. Not even the assembly hall's décor escaped criticism. The walls were decorated with humorous school scenes that were considered "tasteless because male and female teachers are only depicted as caricatures." Overall, the inspector acknowledged that "everybody worked very hard," but found that Goeker's use of discipline ineffective and her authority questionable: "(t)he tone she uses with the students is coarse (*unfein*). She chides loudly (*poltert*) and complains about laziness and ignorance, forbids telling the answers and the girls continue to laugh and whisper." Even her abilities as an educator were called into question as she seemed to lack the "nuanced understanding to select education goals according to the nature and needs of the girls."³⁶ In the end, the reviewer came to the same conclusions as Knörich had years before; Paula Goeker's school simply could not achieve the same level of discipline, order, and authority present in a public school.

Private schools were rarely profitable, and Goeker's establishment was no exception.³⁷ In 1908, prompted by rising administrative costs and the need to increase teachers' salaries she requested an annual subsidy of 5,000 marks from the city. She again reminded the *Magistrat* of her civic contributions: "(t)here is no question that I have through my school rendered great services to the city of Dortmund. The existence of my school frees the city of the necessity to erect a second higher girls' school."³⁸ Nonetheless, her request was denied, but Goeker managed to run her school for another two years, before retiring and selling her school to the city in 1910. It was first annexed to the Municipal Higher Girls' School and later became a separate municipal school in 1917.³⁹ During the twenty-five years of her school's existence Goeker had to contend with a municipal administration that never relented in its efforts to supervise and scrutinize every aspect of her school and never quite accepted its existence or success. Both the nuns at the Catholic school and Goeker fought with the authorities over control of their schools; religious differences, personal rivalries, discipline, and money

were at the heart of this struggle. Disagreements over educational content or the elite character of girls' secondary education, issues central to the national debate, were not nearly as relevant on the local level.

Goeker's retirement came at a time when it became increasingly difficult for private higher girls' schools to coexist alongside similar municipal schools. The Prussian School Reform of 1908 stipulated that existing higher girls' school would be recognized by the state as secondary schools and renamed *Lyzeum*, if they fulfilled a number of conditions. The curriculum had to be updated, instruction had to be extended from age fifteen to sixteen, and half of the hours in the upper grades had to be taught by academically trained personnel, which encouraged the employment of male teachers. Many private schools folded because of the costs associated with these new requirements, and Goecker was no exception.⁴⁰ In 1913, Hedwig Dransfeld, president of the Catholic Women's Association, praised the contributions of private higher girls' schools to the German education system.⁴¹ Her general description could have well been written with Goeker's school in mind. Dransfeld pointed out that many of these schools had only been able to survive because of their owners' and teachers' financial sacrifices. Women owners often used personal funds to keep their schools in business, and private school teachers were poorly paid and did not enjoy the retirement benefits that came with public school positions.

Goeker's school and the Catholic Higher Girls' School successfully challenged the municipal administration's unwillingness to expand the educational offerings available for girls. In 1906, the enrollment at these two private higher girls' schools was higher than that of the municipal school. While these two schools were not particularly innovative in terms of their curricular offerings, they affirmed the need for an expansion of girls' secondary education and facilitated the transition into a broader and more diversified system that became possible after the 1908 state reforms. Both schools became *Lyzeums* after 1908 and each added two new branches that had been created as part of the reforms: an *Oberlyzeum* (three-year course to prepare for the *Abitur* exam needed for university admission) and a *Frauenschule* (continuing education without *Abitur* option).⁴² Both schools still exist today.

Middle Schools for the Mittelstand

The clientele of the higher girls' schools consisted primarily of the daughters of middle-class and elite families, but there was also a growing demand for post-*Volksschule* schooling for girls with a lower middle-class background that combined general education with occupational training.⁴³ Such middle schools (*Mädchenmittelschulen*) were geared toward parents of the *Mittelstand*, that is craftsmen, small businessmen, and shopkeepers, who had the financial means to pay tuition but who also expected their daughters to take up gainful employment, at least until marriage. In Dortmund, the *Magistrat* had considered a municipal middle school as early as 1891 but never acted upon it, most likely for financial reasons.⁴⁴ It was eventually due to female initiative that such a school came into existence. Marie Reinders (1867–1911), president of the local chapter of the ADLV, proposed to establish and finance a school that would offer general education courses combined with applied courses in areas such as home economics, accounting, and stenography, to prepare young women for a variety of white-collar professions.⁴⁵

