

Memories of the House

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The Domestic Spaces of the 19th Century Textile Industry

Lara Graf

Chair Adam Caruso
GTA Exhibitions

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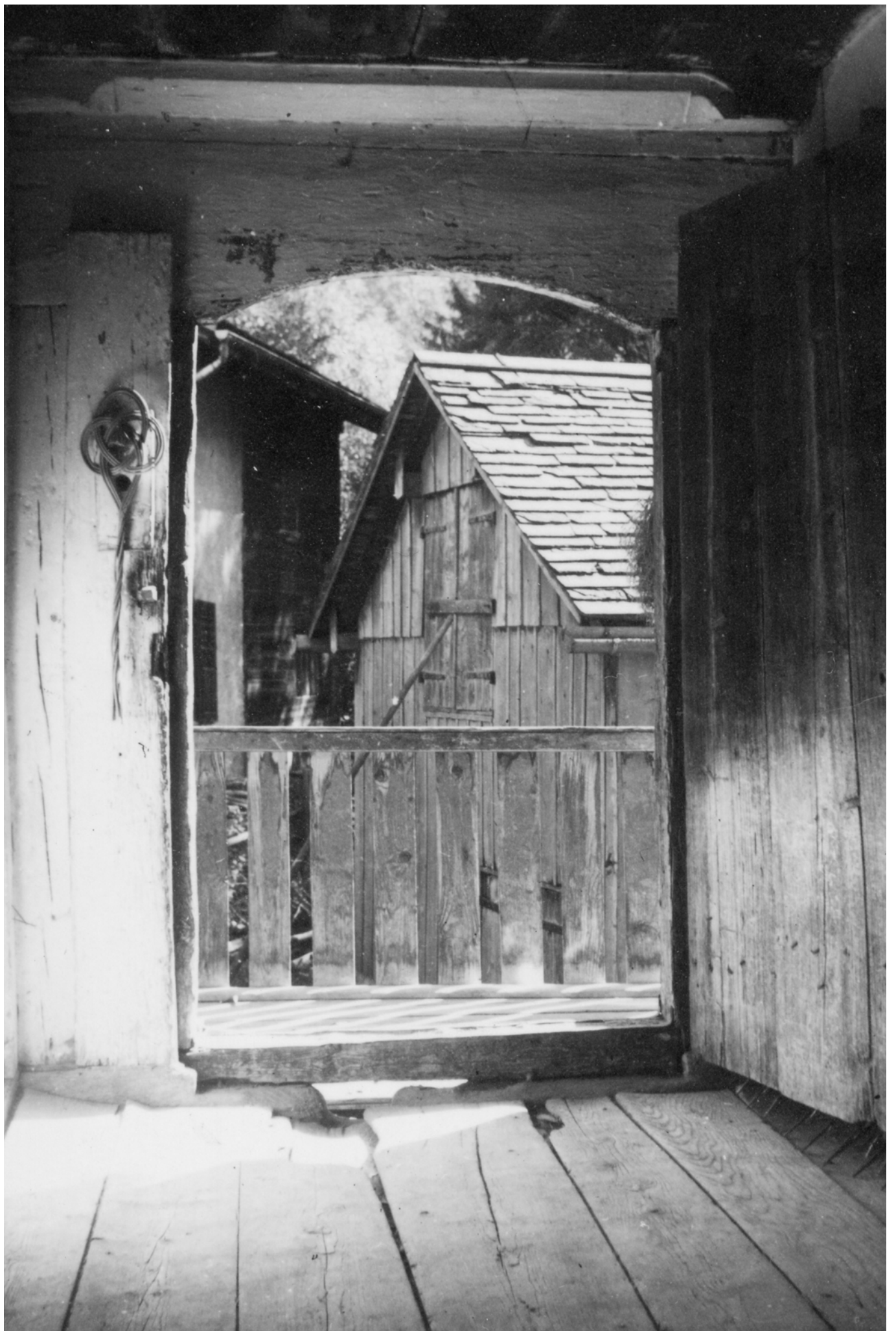
The Domestic Spaces of the 19th Century Textile Industry

Lara Graf

52 Plans and Drawings
67 Photographs
and 8 Color Images

Supervised by
Chair Adam Caruso and GTA Exhibitions

Zürich 2024



Dear Reader,

This book tells stories of people involved in the textile industry of the 19th century through their domestic spaces. The idea is to create a more holistic and integral image of the lives of a handful of people by joining information about their built environment with knowledge about their social and economic conditions. Therefore, the book is structured by the five housing typologies I could differentiate in the 19th century industry related housing in Ennenda, Canton of Glarus:

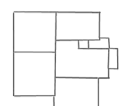
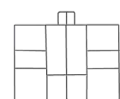
- The Farmers' Houses
- The Kostgänger's Rented Rooms
- The Workers' Row Houses
- The Bourgeois Houses
- The Factory Owner's Villas

I'm using the trope of the typological book on architectural history as a framework for this book, but I'm breaking it up, reversing the perspective and widening it to incorporate social aspects. For each of the five domestic typologies I am tracing a story of a person that could have lived there. For some typologies, the availability of specific sources is very high and for others there is only very little documented knowledge. As a consequence, my stories use a certain degree of founded fiction, to counteract this unequal documentation and preservation. In order to distinguish my own work from the found material in this book I use the color gray for all of my own work.

This document, as an artist book, is to be understood as the catalog of an exhibition on the domestic spaces and stories of the people in the textile industry in Ennenda.

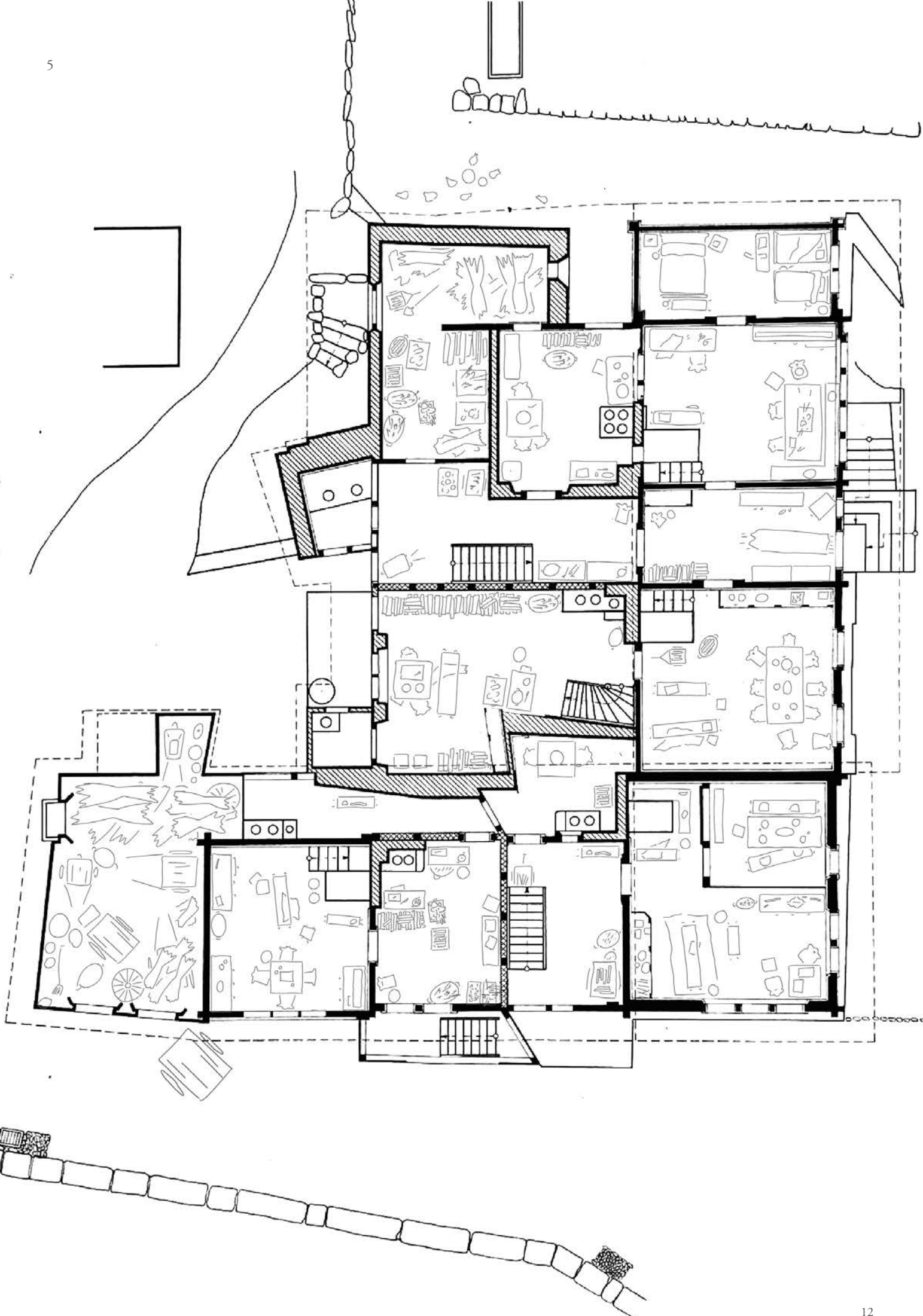
Zürich, in the spring of 2024

Lara Graf









The Farmers' Houses

This is the story of a woman, let's call her Verena, who was born into a long family tradition of farming in *Ennetbühl*. Her family had been spinning in homeworking as a secondary income but eventually took on work in the early spinning industry, after many crises brought by wars and bad yields. This meant giving up their self-sufficient lifestyle and becoming subject to the economic cycle and fluctuations of the textile industry.

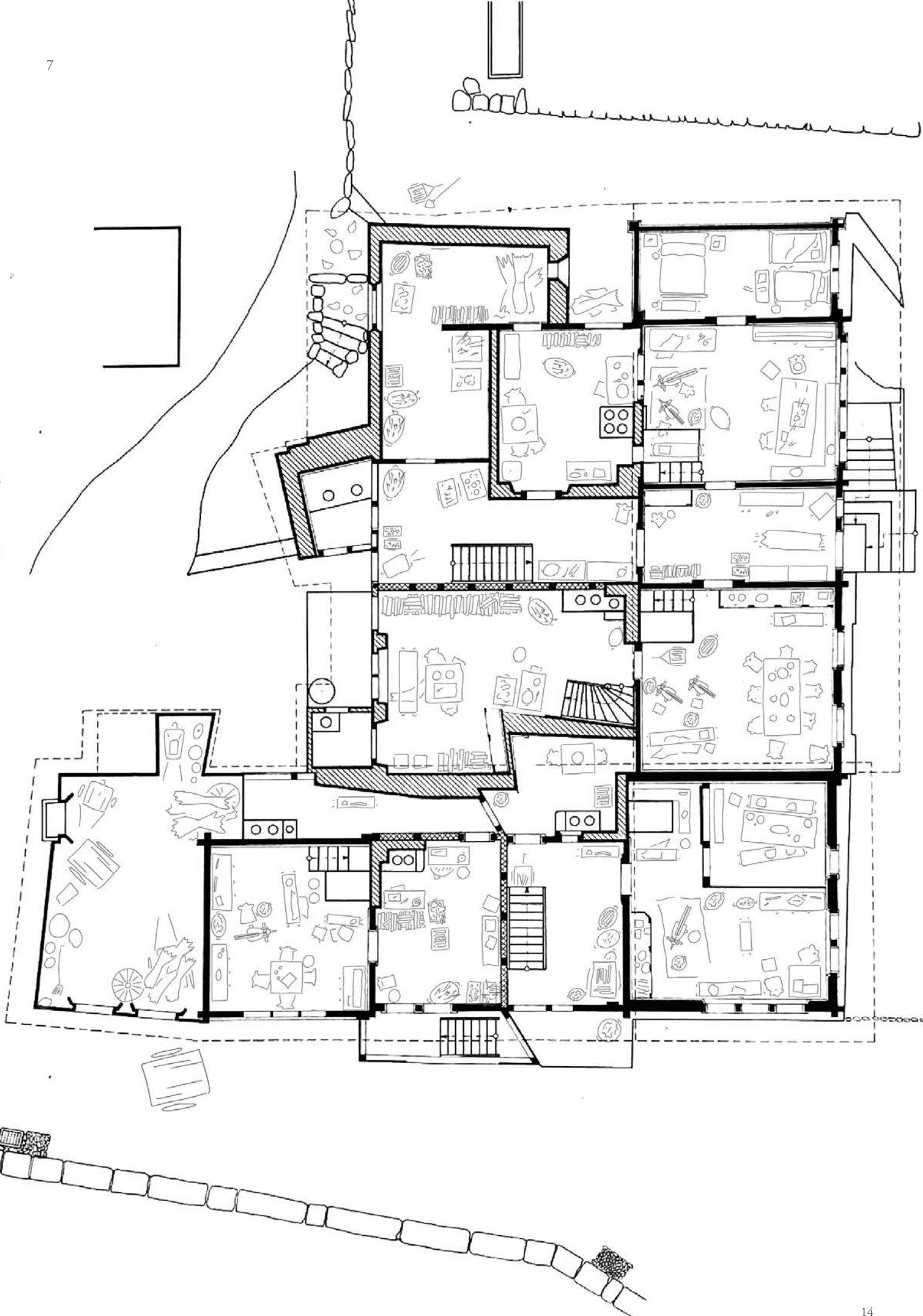
From Farmers, to Spinners, to Factory Workers

Verena was born in the year 1752 into a small-scale farmer's family that lived at the *Hausgruppe Ennetbühl*. However, farming had already lost its importance at the time she was born. To be more specific, in 1714 Deacon Andreas Heidegger brought trained cotton spinners from Zürich to Glarus to pass on their knowledge to the locals. From this moment on many women, men and children took on homeworking as a secondary income. Verena's grandmother was part of the first generation of women to learn the skill of spinning cotton in 1714. She shared the knowledge with neighbors and family members. Despite their homeworking, they still had a few goats and cows left, as well as a field to plant potatoes, corn and grains.