In contrast to Goeker, who was not socially connected, Reinders had links to the influential local Association for Women's Education-Women's Employment (*Verein Frauenbildung-Frauenerwerb* , VFF) which was led by the wives of some of the wealthiest Dortmund citizens and which, among other projects, supported vocational training courses for women.⁴⁶ Reinders's petition was accompanied by a positive report from Knörich, who hoped that a middle school would alleviate the overcrowding at his school and help preserve the elite character of his institution. The *Magistrat* had no objection to a school that neither competed with the Municipal Higher Girls' School nor put a dent into the municipal budget.⁴⁷

The school opened in 1901 and was a success from the beginning. It accepted girls who had completed the *Volksschule* and eventually offered six grades. Despite steadily growing enrollment, the middle school soon ran into financial problems. Reinders wanted the city to take over, not only because the school's growth had basically exhausted her financial resources, but also because she believed that her school would gain greater prominence as a municipal institution.⁴⁸ In 1902, the city helped finance a new school building, and later the school received an annual subsidy of 8,000 marks.⁴⁹ When Reinders retired in 1907 because of a debilitating illness, the city bought the school and turned it into the Municipal Girls' Middle School. Her request for the leadership of the school to remain in female hands was not honored. The district administration gave permission to retain the teachers Reinders had hired and made the female teacher who had substituted for Reinders during her ailment as co-principal, but gave the position of principal to a male teacher.⁵⁰ Municipalization guaranteed the continued existence of the school but at the same time was a setback for female leadership.

Reinders had founded her middle school as a Protestant school, but it became nondenominational when the city took over. When enrollment continued to be primarily Protestant, Dortmund's Catholics called for a Catholic private middle school for girls. Such a school was founded in 1908; it was created as a confessional mirror image to Reinders's school; *paritätisch* upon the city's insistence, but in fact catering almost exclusively to Catholic girls.⁵¹ Initially the school was run by a woman, a local Catholic *Volksschule* teacher, but she was replaced with a male principal in 1911, eight years before the school was municipalized.⁵² Some female influence remained on the supervisory level; the board of trustees (*Kuratorium*) had five members in 1913; one was a woman.⁵³ Typical of local dynamics, a new institution sponsored by one confessional group usually compelled the other confession to follow suit. In both cases municipal oversight led to the elimination of women in leading administrative positions. Even so, these middle schools owed their existence to female initiative and contributed to a further diversification of the school system, and particularly benefited young women who needed training for a variety of white-collar occupations.

Home Economics, Trade, and Commercial Schools

By the end of the nineteenth century vocational training institutes for young working-class women were nothing new, but as the number of women working for wages was steadily growing, the demand for occupational training increased as well. In Prussia, vocational schools were not tightly regulated and not addressed in the 1908 reforms, and vocational training did not become obligatory until after the Great War. Under these circumstances, private schools proliferated, and often local women associations were the driving force behind them.⁵⁴

In Dortmund, a quickly growing working-class population created an increasing demand for vocational training. In the 1890s, the city had several local private schools that were unregulated and of varying quality; most of them were geared toward domestic service.⁵⁵ The *Magistrat* had discussed the possibility of a municipal home-economics school in 1891, but eventually decided to incorporate housekeeping classes into the *Volksschule* curriculum, a much cheaper solution.⁵⁶ Again, the city's reluctance to invest into a new school created an opportunity for entrepreneurial women. Alwine Neugebohrn and Eugenie Bahte established private home economics schools in 1898 and 1900, respectively, which soon became the best-known and most reputable institutes of that kind in Dortmund.

Alwine Neugebohrn's Trade School for Women and Daughters (*Gewerbeschule für Frauen und Töchter*) quickly became so popular that she was able to purchase another school and incorporate it into her institute. In 1902, the VFF merged its own housekeeping courses with Neugebohrn's school, which was then renamed Trade, Cooking, and Housekeeping School (*Gewerbe-, Koch- und Haushaltungsschule*).⁵⁷ Neugebohrn remained the owner. Her school catered to two different groups; families who wanted their daughters to acquire some practical training before marrying and starting their own households, and families who wanted to prepare their daughters for paid employment. Eugenie Bahte had started her Private Housekeeping, Cooking, and Industry School in 1900, with a curriculum and clientele very similar to Neugebohrn's.⁵⁸ Enrollment quickly climbed to about two hundred students, and by 1910 she employed nine female teachers.⁵⁹ Bahte advertised with a "modern" curriculum based on the "exemplary teaching system of the *Lettehaus*," a nationally known vocational school for girls in Berlin.⁶⁰

The city recognized the usefulness of these two schools. Beginning in 1905, Bahte and Neugebohrn's institutes were connected with each other and to the municipal system through their affiliation with the new teacher-training school for female technical teachers (*Seminar zur Ausbildung von technischen Lehrerinnen* , or "technical teacher seminar"), that had been founded in 1905 as a separate branch of the Municipal Higher Girls' School. Technical teachers were qualified to give instruction in gymnastics, swimming, needlework, and housekeeping, and taught at local *Volksschulen* .⁶¹ Some of the classes were held at the municipal school, but most of the instruction took place at Bahte and Neugebohrn's schools where these very skills were already being taught and where the requisite equipment, such as kitchens, laundry facilities, and sewing rooms, were already in place.⁶² Under this arrangement, Bahte and Neugebohrn concurrently were private school owners and city employees.

Despite the success of their schools, neither Neugebohrn nor Bahte were able to cover all operating costs. Both depended on annual financial support from the city and the VFF, and beginning in 1908 also had to compete with courses organized by the local branch of the Patriotic Women's Association that received both municipal and state monies.⁶³ In light of Dortmund's burgeoning working-class population, the *Magistrat* recognized the type of practical training the schools offered, but was no longer willing to support competing private institutions that depended on subsidies to stay in business. In 1908, negotiations between the two school owners, the Patriotic Women's Association, state representatives, and members of the *Magistrat* began to create a single municipal school out of the existing private institutes. Talks were difficult and protracted, especially in terms of financial compensation for Bahte and Neugebohrn.⁶⁴ After four years, the city finally agreed on a price to buy Neugebohrn's institute and transform it into a municipal school; at the same time the local Patriotic

Women's Association consented to end their courses. Bahte was pressured to close her school and finally accepted a retirement package. The new municipal girls' trade school (*Städtische Mädchen-Gewerbeschule*) that finally opened its doors in 1912 was led by a female principal, but the *Magistrat* did not choose one of the former private school owners or a local teacher, but a woman who had been trained in Berlin at the renowned Pestalozzi-Froebel House and most recently had directed a higher girls' school in Trier.⁶⁵ Nonetheless, the school owed its existence to Bahte and Neugebohrn's efforts to raise the quality of girls' practical training and to the support of local women's associations. Their success eventually compelled the city to establish a permanent municipal institution. The new school was so popular that fifty female applicants had to be turned away in 1913.⁶⁶

Another vocational school type for women began to emerge at the turn of the century. The ongoing mechanization of office work caused a rapidly increasing demand for trained clerks; initially a predominantly male occupation, the number of female clerks was steadily rising.⁶⁷ The board of trustees of the local commercial training school agreed in 1903 that a separate municipal school for girls was needed, but this decision did not lead to immediate action. Instead, it was again up to local women to establish the prototype institutions. In 1903, Emma Meyer opened her Private Commercial Training School for Young Women (*private kaufmännische Fortbildungsschule für junge Mädchen*) with an initial enrollment of sixty female students who could choose between one- and two-year courses and take classes in German, mathematics, bookkeeping, stenography, commerce, commercial geography, typing, calligraphy, French and English correspondence, and civics. The school catered to a Catholic clientele: The school board consisted of prominent local Catholic citizens, and the school was endorsed by the German Catholic Female Teachers' Association.⁶⁸ Two years later, the local branch of the Commercial Alliance of Female Salaried Employees (*Kaufmännischer Verband für weibliche Angestellte*), which had the support of the VFF, founded another trade school, the Commercial Training School for Female Salaried Employees (*Kaufmännische Fortbildungsschule für weibliche Angestellte*). Its headmistress was Anna Kramberg, the head of the local chapter of the Commercial Alliance, who took over personal financial responsibility for the school a year later in 1906.⁶⁹ The establishment of these two schools not only underscores the continued importance of female private initiative to respond to changing educational needs but also the significance of confessional competition.

There was broad support for a municipal commercial school for women, but no clear concept emerged immediately. The city perceived the existence of competing private commercial schools as an "unacceptable state of affairs" (*Unwesen*) that should be replaced with a "well-run" municipal school, and also wanted to catch up to other German cities that already had a municipal trade school for women.⁷⁰ The Commercial Alliance agreed that Kramberg's private school was a temporary solution; in the long run, only a municipally supported school and mandatory training could raise the occupational status of female clerks.⁷¹ The women of the VFF asked the city to check out schools in other cities, and Alwine Neugebohrn was sent on a fact-finding trip to visit a school in the city of Halle. An initial plan to establish the school as a branch of Reinders's middle school was later dismissed.⁷² In 1906, the city briefly contemplated combining Neugebohrn, Bahte, and Meyer's school into a municipal trade and commercial school, which is a school that would have combined classes in home economics with classes in commercial training.⁷³ The women of the Commercial Alliance adamantly objected to this merger because they did not want to see commercial training associated with cooking or sewing classes; an association with domestic skills would have greatly hurt their attempts to raise the

professional profile of female white-collar employees. The one group categorically agitating against any type of municipally supported commercial training for women was the local chapter of the German-National League of Salaried Clerks (*Deutschnationaler Handlungsgehilfen-Verband*); they were obviously worried about increasing female competition.⁷⁴