Ever since the 16th century spinning and weaving in the silk, cotton and wool production was done by homeworkers in rural areas. Those homeworkers were cheap laborers for urban merchants. Homeworking had its heyday in the 18th century due to the distribution of the *Verlagsystem*: Merchants delivered the raw material, had the workers produce the product and then exported the finished products. In this manner the merchant could control the production process, even though it was done decentralized in many different homes. Up until the 17th century the merchants were mainly from Zürich and St. Gallen. Starting from the 18th century some families from Glarus started to produce their own textiles and trade them on the international market. One of these companies was the „Wienerhandlung“ by Jenny Aebli & Cie. Work in the textile industry has brought a certain prosperity to Glarus, which is expressed through the doubling of the inhabitants in Glarus from 1700 to 1790.



- 1 Cover: Facade of the Farmhouse in Steinibach, 1978
- 2 *Ankenwaage*, Mollis, view out the entrance door
- 3 Diagram of all floorplans in this book
- 4 Inhabitants in front of the *Hausgruppe Ennetbühl*, 1924
- 5 *Hausgruppe Ennetbühl*, use as farmers, assumptive drawing
- 6 Impression of the contemporary use of *Hausgruppe Ennetbühl*, 2024



However, since the turn of the 19th century the cotton production has shifted. Machines for cotton yarn have been developed in England. In the timespan of one decade hand spinning has largely lost its importance because it could hardly compete with the prices of machine produced yarn. As a consequence, some but not all the former spinners switched to textile weaving. It had become more obvious how their income directly depended on the market and its fluctuations. Sales crises for certain products led to direct cuts in their wages. Unfortunately, crises in trade and increased prices of food came simultaneously.

The Family as a Working Unit

In the case of Verena, her family as a working community stood at the center of the production of yarn. This family unit included Verena's parents, her husband and five children, as well as her brothers' and sister's families. Their large home, *the Hausgruppe in Ennetbühl*, consisted of four units that were clustered together, each with a stove at their core. The house has been growing for centuries. It had been extended in all directions so many times, that it is hard to tell which part was there first.

Sticking to What you Already Know

The family specialized in spinning cotton yarn. They owned multiple spinning wheels, some of which were placed in their living rooms, some in the cellar or in other storage spaces. The humid climate of the cellars was especially beneficial for the spinning process. Even though hand-spinning has been well past its prime, Verena's family stuck with it for some time. Every person in the family helped with the work: the women, the men, the children and the elderly. The homeworking would theoretically allow them a certain flexibility in the scheduling of work hours. In reality, this freedom was insignificant. Homeworking in spinning was only competitive due to the exploitation of the workers: long working hours, child labor and horrible conditions in nutrition and housing. Homeworking had not been regulated until 1981, whereas the first law concerning factory work was established in 1864 in Glarus.

The Pull of the Factory

In 1817, when Verena was 65 years old, the family had to definitively give up spinning at home. In this time the Napoleonic wars came to an end. They had paralyzed international trade for years and wages have sunken. Additionally wet and cold summer led to very bad agricultural yields and to a peak of food shortage. The cotton industry had a quick recovery and upswing soon after and drew many former homeworkers, who had heavily suffered, into the factories. This was also the fate of Verena and her family. Most members of the family took on work in the industrial spinning and weaving in the factory in Ennenda. They lost the small degree of independence that they previously had. They were also not able to continue the agricultural production on the side, making them even more dependent on the unregulated salaries from the factories. The salaries were low, some of the work was harmful to the health of the workers and the working hours were inhumane. Many of them lived in poor conditions and food was often scarce.

In the span of just three generations, from her grandmother to Verena, the family was practically forced to change their occupation twice, from farmers, to spinners, to factory workers.

7 *Hausgruppe Ennetbühl*, use as spinners, assumptive drawing

8 *Hausgruppe Ennetbühl*, southern facade

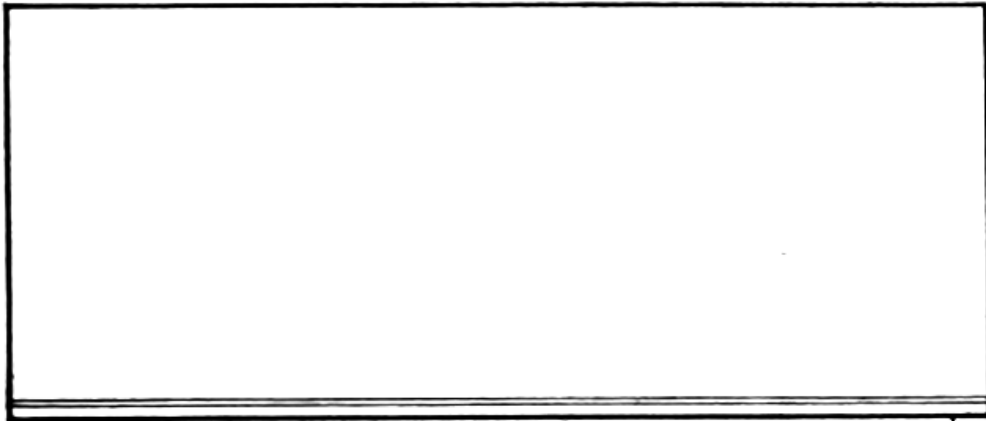
9 *Die Vorämpferin*, Heimarbeit in der Schweiz, 1909, p. 3



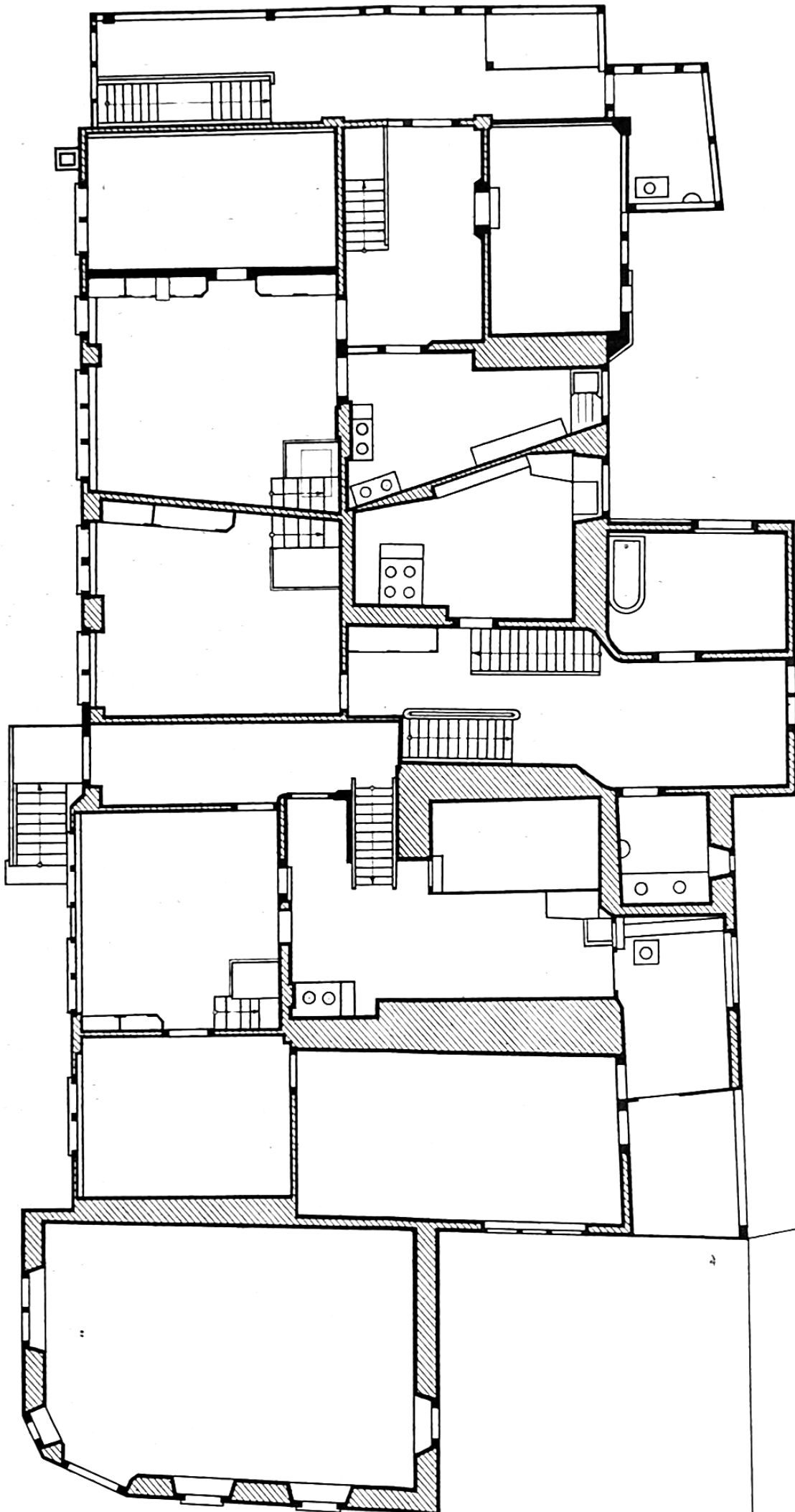
9 **Die heutigen Erwerbs- und Arbeitsverhältnisse in der Heimarbeit und die Gesetzgebung.**

Die Heimarbeit ist bisher vom Arbeiterschutz in keiner Weise in der Schweiz berücksichtigt worden, trotzdem der größte Teil der Heimarbeiter zu einem elendtraurigen Dasein verurteilt ist. Eine überlange Arbeitszeit, denkbar niedrige Löhne und ungesunde Arbeitsräume zehren am Lebensmark der Heimarbeiter und verursachen ihren allzu frühen Tod. Die schlechte Entlohnung erfordert die Mitarbeit der ganzen Familie. Kleine Kinder und altersschwache Leute sind gezwungen, sich an der Hausindustrie zu beteiligen. Denn die menschliche Arbeitskraft ist leider heute immer noch die billigste Maschine. Sie verursacht keine Materialkosten; sie nutzt sich nicht ab auf Rechnung des Unternehmers und der Unterhalt in Form des Lohnes erheischt geringere Auslagen; denn Kinder und Frauen sind gar billige und willige Werkzeuge.

Die Heimarbeit gewinnt darum heute immer größere Bedeutung. Sie wächst entsprechend der Ausbreitung der Industrie; mit jeder neu erstellten Fabrik vergrößert sich auch die Zahl der Heimarbeiter. Besonders Frauen- und Kinderarbeit ist begehrt! Der Unternehmer weiß die ausgiebige Arbeitskraft der Frau wohl zu schätzen; er kennt ihre Genügsamkeit; er kennt den anspruchslosen Sinn der Mutter, die sich ohne Murren um ihrer Kinder willen das Mark aus den Knochen saugen läßt.







- 10 *Hausgruppe Ennetbühl*, eastern elevation
- 11 *Mehrfamilienhaus im Dorf*, Ennenda, floor plan
- 12 *Mehrfamilienhaus im Dorf*, Ennenda, purlins
- 13 *Mehrfamilienhaus im Dorf*, Ennenda, southern facade

The buildings that were the scene to stories like the one of Verena, farmers becoming homeworkers, becoming factory workers, are typically the so called *Tätschhäuser*. These are large wooden farmhouses, typically constructed in a *Blockbau* system with moss stuffed into the crevices between the wood. In general, they consist of a kitchen with a hearth, a living room with a stove and multiple chambers that are as close as possible to the stove. The furnishing of these houses was very simple: wooden tables and chairs, beds and benches.

The Farmhouse as a Cluster

The *Mehrfamilienhaus im Dorf* in Ennenda is another example of an old farmhouse as a cluster of multiple units. In contrary to Verena's home in *Ennetbühl*, this house stands in the very center of Ennenda. In this case the units are arranged almost like row houses, one next to another along the main facade. One characteristic of the Glarner farmhouse that can be seen in this example is the *Brüggli*. It is the small stair that leads up to the entrance to the main living floor. These can normally be found on the eaves side of the house.

The *Mehrfamilienhaus im Dorf* might not have the typical appearance of a farmhouse, partly because of its rendered walls that give the impression of a massive construction. Nevertheless, the large shed that is attached to the cluster reminds us of the previous use of the house.

The Row Houses' Grandmother

Buildings like the *Mehrfamilienhaus im Dorf*, which are *Tätschdachhäuser* that are joined on their gable sides, are the direct predecessors of the worker's row houses. It is likely that the transition of the rural farmhouse typology to the worker's row houses occurred in Ennenda, where there are excellent examples of clustered farmhouses and where the first row of worker's houses at *Mühlestrasse* already stood in 1800.

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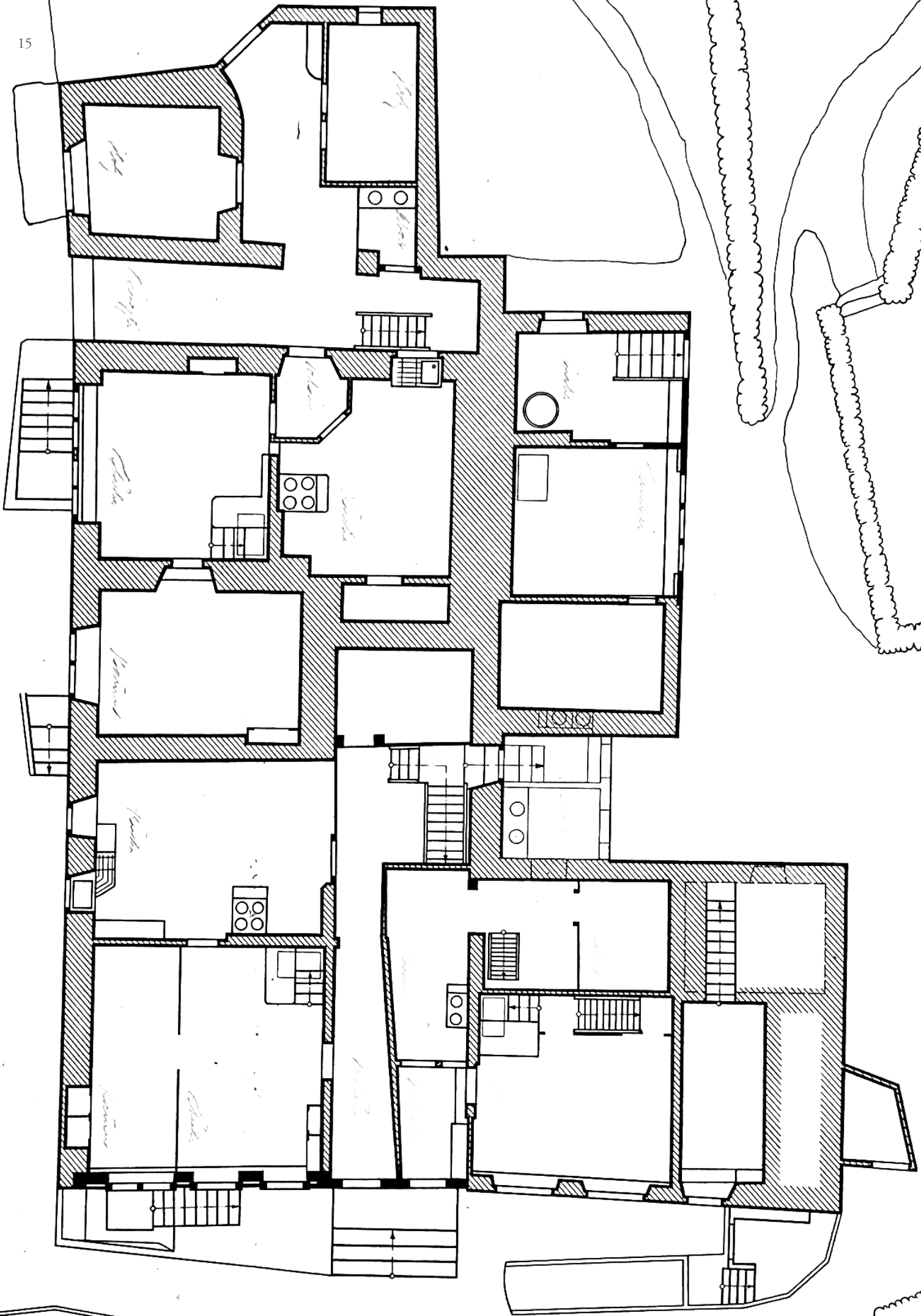


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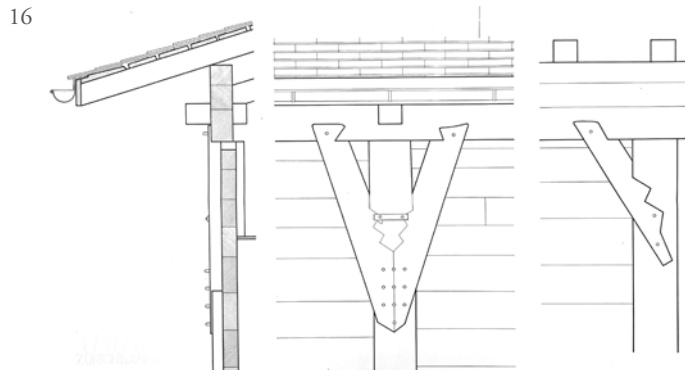


- 14 *Mehrfamilienhaus im Dorf*, Ennenda, with inhabitants
- 15 *Bauernhaus im Sturmigen*, Ennenda, floorplan
- 16 *Bauernhaus im Sturmigen*, construction of the Ständer
- 17 *Bauernhaus im Sturmigen*, western facade

Constructive Variations

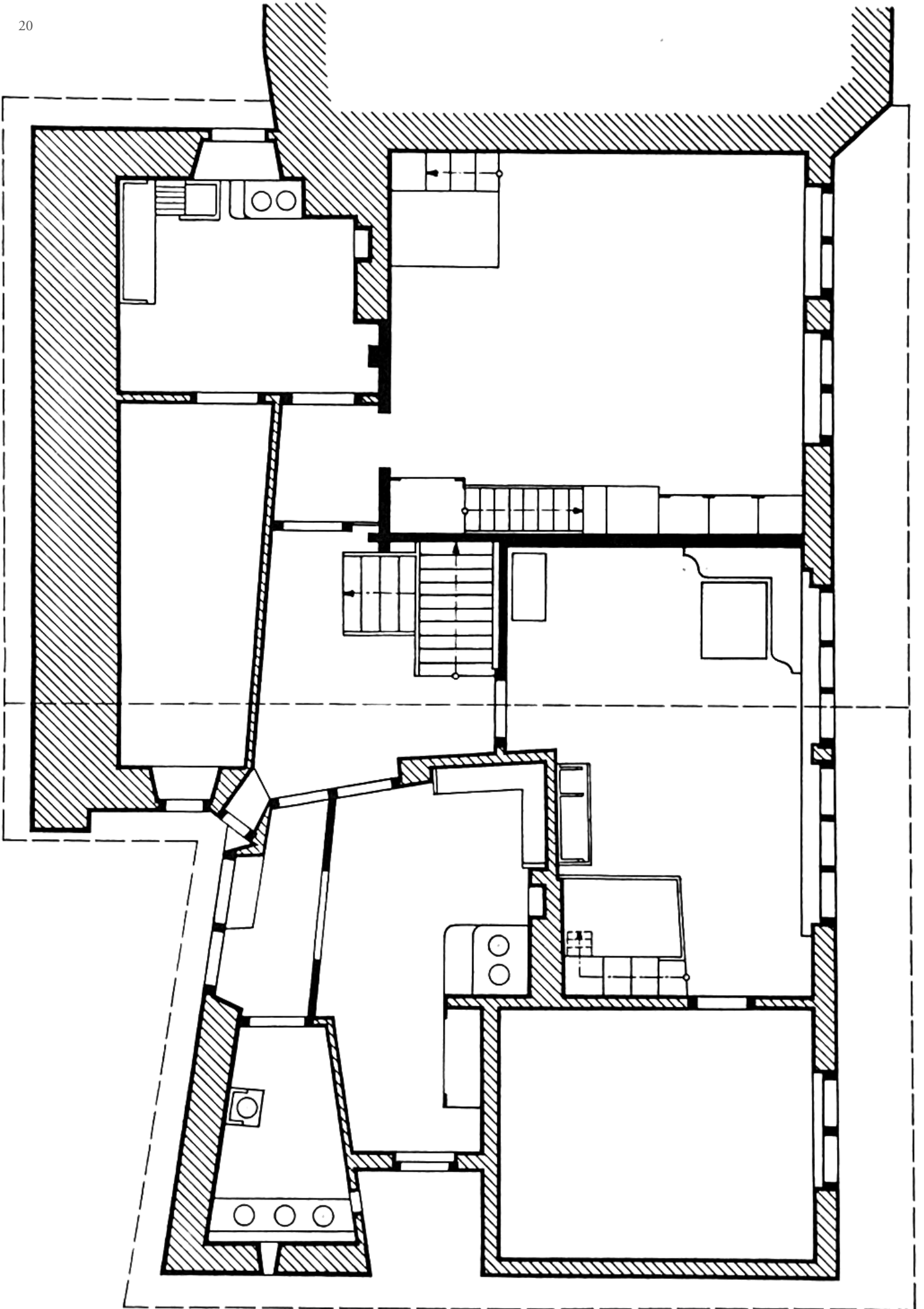
Another notable farmers' house, the *Bauernhaus im Sturmigen*, lies far outside the core of the historical center of the town. It has been constructed in the 16th century and extended multiple times. Like the *Mehrfamilienhaus im Dorf* it does not express the typical construction of the Glarner farmhouse, but another specialty of the built heritage: the *Ständerbau*.

The *Ständerbau* has been widely spread in the Middle Ages and is more typical for the Mittelland and Jura region. Contrary to the *Blockbau*, the *Ständerbau* is a skeleton construction, consisting of vertical and horizontal beams, stiffened by bracings. At the house *im Sturmigen* the *Ständer* is visible on one small section of the southern facade. The other facades seem to have been covered in render. Similar to Verena's family's house in *Ennetbühl*, this one is also a large and prestigious farmhouse that consists of four units.









- 18 *Bauernhaus im Sturmigen*, western facade
- 19 *Bauernhaus im Sturmigen*, 1975, construction of the Ständer
- 20 *Bauernhaus Jenny & Pannoff*, floorplan
- 21 *Bauernhaus Jenny & Pannoff*, section
- 22 *Bauernhaus Thon*, 1977, domestic space
- 23 *Bauernhaus Thon*, 1977, domestic space

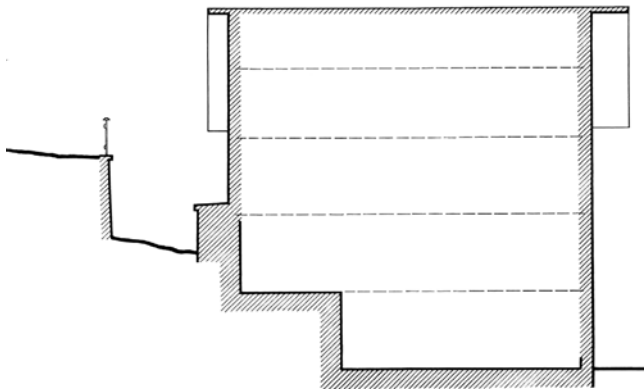
The Worse Documented

Even though the three farmhouses that were previously shown are all large houses with up to four units, the regular farmers' house in Ennenda does not look like that. The ordinary farmhouse is a lot smaller, containing only one or two units. However, it appears that it is specifically those large, clustered houses that have been documented very well. The *Bauernhaus Jenny & Pannoff* is an example of a farmhouse, which is moderate in size. It consists of just two units, that each have a stove.

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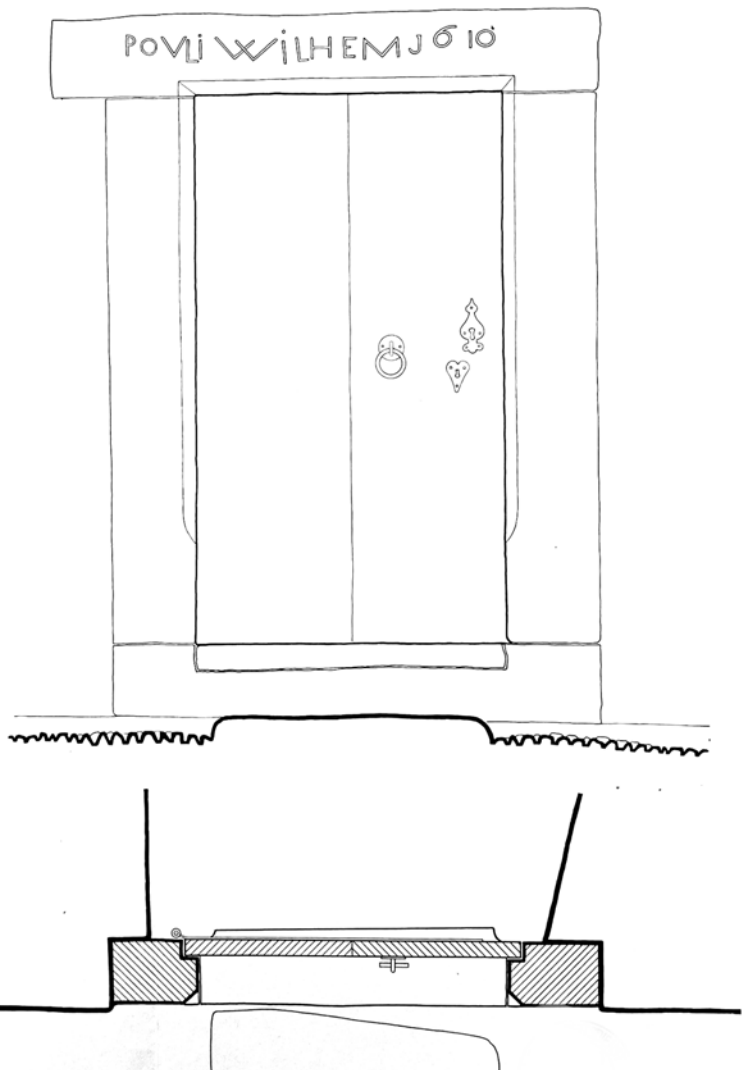
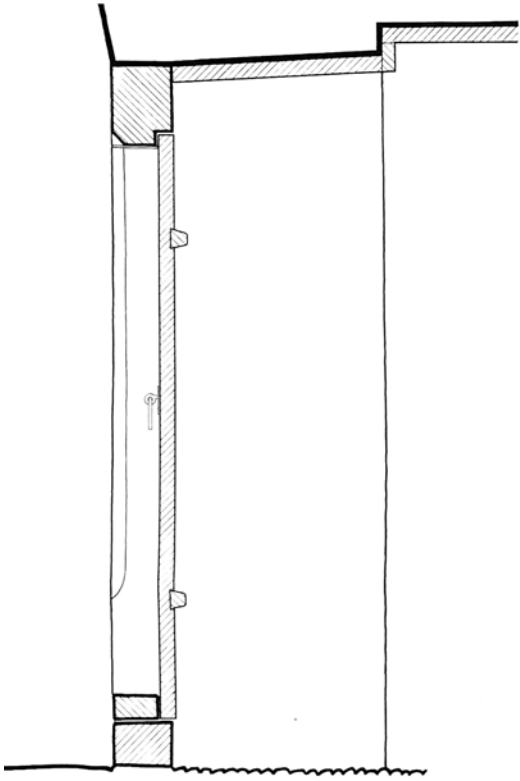
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- 24 *Bauernhaus R. Aebli*, entry to the cellar
- 25 *Bauernhaus R. Aebli*, purlings
- 26 Filzbach, Inscription of Hans Wilhelm, 1607
- 27 *Bauernhaus R. Aebli*, lintel with inscription of Pauli Wilhelm