Competing visions and the city's fear of the costs involved in establishing a new school stalled any progress for years, and only piecemeal changes were instituted. The principal of the Municipal Higher Commercial Training School (for boys) gave several hours of instruction at both Kramberg and Meyer's schools, and in 1906 the Higher Commercial Training School began to offer some classes specifically for women, but enrollment in these courses remained low.⁷⁵ Finally in 1910, the municipal school administration agreed to make secondary training mandatory for women in clerical positions and to establish a Girls' Commercial Middle School (*Mittlere Mädchenhandelsschule*).⁷⁶ Meyer's school continued to exist as a private institute, but Kramberg's school was dissolved and Kramberg became a municipal teacher; another woman became the principal.⁷⁷ Years of lobbying from local female educators had finally paid off.

Conclusions

Over the course of about forty years, girls' secondary and vocational education in Dortmund underwent a thorough transformation. Female private school owners increased the number of schools for girls and initiated new school types during a time when reform on the Prussian state level had stalled and when municipal authorities were reluctant to invest in new schools. Municipal authorities often only decided to establish a new school type after a privately run institute had demonstrated the need for such a school. When the local administration finally moved toward municipalization, the new institutions were grafted onto the existing private schools.

A first generation of women (Goeker, Mallinckrodt) expanded secondary school offerings primarily directed at the daughters of better-to-do families, while a second generation (Reinders, Neugebohrn, Kramberg, and others) responded to the growing need for occupational training, especially needed in a rapidly growing and industrializing city such as Dortmund. Dortmund's officials and administrators had fundamental reservations about private schools: they perceived private institutions as lacking in order, authority, and discipline, and as second-rate compared to municipal schools, but were willing to tolerate their existence because they saved the city a considerable amount of money, even when they required municipal subsidies. In the end, however, private schools proved to be simply too expensive, and especially after the 1908 school reforms only municipal or state-sponsored schools were perceived as guarantors of academic standards and rigorous occupational training. The school owners' perspective changed over time as well: while women such as Goeker had tried to maintain their independence, other private school owners not only sought financial support from the city but actively supported municipalization. Around 1910, the twin processes of state reform and municipalization resulted in the absorption of most private institutions under municipal and state control, not only in Dortmund, but in Germany in general as well.⁷⁸

For the women who owned and operated the schools this transformation came at a price. It signified the loss of status, authority, and independence (the only exception to this trend was the private

Catholic school; it remained under the leadership of nuns until 1978). Former school owners retired or became teachers in the municipal schools; only in some cases did the municipalized schools remain under female leadership, but none of the private school owners were picked for these positions. Cities such as Dortmund relied on male leadership for the increasingly complex municipal school system, and most of these administrators closed ranks against possible female competition; appeals by local female teachers to be included in the new municipal school commission (*städtisches Schulkuratorium*) were ignored.⁷⁹ Women would not gain a foothold in the administration of the local school system until after the end of the Great War.

- 1 James Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls and Women: Secondary and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); "The Reform of Female Education in Prussia, 1899–1908: A Study in Compromise and Containment," *German Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (February 1985): 11–41. For a concise overview see also Margret Kraul, "Höhere Mädchenschulen," in *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte*, vol. 4, *1870–1980: Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs*, ed. Christa Berg (Munich: Beck, 1991), 279–303; Hans-Georg Herrlitz, Wulf Hopf, and Hartmut Titze, *Deutsche Schulgeschichte von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart: Eine Einführung*, 3rd ed. (Weinheim: Juventa, 2002), 87–106. A detailed analysis of German girls' education can be found in Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz, eds., *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, vol. 2, *Vom Vormärz bis zur Gegenwart* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 1996).
- 2 These reforms are surveyed in James Albisetti, *Secondary School Reform in Imperial Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983); Karl A. Schleunes, *Schooling and Society: The Politics of Education in Prussia and Bavaria, 1750–1900* (Oxford: Berg, 1989).
- 3 Gertrud Bäumer and Helene Lange, eds., *Handbuch der Frauenbewegung*, vol. III, *Der Stand der Frauenbildung in den Kulturländern* (Berlin: Moeser, 1902), 33, 108–13; Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls*, 108–10.
- 4 Bäumer and Lange, *Handbuch*, 116–8; Hildegard Bogerts, *Bildung und berufliches Selbstverständnis lehrender Frauen in der Zeit von 1885 bis 1920* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1977); Richard J. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany, 1894–1933* (London and Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1976), 22; Barbara Greven-Aschoff, *Die bürgerliche Frauenbewegung in Deutschland 1894–1933* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 51–8 and 85–6; Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls*, 169 ff.
- 5 In other German states (Baden, Württemberg, and Bavaria) reforms had been carried out earlier; see Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls*, 256–75; "Reform of Female Education," 31–37. For a state-by-state comparison see also Karin Ehrich, "Stationen der Mädchenschulreform: Ein Ländervergleich," in Kleinau and Opitz, *Geschichte*, 29–48. Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer's roles as members of the Prussian commission are described in Angelika Schaser, *Helene Lange und Gertrud Bäumer: Eine politische Lebensgemeinschaft* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2000), 118–28. For the debate about women's access to university study see Patricia Mazon,