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The Wild Wilhelms

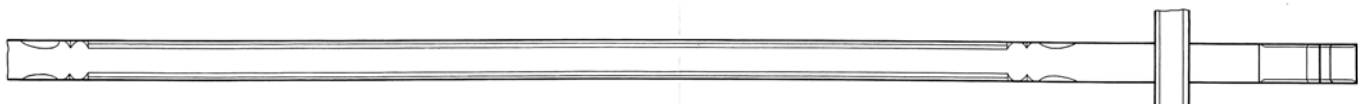
In 1610 Pauli Wilhelm, a carpenter, craved his name and the current year into the lintel at the *Bauernhaus R. Aebli* in Ennenda. Pauli was a member of the Wilhelm family, also called *die wilden Wilhelm*. He was part of a long legacy of carpenters. His father, Hans Wilhelm, left his carving in Filzbach in 1607.

Carpenters must have been the first construction workers in Glarus. They took on the leading role for the construction for all kinds of buildings, including all the mentioned timber farmhouses. Their tasks were preparing timber for constructions, setting it up on site but also adding decorative carvings and even building furniture. In the *Bauernhaus R. Aebli* the craftsmanship of the time of its construction is very well preserved. This includes carvings in the beams of the living room as well as inscriptions in the purlins of the roof.

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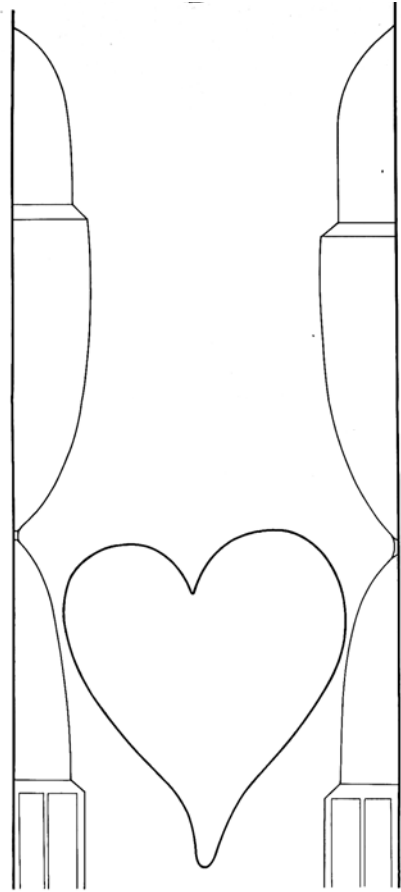
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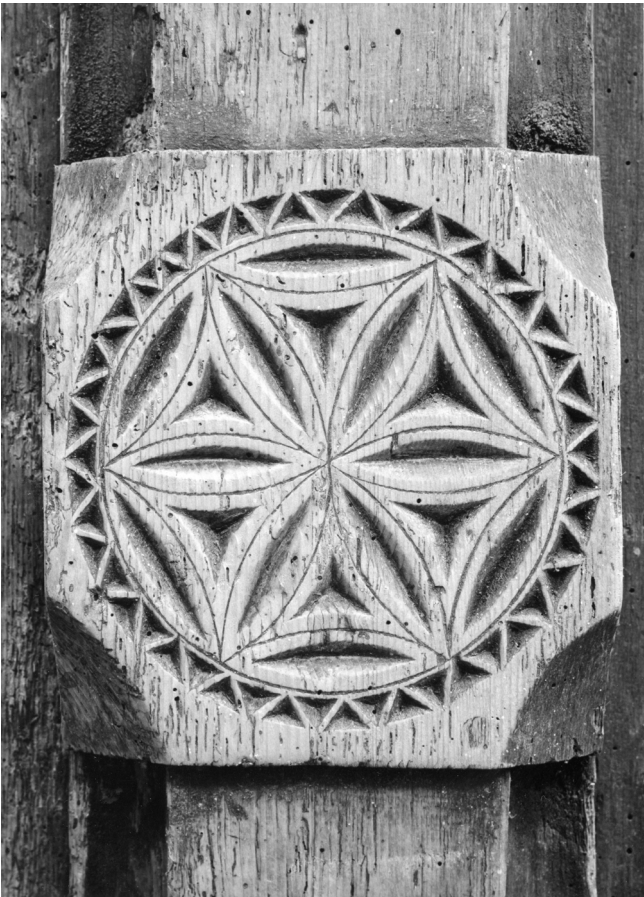
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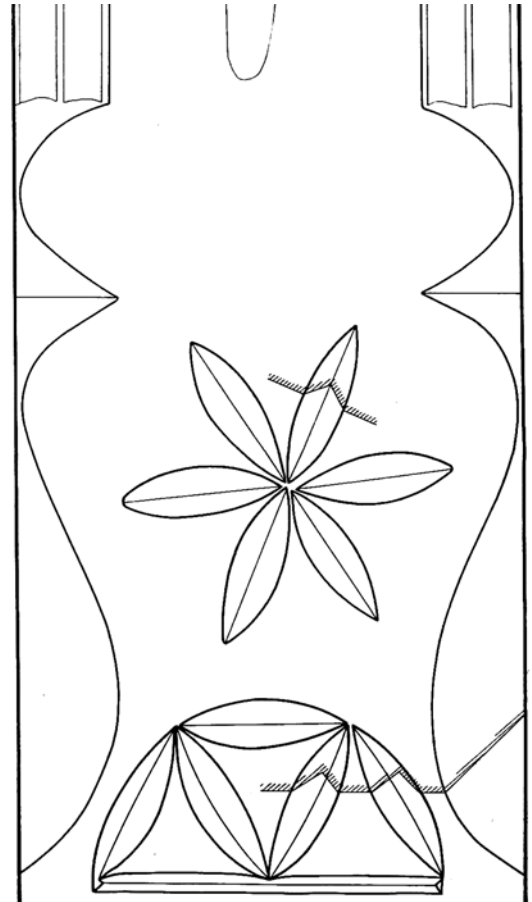
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- 29 *Bauernhaus R. Aebli*, entry to the cellar
- 30 *Spielhof, Rüti*, ceiling beam
- 31 *Bauernhaus R. Aebli*, ceiling beam
- 32 *Spielhof, Rüti*, ceiling beam
- 33 *Bauernhaus R. Aebli*, ceiling beam
- 34 *Bauernhaus R. Aebli*, ceiling of the living room

Recurring Motives

The carpenter families, like the wild Wilhelms, realized their constructions all around the canton of Glarus. Consequentially, similar motives and principles can be found in buildings in all parts of the Canton. This is especially visible when it comes to decorative carvings in wooden beams.

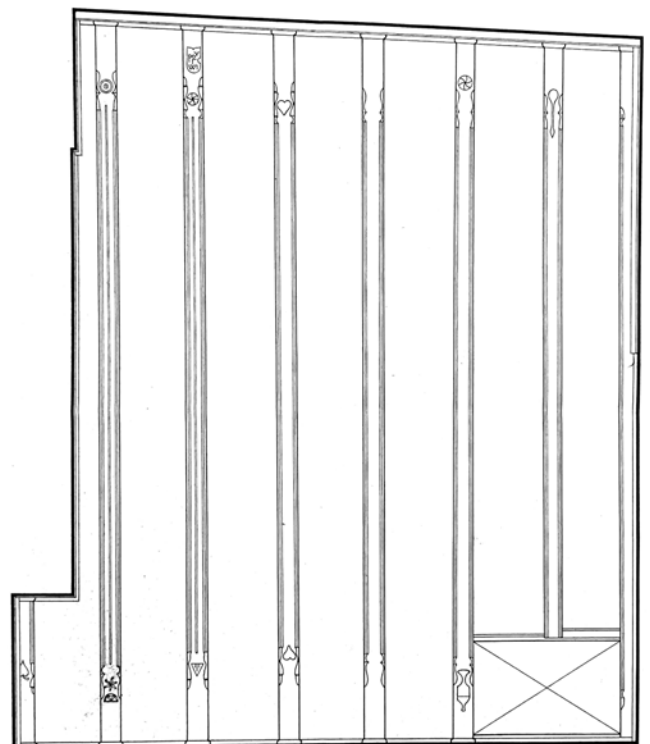
The house R. Aebli in Ennenda has exposed ceiling beams in its living room. The ends of each beam are decorated with a carving. One of these carvings spells a familiar name: Pauli Wilhelm. The other carvings have motives like flowers, spirals, hearts or circles.

In Rüti, about eight villages further up the Linthal, impressive carvings in ceiling beams have been preserved. The motives are similar to the ones in Ennenda. What all these carvings have in common is that they are relatively easy to construct using a ruler and a pair of compasses, nevertheless they are expressive. Whether these carvings have been done by another carpenter from the same family or even Pauli himself, I cannot say. However, these are examples of a certain design vocabulary that developed out of a need for efficiency. The shapes are not purely artistic but already pretty rationalized, despite their archaic appearance. The same can be applied for all kinds of other timber construction elements.

Preindustrial Industrialization

This phenomenon of a specific mode of production, that is not yet industrial, but already rationalized, widespread and highly efficient, is omnipresent in Glarus, long before the arrival of the actual industry. It can't just be found in the buildings industry, but even more prominently in the spinning, weaving and printing textile production.

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«Wohii gaasch, Vatter?» fraaget mi dr Bueb. «Bisch es Gwünder», sägi, «aber chasch ez glych gad mit mer chuu. Ich ha de letscht Wuche ds Grosvatters Huus verchauft.

Ez eb dr nüü Huusme iiziet, wil i noch gu luege, eb alls i dr Oornig sig. Chumm!»

Also simmer de ggange. Wo mer i d Roosegass chuu sind, fraaget er mi uff eimaal: «Duu, Vatter, häscht dr grooss Schlüssel byndr?» Uuftue hät nämmlig dr Grosvatter immer mit emene groosse Huusschlüssel, wo me hät chänne inenandine zämelegge, äso as er gad noch gschmoge Platz gchaa hät im Schlitz inne. «Hedaa, Hansli», han i zum Bueb gseit und hanemne ggii, «see, bringschne umme? Ton eemaal uuf!»

Mir sind dur ds Underhuus hindere und i d Stuben ufe. Det bin i as Bueb am liebschte gsii. Wämen am Pfiischer gsässen isch, hät men imene schreege Spiegel vorusse all Lüüt gsii, wo dunde i dr Roosegass verby sind, me hät nu dr Umhang mösen echlei lüpfe. Wänn dä öppert gschället hät, wo me lieber nüd i dr Stube gchaa hät, e uuwärde Husierer oder e Pfannefligger oder sust e halb

gfreuti Gaschtig, so hät me si nüd verbräät, und d Huusglogge hät chänne tschädere, so viil si hät welle. Wän aber d Bäsi Rosyne vu Änepüels durechuu isch, dä isch d Grosmueter i Tüürwinggel und hät ufenes Yseli gstampfet, wo näbet dr Speuztrugge gsii isch, und dänn isch dunde d'Huustüür uufggange. Dr Hansli hät underdesse schu mit ere Chryde es Gugimandli uff Blattetisch zeichnet. Er hät au i dr Tischtrugge gneuslet, aber de isch schu gläart gsii. I de Ofetrugge inne – es hät dernig under jedem Ofetritt eini – häts aber noch dis und jenes verboorge gchaa: en alti Hudlebaabe, Helgebücher, Gfätterliruschtig, Tötz und e grümpfleti Schwiiblaatere.

Dr Bueb hät am Zythüüsli ummeggäget und em Pärmetiggel Püff ggii. «Nimm lieber d Meigschiirli ussem Schlaafgade dure, sust verhysch noch das ganz Zyt!» han i gseit.

Er hät de ds Brittlig es Spältli uuftue und de zwii Graanium abem Simse gnuu, gad schüü händs nümme abgsii. Im Schlaafgade isch noch alls gsii we früener. Blaab Tabeete häts gchaa und dere ghüüslete chöltsche Pfübe und Chüssiziechli und Lylache wen e Ruessili. I dr Chuchichamer isch d Muur gwyssget gsii und anstatt ere Madratze isch e Laubsagg i dr Bettstatt inne gläge. Ich bi nüd uugäre det ummegstoferet, wil en alts Gampiross näbet em Nachtstuel zueche gstanden isch und imene Gänterli inne e Huufe Trüggeli mit Toggterruschtig.

Öppis ganz Apartis isch uffem Komood gstande, es Nachtliechtli mit emene wysse Glaas drvoor. Wäme drdurdure glueget hät, so häts Ängeli druuf gchaa und Schääfli und Stäärne. De händ vorem Öltäächeli zueche gschune we rächt.

«Duu, Vatter, was isch daas daa?» fraaget dr Bueb. Im Gang usse isch e groossi Chischten am Bode gstande, schüü aagmaalet mit Näme und Blüemlene und ere Jaarzaal – 1782 glaubi. «E liggete Chaschte seit me demm. Daa, lüpf dr Teggel und lueg all de Gchältli aa. Im einte hät me d Öpfelstüggli versoorget, im andere de tüüre Bire und d Nüsse. Hütigstags chüffed eim fründ Umme-

farer all de schüüne liggete Chäschte für guets Gält aab. Si säged ne True und stelleds deheimed uuf.» — «Aber die blybt daa, hä? Gält, mir verchaufed nüd alls vum Grosvatter — emaal d Chupfergelte nüüd und das Gättergutschli i dr Schlaafgadechamer au nüüd — und de alte Bilder und ds Nachtliechtli.» Mich häts gfreut, as der Püürschtel schu esoo gredt hät. «Nenei, häb kän Angscht, dr ligget Chaschte holemer sälber, und de stellemer ne bim Zinebödeli uuf. Det macht er si am beschte.»

I dr Ruesstili obe isch alls schüü uufgruumt gsii, d Bürdeli a einer Reie, d Schytli oordeli pygelet näbet dr Tachrafe, es paar Brigettli noch uffem Träämi obe. Imene Winggel, bi de Spinnuppe zueche, isch es Scheesewägeli gstande und drnäbet en alte Chuechlischlitte mit äso Ring ummenes Ysestängeli; de händ gkesslet we näärsch, wäme übernes Pöörtli abegfaren isch. Dur ds Guggerli dure hät d Sunne gschine, und uffem Chängelrohr hät e Chatz gmaugget.

Zletscht simmer noch i dr Chuchi gu gwünderere. D Schafreiti isch läär gsii bis uffene Biese troches Broot. Ds Beggigschiir hät nächtig schu en alts Fraueli gholt gchaa. Uffem Stelen obe häts noch echlei Bleebi gchaa und es Phäggli Chlääri vum letschte Wäsch naache und e paar gspräggelet Ärbs. D Sidele sind i Rei und Gliid umme Tisch gstande, we immer, und d Pfanne und d Chelle im Gstell ghanget. Nu de möschi Pfanne hät gfäält, wo d Grosmueter albigs dr Holdersaft drii gchochet hät und dr Anggen uusgluu. Näbetem Chuurscht hämmer noch e Hampfle Fägsand gfunde, wome früener drmit d Sandsteiböde gfäget hät.

«Jaa, äsoo gaats, Bueb», han i gseit, «vierzg Jaar lang isch eine i some Huus deheimed und wärchet und läbt guet und rächt — und uff eimaal ninnt ne einen am Eermel und holt ne i ds Tschudiguet ufe. Und was vunem blybt, wiirt verchauf und vergantet, und was eim gfallt, das phaltet me noch as Aadängge.»

«Gäll, ds Gampiross und dr ligget Chaschte?»

«Jaja — und noch anders. Übermoore chaschmer de bim Plündere hälfe. Und de überneeht Wuche chunnt dr nüü Huusme, und de befilt deer daa i dem Huus. Überhaupt, es söll alls anderscht wäärde. Wä mir d Umhäng abenänd, so tuet er Voorhäng ufe. Dr Chachelofe wiirt usezeert und e Zäntralheizig inetue. E Schüttstei gits, anstatt em alte Ferggel, und im Chuchichaschte häts weder Brüütliangge noch Saft, nu Tafelbutter und Konfitüüre. Ussem Schlaafgade wiirt e Salong, und a dr Ruesstili säged si Eschtrich oder Winde. Und überhaupt, ich mag nüd draa tängge! Daa im Kanapeewinggel, wo d Grosmueter ase jungi ggitärelet und zitteret hät, da chunnt ez dängg e Fernsee hane.»

«Ssoo, und ez nimm daa em Grosvatter si alte Gane — mir güünd hei.»

«Duu, Vatter, aber gält, i üüserem Huus inne törf me noch glarnertütsch rede?»

«Goppelau, Bueb, und hoffetli noch lang!»







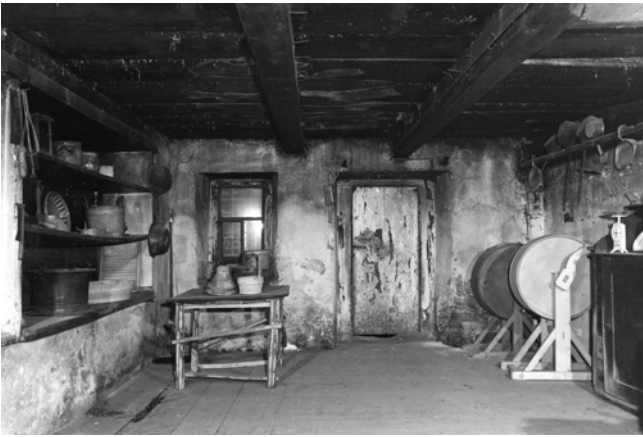
Interiors

The *Stube*, living room, is the main living space of the house. The stove is located in the living room, but it is accessed through the kitchen. The dining area is part of the living room. It consists of a table, either wooden or made of local slate, and wooden benches or chairs. The *Stabelle*, a small wooden chair with an artistically carved backrest, is characteristic for the furnishing of farmhouses.

The kitchen was centered around the cooking stove. It was usually furnished with shelves, tables and additional storage space.

The chambers are furnished with chests, shelves and beds, whereas multiple people usually share one bed. The chambers that were located right next to or above the living room were the most favorable because they were the warmest. They were typically inhabited by the parents and youngest children.

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- 35 *Glarner Heimatbuch*, 1980, Ds Grossvaters Huus, p. 183, a lively description of an old farmhouse in Glarus
- 36 *Gyseneggli*, Braunwald, dining table
- 37 *Bauernhaus Rhyner*, Elm, corridor with benches
- 38 *Bauernhaus Elmer-Chrauch*, Matt, kitchen
- 39 *Bauernhaus Rhyner*, Elm, corridor
- 40 *Bauernhaus Elm*, stove
- 41 *Fritigenhaus*, Elm. 1976, staircase
- 42 *Stabelle*, 1976
- 43 *Bauernhaus Elmer-Chrauch*, Matt, living room
- 44 *Bauernhaus Elmer-Chrauch*, Matt, kitchen
- 45 *Bauernhaus Elmer-Chrauch*, Matt, small room



Searching for Remnants

In the hope of finding some pieces of 19th century furniture, that could have been used in the kinds of households I portray in this book, I visited the *Brockenstube Toni* in Ennenda. I found some traces of the past in the shape of wooden buckets, carpets, lamps, many *Stabellen*, a couch, some weaver's shuttles and a spinning wheel.

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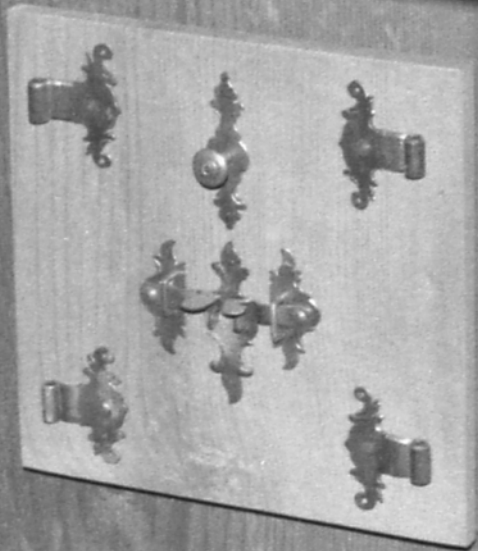
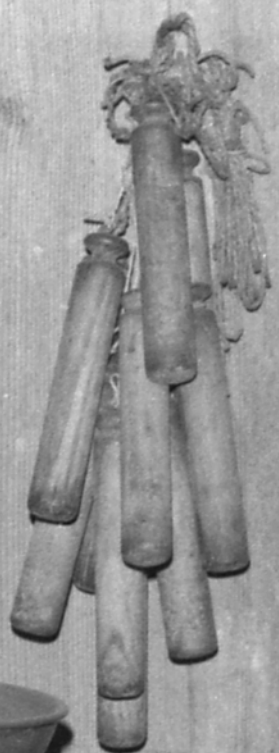
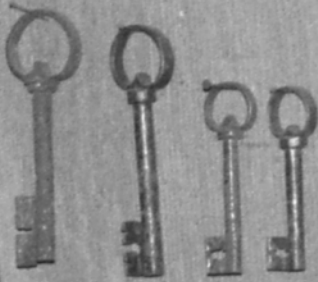
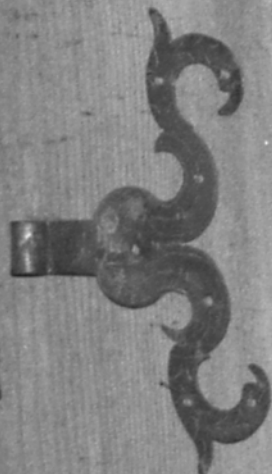
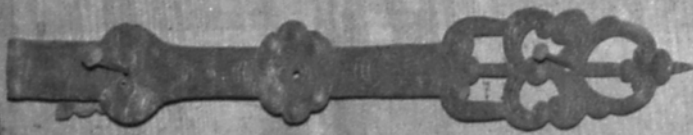


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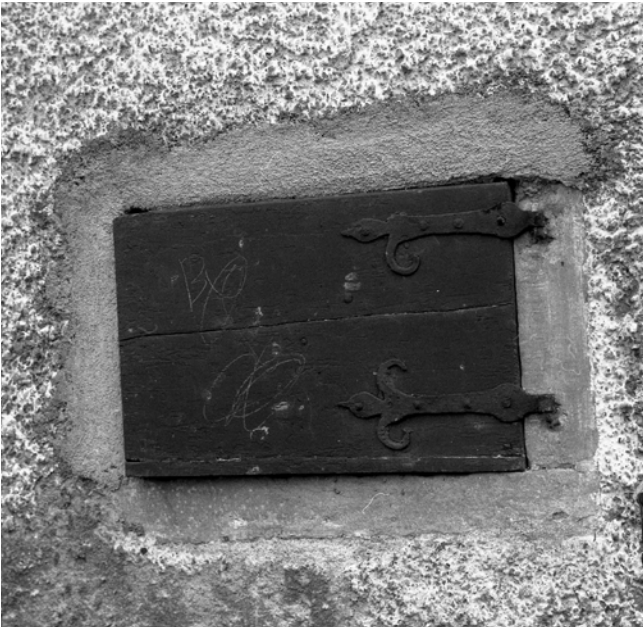


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- 46 Brockenstube Toni, upholstered couch
- 47 Brockenstube Toni, weaver's shuttle
- 48 Brockenstube Toni , Stabell and wooden table
- 49 Brockenstube Toni, carpets
- 50 Brockenstube Toni, spinning wheel
- 51 Brockenstube Toni, wooden bucket
- 52 Brockenstube Toni, small glass lamp
- 53 Brockenstube Toni, stacked Stabellen
- 54 In der Wiese, Glarus, 1977, metal workshop
- 55 Dekanenhaus, Mollis 1977, small window
- 56 Door handle, 1972
- 57 Stable door, Mollis