Gender and the Modern Research University: The Admission of Women to German Universities, 1865–1914 (Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

- 6 Ute Gerhard, *Unerhört: Die Geschichte der deutschen Frauenbewegung* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1990), 140–53. On the first Gymnasium for girls in Karlsruhe founded in 1893, see Susanne Asche, Barbara Guttmann, Olivia Hoschtrasser, Sigrid Schambach, and Lisa Sterr, *Karlsruher Frauen 1715–1945: Eine Stadtgeschichte* (Karlsruhe: Badenia, 2000), 203–5. Local initiatives could be blocked by the Prussian Ministry of Education, for instance in Frankfurt in 1902, when a higher girls' school founded by a local women's association was prevented from having girls admitted to the boys' gymnasium, see Christina Klausmann, *Politik und Kultur der Frauenbewegung: Das Beispiel Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, 1997), 97–98.
- 7 Studies that illustrate the importance of local demographic, political, confessional, and economic conditions for changes in girls' education are, Erika Münster-Schröer, *Frauen in der Kaiserzeit: Eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung am Beispiel einer rheinischen Kleinstadt* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1992), 129–77; Nancy Reagin, *A German Women's Movement: Class and Gender in Hanover, 1880–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 118–21.
- 8 Gustav Luntowski, Günther Högl, Thomas Schilp, and Norbert Reinmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Dortmund* (Dortmund: Stadtarchiv Dortmund/Harenberg Verlag, 1994), 265–96; James Harvey Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley, 1821–1914* (Boston: Humanities Press, 1997), 2–14; Klaus Tenfelde, "Urbanization and the Spread of Urban Culture" in *Towards an Urban Nation: Germany Since 1780*, ed. Friedrich Lenger (Oxford: Berg: 2002), 15–21. On the size of the city's working-class population see Uta Ottmüller, *Die Dienstbotenfrage: Zur Sozialgeschichte der doppelten Ausnutzung von Dienstmädchen im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Münster: Verlag Frauenpolitik, 1978), 45.
- 9 In 1820, 80 percent of Dortmund's population was Protestant, Luntowski, *Geschichte der Stadt Dortmund*, 302.
- 10 In 1851 and again in 1872, demonstrative Catholic religious processions evoked the ire of the Protestant population in Dortmund, see Rebecca Ayako Bennette, "Threatened Protestants: Confessional Conflict in the Rhine Province and Westphalia during the Nineteenth Century," *German History* 26, no. 2 (2008): 168–94. For confessional divisions in Germany in general see Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Living Apart and Together in Germany," in *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1800–1914*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 319–32.
- 11 Between 1850 and 1870 none of the *Magistrat* members was Catholic. Only two Catholics served between 1871 and 1890, and ten between 1891 and 1914, Karin Schambach, *Stadtbürgertum und industrieller Umbruch, Dortmund 1780–1870* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1996), 332.