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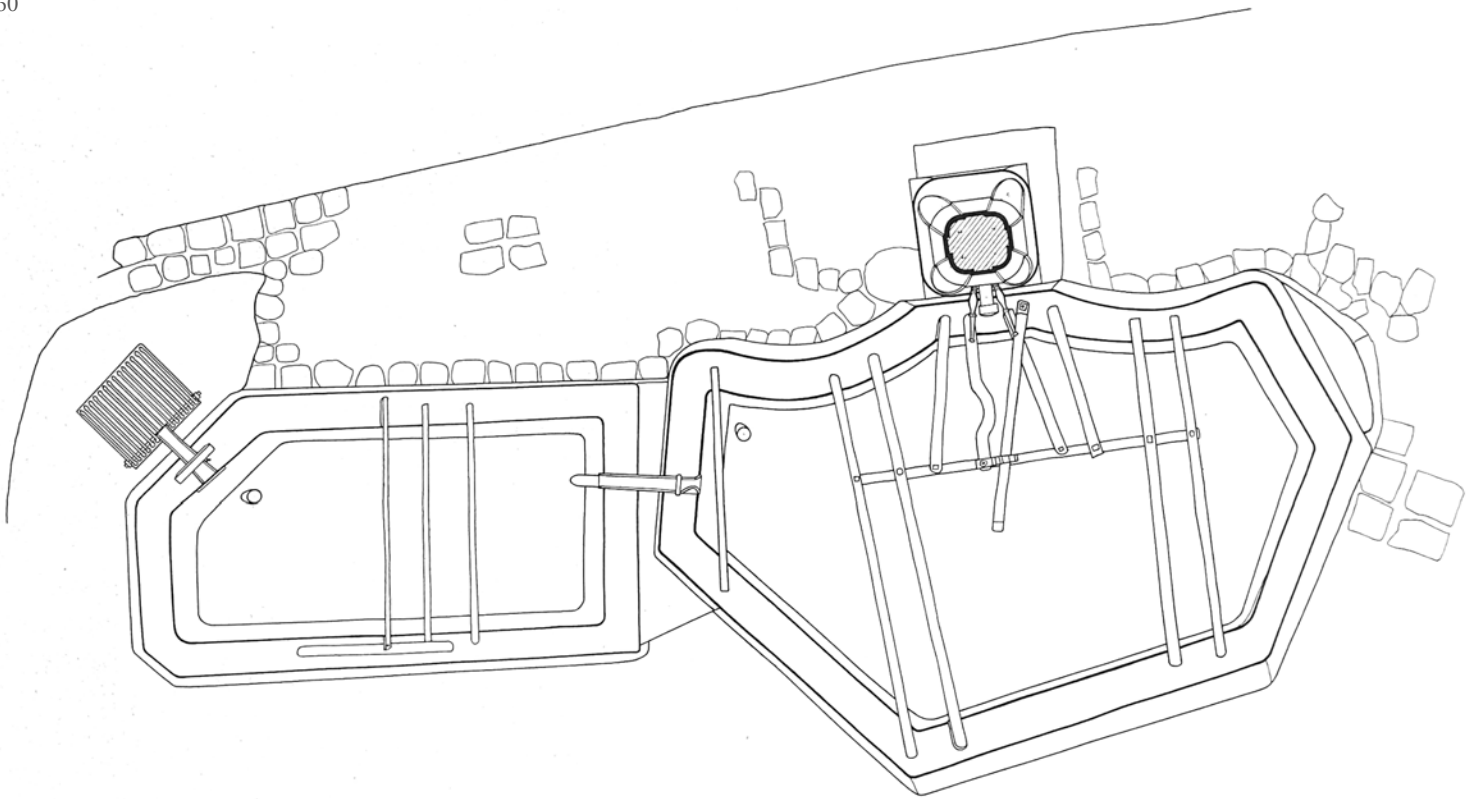
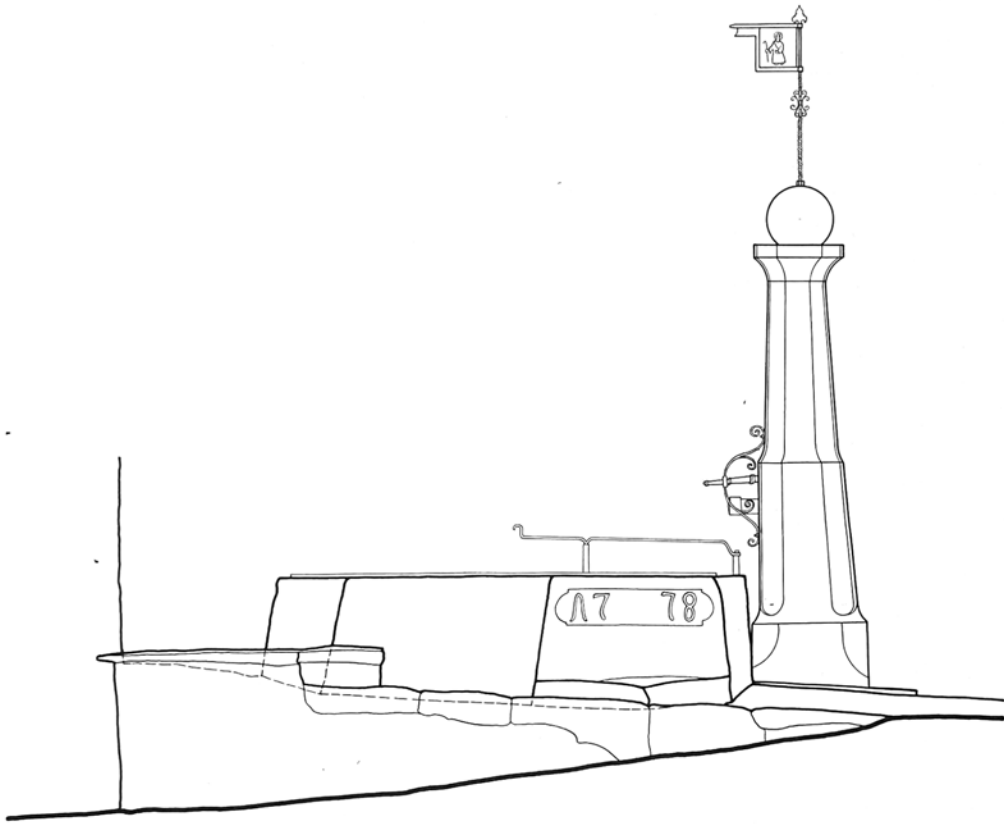


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- 58 *Oberdorfbrunnen*, Ennenda, 1910
- 59 *Friedlibrunnen*, Ennenda, elevation
- 60 *Friedlibrunnen*, Ennenda, plan
- 61 *Sternenbrunnen*, Ennenda, 1905

The Fountain

Before water pipes were installed in private households, water for the daily use had to be fetched at a fountain. Private water supply in the houses was initiated in the end of the 19th century. There were multiple fountains in Ennenda, one of them being the *Friedlibrunnen* in the Oberdorf. For people like Verena, the fountain must have been almost an extension of her domestic, as fetching water at the fountain was probably a very frequently executed task. At the same time, the water as well as the infrastructure of the fountain was a shared commodity and most likely also a space for social interaction.

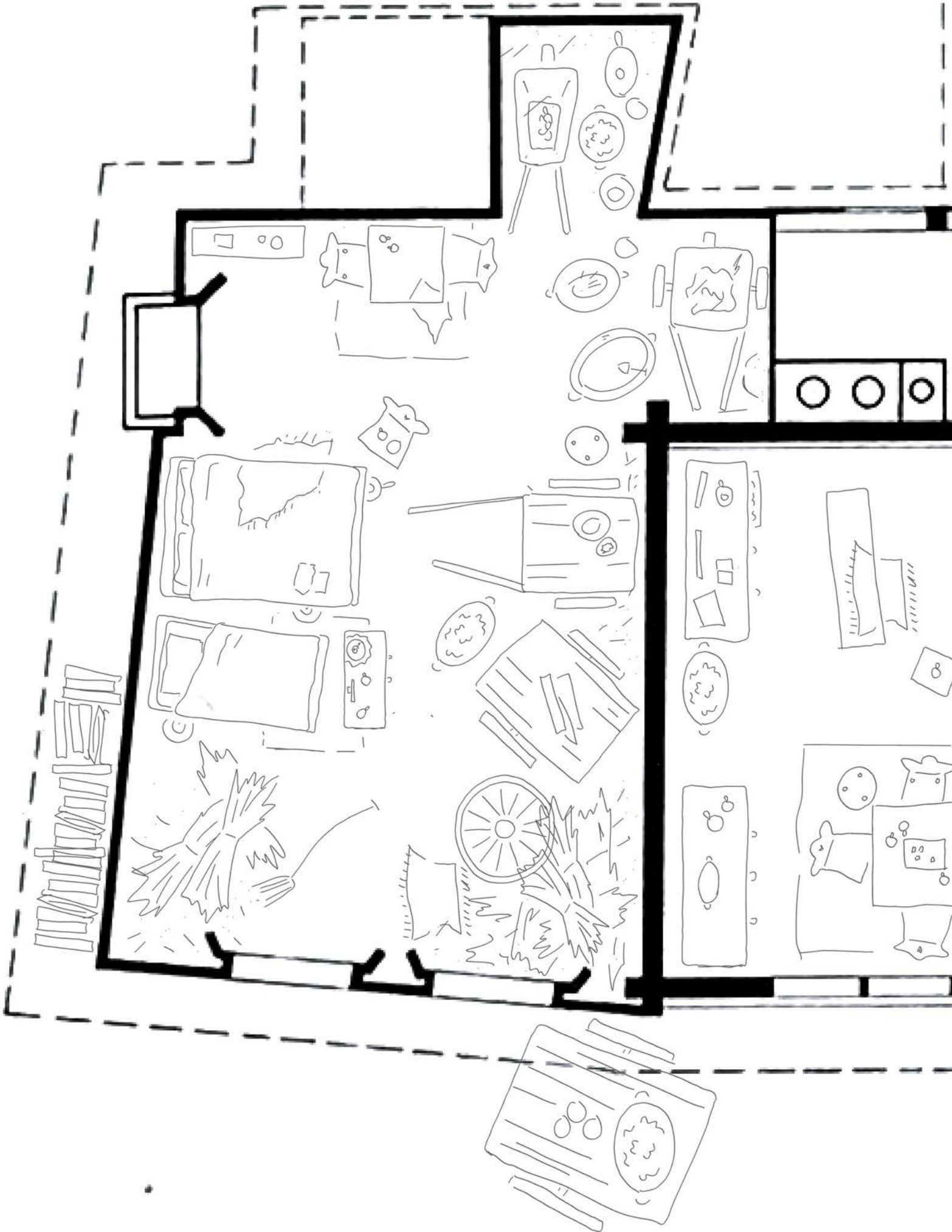
There was a general principle, that the fountains that are further up the hill would be used for tasks that didn't pollute the fresh water. At the fountain further down, more activities were allowed. For example, children were allowed to bathe and play there.

61









The Kostgänger's Rented Room

- 62 Farmhouses in Ennenda
- 63 Hausgruppe Ennetbühl, shed, assumptive drawing
- 64 Zweite Fabrikinspektion, 1869, p. 5
- 65 Impression of a possible rented room of a *Kostgänger*

This is the story of a *Kostgänger*, an unmarried young man who we shall call Kaspar, who came to prosperous Linthal looking for a job in the textile industry, finding himself living in a rented room under precarious living conditions.

A Rented Bed in a Shed

Kaspar came from a mountainous village in Graubünden called Flims, not too far away from the border to Kanton Glarus. In Flims most of the people made a living out of livestock farming, as did his family. He was the second youngest of seven children. His help was needed on the farm in early summer for hay making. The rest of the year his parents and older siblings could take on the workload of the cattle farm. So ever since he had finished the obligatory school, he was sent to work in the textile printing factory in Ennenda for the rest of the year. Since he was just 14 years old, he was hosted as a *Kostgänger*. *Kostgänger* are workers who are offered *Kost und Logie*, meaning food and lodging, in exchange for a rental fee. The hosts of such *Kostgänger* were typically families that had a spare bed to offer and were in need of a small additional revenue.

The Kostheim and Child Labor

Another housing typology created specifically for *Kostgänger* is the *Kostheim*, an institution, often run by nuns. No example of this typology can be found in the close proximity of Ennenda. This is most likely the case because a large part of the workers of the textile industry in Ennenda were locals. According to the second factory inspection in the year 1869 there were 1297 people from outside canton Glarus residing in Glarus to participate in the spinning and weaving industry. In Ennenda itself there were 80 people from outside the canton, of which 30 were only temporary residents. One of those temporary residents was Kaspar. In general, there was a high demand for child labor in the factories. Partly because they were good at doing very precise and delicate work with their small fingers and partly because they were by far the lowest paid workers. Some factories specifically built *Kostheime* for children for these reasons.



No Toilet and a Cold Room

In the year 1896, when the first survey on factory owned housing by Fridolin Schuler was done, 7% of all cotton workers in Switzerland were *Kostgänger*.

This survey is one of very few sources describing the accommodation of the *Kostgänger*. Because *Kostgänger* were only ever tenants and never owners, their names weren't ever written down and preserved in any official documents. The survey finds that the *Mansardenschlafzimmer*, the attic chambers, which are exposed to wind and storm, as well as the cold in winter and the heat in summer are mostly given to *Kostgänger*. The survey also reveals that 26 factory owned apartments of the cotton industry did not have access to a toilet at all. The factory inspectors deemed this circumstance impossible and assumed that it must have been a misunderstanding in the questionnaire. The second factory inspection describes the unfavorable conditions of the *Kostgänger* as follows:

64 Unter den sämtlichen Arbeitern sind 1297 Nichtkantonsbürger; 853 Nieder- gelassene, 444 Aufenthalter welche sich folgendermaßen vertheilen:

	Kantonsfremde wovon Aufenthalter.	
Niederurnen	340	80
Oberurnen	12	3
Mollis und Näfels	45	17
Metzfall	107	65
Glarus	113	51
Ennenda	80	30



Die Wohnungsverhältnisse unserer Fabrikarbeiter sind größtentheils sehr ungünstige. Es besteht eine große Ueberfüllung der Arbeiterwohnungen. Dieß geht schon aus den statistischen Angaben der letzten Volkszählung hervor. Während im Kanton Zürich 86, im Aargau 77 und in Bern gar nur 66 Seelen auf 100 bewohnte Räumlichkeiten kommen, in der ganzen Schweiz durchschnittlich 81, trifft es bei uns 97. Und nun erst die ungleiche Vertheilung dieser Räume! In manchen Dörfern sind für die Arbeiter bequem gelegene Häuser mit 8 bis 9 Zimmern von 3 und 4 Haushaltungen bewohnt, die zuweilen erst noch Kostgänger haben. Enge, niedrige Schlafzimmer, die 6 bis 8 Menschen beherbergen, sind nicht selten.

Noch schlimmer als die Ueberfüllung, ist der immer mehr überhand nehmende Umstand, daß feuchte Parterreräume die als Keller oder Vorrathskammern dienten oder allerlei luftige, undichte Umbauten als Wohnungen eingerichtet werden. Wie oft hängt zolllanger Schimmel herunter von den Wänden, wenn ein Bett von seiner gewohnten Stelle gerückt wird, wie oft verpestet wahrer Modergeruch den Wohnraum!

Zu alledem sind die Wohnungen sehr theuer. In kleinen Dörfern z. B. kostet eine Wohnung, wo Stube und Küche gemeinschaftlich mit dem Hausbesitzer benutzt und von letzterm geheizt werden, und wo nur eine schlechte Kammer apart gegeben wird, 60 Fr. per Jahr, eine Wohnung mit Stube, Küche und 3 Zimmern, mögen diese noch so schlecht sein 130 bis 150 Fr., ja bis 200 im Mittelland.