- 12 Children were enrolled in *Volksschulen* according to religious confession and attendance was compulsory until age fourteen. Marjorie Lamberti, *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Frank-Michael Kuhlemann, "Niedere Schulen," in *Handbuch*, vol. 4, 179–207. On the conditions in Dortmund see Gerhard E. Sollbach, *Das Dortmunder Schulwesen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, *Geschichte Dortmunds im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert 2* (Dortmund: Historischer Verein, 1991), 125–35. Many parents preferred private schools over municipal or state-sponsored schools because they would ensure exclusivity through tuition, see Anne Schlüter, *Neue Hüte – alte Hüte?* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1987), 59–61; Jürgen Zinnecker, *Sozialgeschichte der Mädchenbildung* (Weinheim and Basel: Beltz, 1973), 49–51. Most municipal schools were established after mid-century, see Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls*, 37. In Westphalia, the first municipal higher girls' school was established in 1826 in Minden, see Peter Lundgren, Margret Kraul, and Karl Ditt, *Bildungschancen und soziale Mobilität in der städtischen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 48.
- 13 Alfred Hüffer, *Pauline von Mallinckrodt, Stifterin und Generaloberin der Kongregation der Schwestern der christlichen Liebe: Ein Lebensbild*, 2nd ed. (Münster: Aschendorff, 1902), 45, 59.
- 14 Propstei Parish Archive Dortmund [hereafter PArDo], private ledger of Provost Wilhelm Aufenanger, "Die Tätigkeit der Schwestern der christlichen Liebe in Dortmund," 355–57. Enrollment at the Municipal Higher Girls' school stood at 282 during the 1873/4 school year, Erich Rohsa, *Festschrift Goethe-Gymnasium Dortmund 1867–1967* (Dortmund: Heinrich Borgmann, 1967), 39.
- 15 Rebecca Ayako Bennette, *Fighting for the Soul of Germany: The Catholic Struggle for Inclusion After Unification* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 124–25 and 129–30.
- 16 Landesarchiv Münster [hereafter LArM]/Berzirksregierung Arnsberg Schulen [hereafter BASch], Nr. 3217, 30 October 1882; Rohsa, *Goethe Gymnasium*, 21–26. Dortmund's Jewish families sent their daughters to the school as well.
- 17 A similar development occurred in the Westphalian town of Ratingen where Catholic and Protestant girls' schools competed with each other, see Münster-Schröer, *Frauen in der Kaiserzeit*, 151–55.
- 18 Erich Schmidt-Volkmar, *Der Kulturkampf in Deutschland, 1871–1890* (Berlin: Musterschmidt, 1962), 79, 82, 110–12, 142–43; Ronald J. Ross, *The Failure of Bismarck's Kulturkampf: Catholicism and State Power in Imperial Germany, 1871–1887* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1998), 6–7; Marjorie Lamberti, "State, Church, and the Politics of School Reform during the Kulturkampf," *Central European History* 19, no. 1 (March 1986): 63–81; *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 33–34, 44–45.

- 19 LArM/BASch, Nr. 3217, 18 June 1874; also Stadtarchiv Dortmund Bestand 3 [hereafter StArDo-3], Nr.1612, 28 July 1874; PArDo, Nr. A13, 4 July 1874. All translations are my own.
- 20 LArM/BASch, Nr. 3217, 18 July 1874.
- 21 LArM/BASch, Nr. 3217, reviews for 1875, 1877, 1881, and 1882.
- 22 LArM/BASch, Nr. 3217, 30 October 1882, 24 November 1882, 9 March 1883; PArDo Nr. A13, 9 January 1883.
- 23 *Dortmunder Zeitung*, 4 February 1884. Two-hundred fifty-one students were Protestant, 37 Jewish.
- 24 LArM/BASch, Nr. 3217, letter dated January 1885.
- 25 In 1884, 202 municipal higher girls' schools, 1,007 private institutions, and 14 state-sponsored schools existed in Prussia, according to Bertha von der Lage in "Das Mädchenschulwesen Deutschlands," *Allgemeiner Frauenkalender für 1885*, ed. Lina Morgenstern (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Hausfrauenzeitung, 1885), 234. In 1901, there were 213 public and 656 private higher girls' schools in Prussia according to Bäumer and Lange, *Handbuch*, 156. On the predominance of private institutions in the nineteenth century see also Zinnecker, *Sozialgeschichte*, 32–38; and Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls*, 30–35.
- 26 StArDo-3, Nr. 2953, Blatt 219, 26 March 1885.
- 27 LArM/Kreisschulinspektion Dortmund II [hereafter KSchDo], Nr. 11, list dated 1885.
- 28 StArDo-3, Nr. 2953, Blatt 1 and 7, 21 June 1886, 4 May 1886 and Blatt 18–20, 3 November 1886.
- 29 StArDo-3, Nr. 2953, Blatt 10, 26 July 1886 and Blatt 18–20, 3 November 1886.
- 30 StArDo-3, Nr. 2953, Blatt 29, 5 March 1887; Blatt 40, 6 April 1887; Blatt 94, 12 July 1890. According to Goeker, enrollment at the municipal school had increased from 318 in 1887 to 468 in 1890.
- 31 StArDo-3, Nr. 2953, Blatt 98, 11 November 1890; underlined in the original.
- 32 StArDo-3, Nr. 2953, Blatt 101, 12 December 1890.
- 33 StArDo-3, Nr. 2889, Blatt 22, 4 January 1891.

- 34 LArM/KSchDo, Nr. 11, 1907.
- 35 StArDo-3, Nr. 2953, Blatt 181, 1900/1901; Blatt 178, 17 June 1901.
- 36 LArM/KSchDo, Nr. 11, 26 September 1902.
- 37 Zinnecker, *Sozialgeschichte*, 39–40.
- 38 StArDo-3, Nr. 2953, Blatt 255–57, 27 January 1908.
- 39 Rohsa, *Goethe Gymnasium Dortmund*, 27; StArDo-3, Nr. 2904, Blatt 145.
- 40 In the wake of the reform in Bremen for instance, six of the seven private higher girls' schools requested and received subsidies to make these changes, detailed in Elisabeth Meyer-Renschhausen, *Weibliche Kultur und soziale Arbeit: Eine Geschichte der Frauenbewegung am Beispiel Bremens 1810–1927* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1989), 158–59.
- 41 Hedwig Dransfeld, "Die private höhere Töchterschule," *Die Christliche Frau* 4 (January 1913): 109–14.
- 42 Albisetti, "Reform of Female Education," 30–9; Rohsa, *Goethe Gymnasium Dortmund*, 26–7; *Kirchlicher Anzeiger für die katholischen Gemeinden von Dortmund und Umgegend*, 9 March 1913.
- 43 A similar school type, the *Realschule*, already existed for boys, see Albisetti, *Secondary School Reform*, 84 and 221. Middle schools for girls had been acknowledged as a separate school type in 1872, but were not tightly regulated, see Gertrud Bäumer, "Geschichte und Stand der Frauenbildung in Deutschland," in *Handbuch*, 104; Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls*, 108–12.
- 44 StArDo-3, Nr. 2889, "Errichtung einer städtischen Mädchen-Mittelschule," 1891.
- 45 *Marie Reinders Realschule: 1901–1976* (Dortmund: n.p., 1976), 30.
- 46 *Bericht über den Stand und die Verwaltung der Gemeinde-Angelegenheiten der Stadt Dortmund für das Jahr 1904/05 I. Teil* (Dortmund: Ruhfus, 1907), 191; *Bericht über den Stand und die Verwaltung der Gemeinde-Angelegenheiten der Stadt Dortmund für das Jahr 1905/06 I. Teil* (Dortmund: Crüwell, 1907), 224.
- 47 Hanne Hieber, "Marie Reinders, 1867–1911," in *Biographien bedeutender Dortmunder*, vol. 3, ed. Hans Bohrmann (Essen: Klartext, 2001), 155.
- 48 *Marie Reinders Realschule*, 37; Reinders's letter is reproduced.

- 49 StArDo-3, Nr. 2905, Blatt 71, 9 March 1909.
- 50 *Marie-Reinders Realschule* , 39.
- 51 *Kirchlicher Anzeiger* , 16 March 1913.
- 52 LArM/BASch, Nr. II H 5010, 6 April 1908; *Kirchlicher Anzeiger* , 23 February 1913; Albert Wand, *Festschrift zum goldenen Jubiläum der Liebfrauenkirche: 1883–1933* (Dortmund: Lensing, 1933), 41.
- 53 *Kirchlicher Anzeiger* , 28 January 1912.
- 54 Before the war it was up to individual municipalities whether they wanted to make vocational training obligatory; Schlüter, *Neue Hüte – alte Hüte?* , 67–82; Margarete Henschke, “Die Mädchen-Fortbildungsschule,” in *Handbuch* , 143–52.
- 55 Otto Faehre, *Dortmunder Adreß-Buch für das Jahr 1894* (Dortmund: Selbstverlag, 1894), 55.
- 56 StArDo-3, Nr. 2865, Blatt 30, 94, 234, 256–84. Housekeeping classes in *Volksschulen* were established in 1894 and continued to be taught at least until 1914.
- 57 *Bericht über den Stand und die Verwaltung der Gemeinde-Angelegenheiten der Stadt Dortmund für das Jahr 1902/3, I. Teil* (Dortmund: Krüger, 1905), 163; *Bericht über den Stand und die Verwaltung der Gemeinde-Angelegenheiten der Stadt Dortmund für das Jahr 1904/05 I. Teil* (Dortmund: Ruhfus, 1907), 115.
- 58 StArDo-3, Nr. 1744, Blatt 30, brochure of Bahte's school.
- 59 *Bericht Dortmund 1904/05* , 115–6; StArDo-3, Nr. 1755, Blatt 3 and 13.
- 60 StArDo-3, Nr. 1755, Blatt 30; on the *Lettehaus* see Heyl, “Die hauswirtschaftliche Schule,” in *Handbuch* , 158; Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls* , 101–3.
- 61 Many of the technical teachers employed in the Dortmund's *Volksschulen* were former students of Neugebohrn or Bahte, StArDo-3, Nr. 2865, Blatt 256, 261, 267, 272.
- 62 *Bericht Dortmund 1905/06* , 104. The training courses were two years long, and the minimum age for applicants was seventeen. Initial enrollment was forty.
- 63 *Bericht über den Stand und die Verwaltung der Gemeinde-Angelegenheiten der Stadt Dortmund für das Jahr 1905/06 I. Teil* (Dortmund: Crüwell 1907), 137; StArDo-3, Nr. 1755, Blatt 25, 26. On the philanthropy, influence, and conservative nature of the Patriotic Women's Association see Jean H. Quataert, *Staging Philanthropy: Patriotic Women and the National*