A Moist Shed in Ennetbühls

Over the years Kaspar had lived with multiple families as a *Kostgänger* in Ennenda. In his first few years he lived with the family at *Hausgruppe Ennetbühls*. They were mutuals of his parents, since Kaspar's second cousin married their oldest son many years ago. The family at *Ennetbühls* had quit their farming and was left with a shed where they used to store their carriages, most of which have now been sold to the neighbors. So, they closed the shed with wooden planks and arranged some beds for him as well as two other young *Kostgänger*.

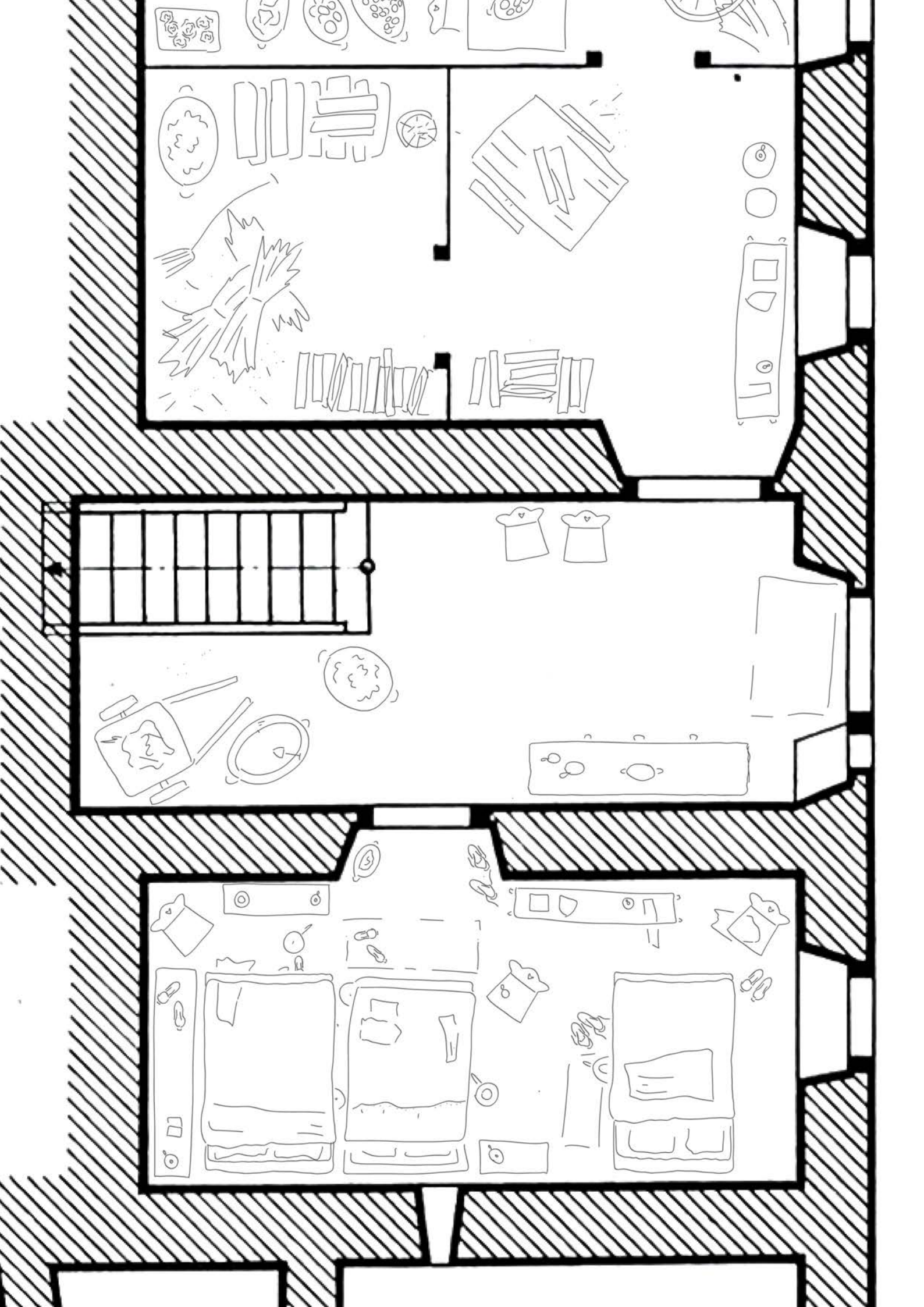
When he arrived in June of 1869 it took some effort to make the shed inhabitable: cleaning out the dirt, removing shovels and rakes and clearing some space to set up a table. He managed to get along well with the two other boys he shared his room with. So far the room did not feel too crowded. In September, when summer faded away, temperatures lowered and the typical mist in the Linthal appeared the shed started to be uncomfortable. It was cold, there was no stove and the air was moist. Mold was growing on the wooden planks. He could feel the wind blow through the cracks of the shed. By the time winter came he just wished he could go back to his family in Flims.

The Search for Another Bed

In May he went back home to help on the farm. In June he returned to Ennenda, just like the year after. Not much changed but each year the family at *Ennetbühls* made space for a few more *Kostgänger*: more beds in the shed and multiple people in one bed. In his fourth year by the time he asked about his bed, it was already rented out to someone else. They had no more space for him. He was suggested to ask the farmers' family who lived at *Bauernhaus im Sturmigen* for a bed to rent. So he did. It turned out that the family at *Sturmigen* expected their *Kostgänger* to help in their *Sennerei*, with the production of cheese and butter. Kaspar was not able to work besides his job at the factory, which was up to twelve-hour shifts, six days a week. So he continued his search for a bed elsewhere.

66 *Bauernhaus im Sturmigen*, room for *Kostgänger*, assumptive drawing

67 *Zweite Fabrikinspektion*, 1869, p. 23



A Crowded Room in the Cellar

He ended up in the core of Ennenda, at the double family home *Jenny & Pannoff*. Similar to the farmers at *Ennetbübls*, agriculture was no longer a main stream of income for this family, leading to unused spaces in their basement floor. This is where Kaspar was offered a bed. The rent was a lot higher than he previously paid, because the demand for beds was so high in the late 19th century, he agreed and stayed there for the following season.

The Instability of Salaries

Worker's salaries were not regulated and could vary on a monthly basis, depending on the state of the market. In this way the manufacturer shifted part of his risk to the workers. In the beginning of the 19th century, when Glarus was heavily affected by wars and crises, the salaries were at an all time low. Workers were exploited to an extreme to somehow be able to compete with England's machine produced products.

The Separation of a Social Class

Over time, the factory workers were somehow excluded into a separate social class. Their daily life was so consumed by the long hours in the factory that taking part in the social life of the village became difficult. Young children of factory worker parents would spend more time alone and older children would often become independent at a very young age, by starting to work in the factories themselves.

Why does nobody remember the Kostgänger?

When reading about the stories of workers of the textile industry one might think that a story like Kaspar's was rare. The term *Kostgänger* has almost been forgotten. It has disappeared out of the vocabulary of our generation. Or at least I didn't know what it meant and neither did my friends. The idea, that Kaspar's bad lot was rare, is wrong. *Kostgänger* made up 7% of the entire cotton industry in Switzerland in 1898, as per the survey on factory owned housing. Still, the term is mentioned extremely rarely in any written sources, despite the fact that the history of the textile industry in Glarus is very well documented.

69 Wie durch die Wohnungsnot, das Zusammenpferchen so vieler Leute, verschiedener Familien die Freude am Familienleben vernichtet, der Zusammenhang der Familie zerstört, das einzelne Familienglied dazu geführt wird, ausser dem Hause, im Wirtshaus, an Vergnügungsorten, in allerlei Ausserlichkeiten seinen Genuss und seine Freude zu suchen, wurde bereits erwähnt. Dass auf diesem Weg Verarmung, Leichtsinns immer mehr überhandnehmen, ist schon tausendfältig beklagt worden. Dass so das Proletariat geringster Sorte gemehrt werde, dass dasselbe ohne festen, dauernden Wohnsitz, zeitweise selbst ohne rechtes Obdach verrohe, im innigen Zusammensein mit den verkommensten Elementen der Bevölkerung, die mit ihm zusammen hausen müssen, moralisch zu Grunde gehe -- dies alles wird niemand bezweifeln. Dass Leute, welche der Familie, der Heimat entfremdet sind, auch an ihr Vaterland keine Anhänglichkeit, für ein geordnetes öffentliches Leben keinen Sinn mehr haben, ist ebenso gewiss. Aus diesen Leuten muss eine grosse politische Gefahr erwachsen. Aber auch die Armenlasten werden steigen, die öffentliche Sicherheit wird abnehmen. Die Selbsterhaltung des Staats fordert ein energisches Eingreifen, um die Wurzel dieser Gefahren, die Wohnungsmissstände, zu beseitigen.

Aber auch der persönliche Selbsterhaltungstrieb kommt hier in Frage. Seit Jahrzehnten ist von den berufensten Leuten nachgewiesen worden, wie Überfüllung der Wohnungen, der Schmutz und die Unordnung in denselben Krankheiten erzeuge, wie das enge Zusammenleben mit fremden, herumschweifenden Elementen ihre Verbreitung fördere, die Verhütungsmassregeln, die Seuchenpolizei erschwere, wie Epidemien rascher und intensiver verbreitet werden. Mit der moralischen Ansteckung geht die leibliche Hand in Hand. Enge mit dem Sinken der Moralität, dem Zerfall der Familie verbunden ist auch das Verkommen der jüngern Generation, bei der ohne rechtes Heim, ohne eine eigene Familie auch an keine rechte Erziehung zu denken ist.

Übersicht der Arbeiterwohnungen bei industriellen Berufsarten *Tableau des logements d'ouvriers dans certaines industries*

aufgenommen im Monat 1891.
fait au mois de 1891.

Ortschaft
Localité

Industriezweig
Branche d'industrie

Firma
Raison sociale

Zahl der Häuser mit 1 Wohnung: mit 2 Wohnungen: mit mehr als 2 Wohnungen:
Nombre des maisons avec 1 logement: avec 2 logements: avec plus de 2 logements:

Zahl der Wohnungen gleicher Art <i>Nombre des logements d'une même espèce</i>		Jede Wohnung gleicher Art enthält <i>Chaque logement d'une même espèce comprend</i>														Bewohner <i>Habitants</i>			Miete <i>Location</i>	Miet- und Kündigungs- bedingungen, sowie übrige Bemerkungen <i>Conditions du bail et autres observations</i>
		Wohnzimmer <i>Chambres de ménage</i>	Bodenfläche derselben in m ² <i>Superficie du plancher des chambres de ménage</i>	Höhe derselben in Meter <i>Hauteur des chambres de ménage</i>	Zahl der Schlafzimmer <i>Nombre des chambres à coucher</i>	Gesamtbodenfläche aller Schlafzimmer <i>Superficie totale des planchers de toutes les chambres à coucher</i>	Höhe der Schlafzimmer in Meter <i>Hauteur des chambres à coucher en m.</i>	Von allen Zimmern sind Kniestock- oder Mansardenzimmer <i>Nombre des mansardés et chambres d'entresol par logement</i>	Küche <i>Cuisine</i>			Abort <i>Latrines</i>		Keller <i>Cave</i>	Holzbehälter <i>Bûcher</i>	Garten- oder Ackerland zur Wohnung <i>Un jardin ou d'autres terres</i>	Gesamtzahl derselben <i>Nombre total d'iceux</i>	Davon sind Untermieter <i>Dont sous-locataires</i>	Davon sind Kost- oder Schlafgänger <i>Dont pensionnaires ou coucheurs</i>	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21

70 Fabrik-Wohnhäuser in der Schweiz, 1896, p. 5, questionnaire

71 Fabrik-Wohnhäuser in der Schweiz, 1896, p. 1, cover

72 Fabrik-Wohnhäuser in der Schweiz, 1896, p. 8, table

73 Fabrik-Wohnhäuser in der Schweiz, 1896, p. 7, table

71 Fabrik-Wohnhäuser in der Schweiz.

Nach den Erhebungen der eidgen. Fabrik-Inspektoren
bearbeitet von
Dr. F. Schuler, Inspektor,
Dr. H. Wegmann, Adjunkt, Ingenieur **W. Wilhelm**, Assistent.

Separatabdruck aus dem 2. Heft der „Zeitschrift für schweizerische Statistik“, Jahrgang 1896.

Bern.
Buchdruckerei Stämpfli & Cie.
1896.

Survey on Factory Owned Housing

The first survey on factory owned housing was done in 1898. It was a consequence of the first Swiss factory law that was established in 1877. This law stated that factory inspectors would be commissioned to regularly control the compliance of the factories with the law and to report their findings.

Soon after the introduction of the law, the question whether the inspectors had the right to have a look at the factory owned workers' houses arose. It seemed to have been a gray zone that was not specifically mentioned in the factory law.

The inspectors recognized the immense importance of the social, moral and hygienic conditions of the domestic spaces of the workers. They initiated a nationwide survey. Questionnaires were sent to every single factory in Switzerland, where they suspected any form of factory owned housing. Unfortunately, filling out and returning the questionnaire was voluntary. It was also a pity, that not the worker's themselves, but the factory owners filled out the form.

The survey provides interesting statistical information about the housing conditions of the time, but the most crucial finding is the fact that out of 94 factories in Glarus, only 14 even returned the questionnaire to the factory inspectors. This means, that even though the results of the survey are already alarming, it is not really representative of the gravity of the living conditions of the employees.