Imagination in Dynastic Germany, 1813–1916 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

- 64 Municipalization of private schools as a result of financial difficulties was common, see for instance Klausmann, *Politik und Kultur*, 99.
- 65 StArDo-3, Nr. 2918, Blatt 12–17, annual report of Municipal Girls' Trade School for 1912. The city received an annual subsidy from the Prussian state to run the school. On the Pestalozzi-Froebel House see Ann Taylor Allen, "Let Us Live with Our Children": Kindergarten Movements in Germany and the United States, 1840–1914," *History of Education Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 30–45.
- 66 StArDo-3, Nr. 1803, Blatt 30, statistics for 1913.
- 67 Ursula Nienhaus, *Berufsstand weiblich* (Berlin: Transit, 1982); Carole Elizabeth Adams, *Women Clerks in Wilhelmine Germany: Issues of Class and Gender* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Reinhard Stockmann, "Gerwerbliche Frauenarbeit in Deutschland 1875–1980: Zur Entwicklung der Beschäftigtenstruktur," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 11 (1985): 463–4. Before the turn of the century fewer than five percent of all commercial salaried employees were women; this share increased rapidly to 18 percent in 1907.
- 68 *Bericht Dortmund 1904/05*, 114; StArDo-3, Nr. 2896, Blatt 17; *Kirchlicher Anzeiger*, 2 February 1913; StArDo-3, Nr. 2896, Blatt 27, 1903.
- 69 *Bericht Dortmund 1905/06*, 138; *Bericht über den Stand und die Verwaltung der Gemeinde-Angelegenheiten der Stadt Dortmund für das Jahr 1906/07 I. Teil* (Dortmund: Ruhfus 1908), 130.
- 70 StArDo-3, Nr. 2896, Blatt 6, 25 June 1903.
- 71 StArDo-3, Nr. 2896, Blatt 80–1, 17 August 1905; Blatt 125, 13 April 1908; Blatt 132, 6 May 1908; Blatt 140, 17 March 1909; Blatt 142, 23 March 1909. Only a few German municipalities supported mandatory training, but the number was gradually increasing before 1914, Adams, *Women Clerks* 104–5.
- 72 StArDo-3, Nr. 2896, Blatt 39–40, 1906.
- 73 StArDo-3, Nr. 2918, Blatt 12–17, annual report for Municipal Girls' Trade School for 1912.
- 74 StArDo3, Nr. 2896, Blatt 90.
- 75 Westfälisches Wirtschaftsarchiv Dortmund [hereafter WArDo] Nr. K1–104, Blatt 43, 77, 29 September 1906; *Bericht Dortmund 1906/07*, 111.

- 76 StArDo-3, Nr. 2896, Blatt 149, 11 August 1910; *Dortmunder Tageblatt*, 23 March 1910 and 12 April 1910. The new school offered a year-long course for girls with *Volksschule* education to learn the basics of commercial trade, and it provided the now mandatory schooling for female commercial employees up to age seventeen.
- 77 WArDo, Nr. K1–104, Blatt 537ff; *Kurzer Bericht über den Stand und die Verwaltung der Gemeinde-Angelegenheiten der Stadt Dortmund für das Jahr 1912/1913* (Dortmund: Boden & Firchow, 1914), 6.
- 78 Albisetti, *Schooling German Girls*, 274–79.
- 79 *Dortmunder Tageblatt*, 16 April 1910.

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