Industriegruppen	Land-, städtische oder Stadt- verhältnisse	Zahl der Häuser			Zahl der Be- wohner	Davon sind		
		mit				Total	Unter- mieter	Schlaf- und Kost- gänger
		1	2	mehr als 2				
		Wohnungen						
Baumwoll-Industrie	Land	149 25.1	144 24.2	301 50.7	594 100.0	10,587	79 0.7	728 6.5
	Städtisch	11 13.7	21 26.3	48 60.0	80 100.0	1,454	12 0.8	99 6.8
	Stadt	34 47.2	18 25.0	20 27.8	72 100.0	891	48 5.4	83 9.3
	Total	191 26.0	183 24.5	369 49.5	746 100.0	12,932	139 1.1	916 7.6
Stickerei	Land	2 3.8	26 49.0	25 47.2	53 100.0	737	—	42 5.7
	Städtisch	11 19.7	22 39.1	23 41.0	56 100.0	683	23 3.4	46 6.8
	Stadt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Total	13 12.0	48 44.0	48 44.0	109 100.0	1,420	23 1.6	88 6.2
Seiden-Industrie	Land	32 30.8	21 20.2	51 49.0	104 100.0	1,470	40 2.7	302 20.6
	Städtisch	1 6.6	3 20.0	11 73.4	15 100.0	388	—	41 11.3
	Stadt	2 3.0	33 50.0	31 47.0	66 100.0	912	—	57 6.2
	Total	35 18.9	57 30.8	93 50.3	185 100.0	2,770	40 1.4	403 14.6
Übrige Textil- und Bekleidungs-Industrie	Land	40 45.5	19 21.6	29 32.9	88 100.0	982	33 3.4	56 5.7
	Städtisch	—	7 100.0	—	7 100.0	63	—	1 1.6
	Stadt	4 40.0	2 20.0	4 40.0	10 100.0	158	—	9 5.7
	Total	44 41.9	28 26.7	33 31.4	105 100.0	1,203	33 2.7	66 5.5
Industrie der Lebens- und Genussmittel, che- mische Industrie, Papierfabrikation, Holz- bearbeitung	Land	17 15.8	30 27.5	62 56.9	109 100.0	1,850	54 2.9	76 4.1
	Städtisch	1 50.0	—	1 50.0	2 100.0	98	—	—
	Stadt	2 25.0	3 37.5	3 37.5	8 100.0	107	—	6 5.6
	Total	20 16.8	33 27.7	66 55.5	119 100.0	2,055	54 2.6	82 4.9
Metall-, Maschinen-Industrie, Uhren-Industrie und Bijouterie	Land	12 9.2	46 35.4	72 55.4	130 100.0	2,473	6 0.2	93 2.7
	Städtisch	37 39.0	30 31.6	28 29.4	95 100.0	1,108	1 0.1	72 6.5
	Stadt	48 66.7	19 26.4	5 6.9	72 100.0	622	—	14 7.1
	Total	97 32.7	95 32.0	105 35.3	297 100.0	4,203	7 0.2	209 4.9
Industrie der Erden und Steine, Glas etc.	Land	13 38.2	12 35.4	9 26.4	34 100.0	425	—	64 15.1
	Städtisch	2 66.7	1 33.3	—	3 100.0	29	—	6 20.7
	Stadt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Total	15 40.5	13 35.2	9 24.3	37 100.0	454	—	70 15.4
Schweiz (alle 3 Inspektionskreise)	Land	265 23.8	298 26.8	549 49.4	1112 100.0	18,524	212 1.1	1361 7.4
	Städtisch	63 24.4	84 32.5	111 43.1	258 100.0	3,823	36 0.9	268 7.0
	Stadt	90 39.5	75 32.9	63 27.6	228 100.0	2,690	48 1.8	199 7.4
	Total	418 26.2	457 28.6	723 45.2	1598 100.0	25,037	296 1.2	1823 7.8

Kantone	Zahl der Häuser				Zahl der Fabrik-etablis-se-mente	Zahl der Etablis-se-mente, deren Fragebogen beantwortet wurden	Zahl der Bewohner	Zahl der Fabrikarbeiter
	mit			Total				
	1	2	mehr als 2					
	Wohnungen							
I. Fabrikwohnhäuser.								
Zürich	170	129	219	518	750	90	7797	38,753
Bern	49	35	61	145	467	18	2248	18,975
Luzern	4	—	23	27	80	6	699	3,185
Uri	2	—	—	2	7	1	8	136
Schwyz	2	3	6	11	45	5	149	2,197
Obwalden	—	—	1	1	7	1	16	193
Nidwalden	2	2	—	4	13	1	46	296
Glarus	28	22	35	85	94	14	1604	10,051
Zug	7	18	47	72	26	6	1125	1,725
Freiburg	—	—	3	3	44	1	88	1,360
Solothurn	6	16	51	73	126	10	1593	9,838
Basel-Stadt	3	34	29	66	178	6	840	11,617
Basel-Land	9	14	2	25	57	2	235	3,773
Schaffhausen	11	7	9	27	68	5	438	2,923
Appenzell Ausser-Rhoden	1	4	5	10	234	2	191	4,441
Appenzell Inner-Rhoden	—	—	—	—	11	—	—	364
St. Gallen	41	119	116	276	843	45	3525	21,757
Graubünden	2	1	6	9	46	2	172	1,170
Aargau	23	11	39	73	345	17	1827	16,915
Thurgau	54	28	49	131	353	19	1704	9,467
Tessin	—	—	—	—	40	—	—	3,047
Waadt	—	4	6	10	227	3	232	6,935
Wallis	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	398
Neuenburg	4	10	16	30	135	3	493	4,447
Genf	—	—	—	—	186	—	—	4,068
Total	418 <i>26.2</i>	457 <i>28.5</i>	723 <i>45.3</i>	1598 <i>100.0</i>	4398 <i>100.0</i>	257 <i>5.85</i>	25,037 —	178,031 —
II. Bauvereine.								
Zürich	62	54	44	160	—	2	¹⁾ 461	—
Bern	52	14	6	72	—	2	—	—
Basel-Stadt	61	61	68	190	—	3	—	—
St. Gallen	—	—	6	6	—	1	101	—
Total	175 <i>40.9</i>	129 <i>30.3</i>	124 <i>28.9</i>	428 <i>100.0</i>	—	8 —	—	—
Total I und II	593 <i>29.3</i>	586 <i>28.9</i>	847 <i>41.8</i>	2026 <i>100.0</i>	—	265 —	—	—

¹⁾ Nur von der Gesellschaft Aussersihl.

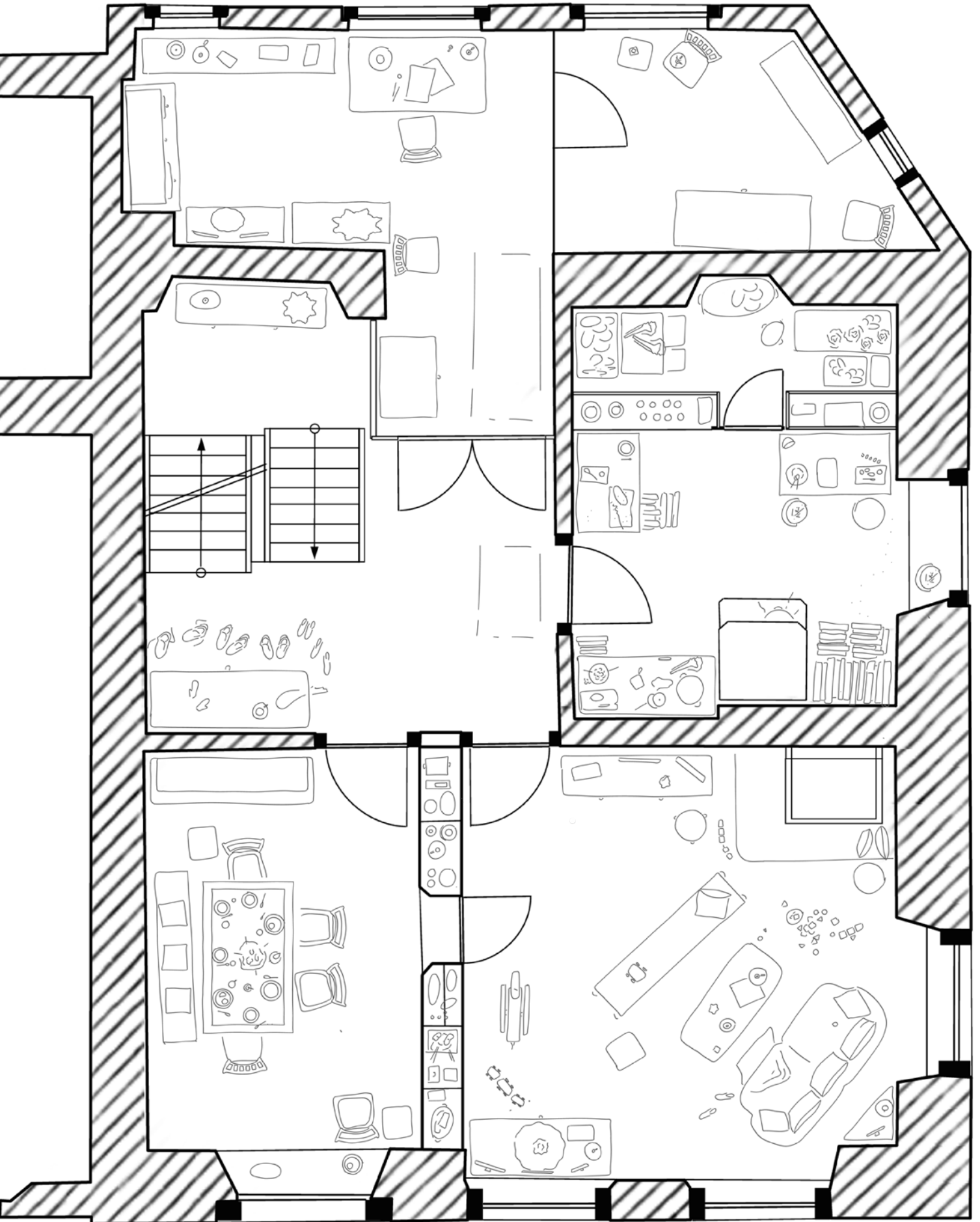


FREIHOF

Glerner
Bier 
FREIHOF

Woman standing on the sidewalk, wearing a dark coat and glasses.





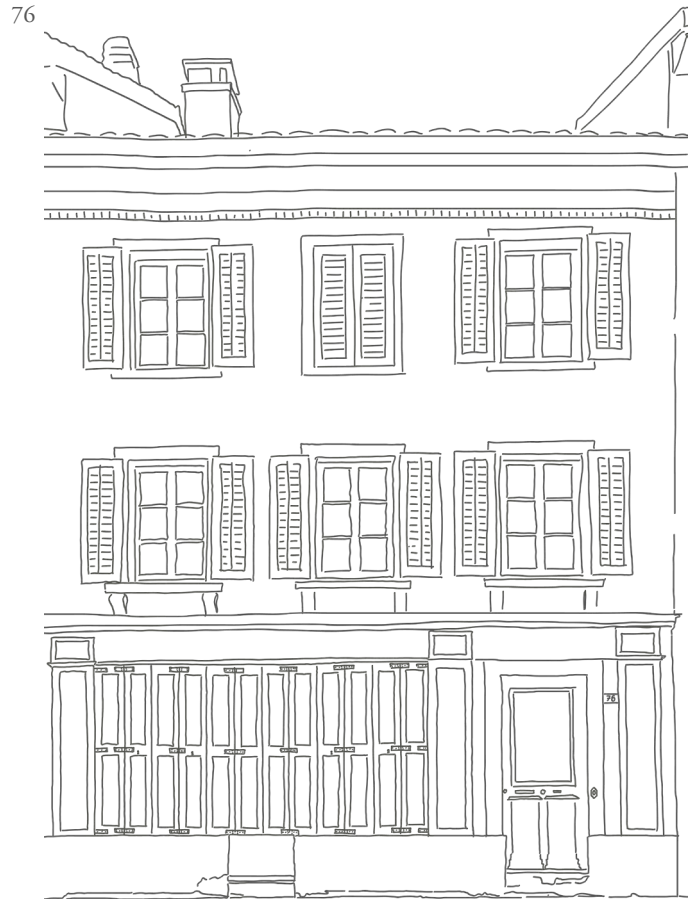
The Workers' Row Houses

This is the story of a family of six, who we will call the Stalder family, finding work in Ennenda's textile printing industry through an advertisement and renting a row house from their employer, thus being exposed to his power not just at work but also in their domestic life.

The Promise of a Nice Home with Garden

Rudolf Stalder, the father of the family, grew up in the city St. Gallen and had been working in the cotton industry there for some years. When he found an advertisement in the newspaper, looking for a large family to work in a the textile factory in Ennenda, that promised a nice cheap apartment with surrounding gardening land, he was keen. At this time in St. Gallen neither cheap apartments nor gardening land was available. So, in the year 1869 the family of six moved from St. Gallen to Ennenda and signed the employment contract as well as the rental agreement. At this point in time, the family was part of the 60 *Kantonsfremde*, people from outside the canton of Glarus, in Ennenda.

The family was given a spacious three-story house at *Kirchweg* for rent. This single-family home must have cost about 200 CHF a year. The rent of factory owned properties was substantially lower than free market rents at the time. Rudolf with his previous experience in textile printing was offered a salary of about 35 CHF a month. Although the salary was not fixed, but varied each month.



74 *Kirchweg*, Ennenda, view to south east, 1974

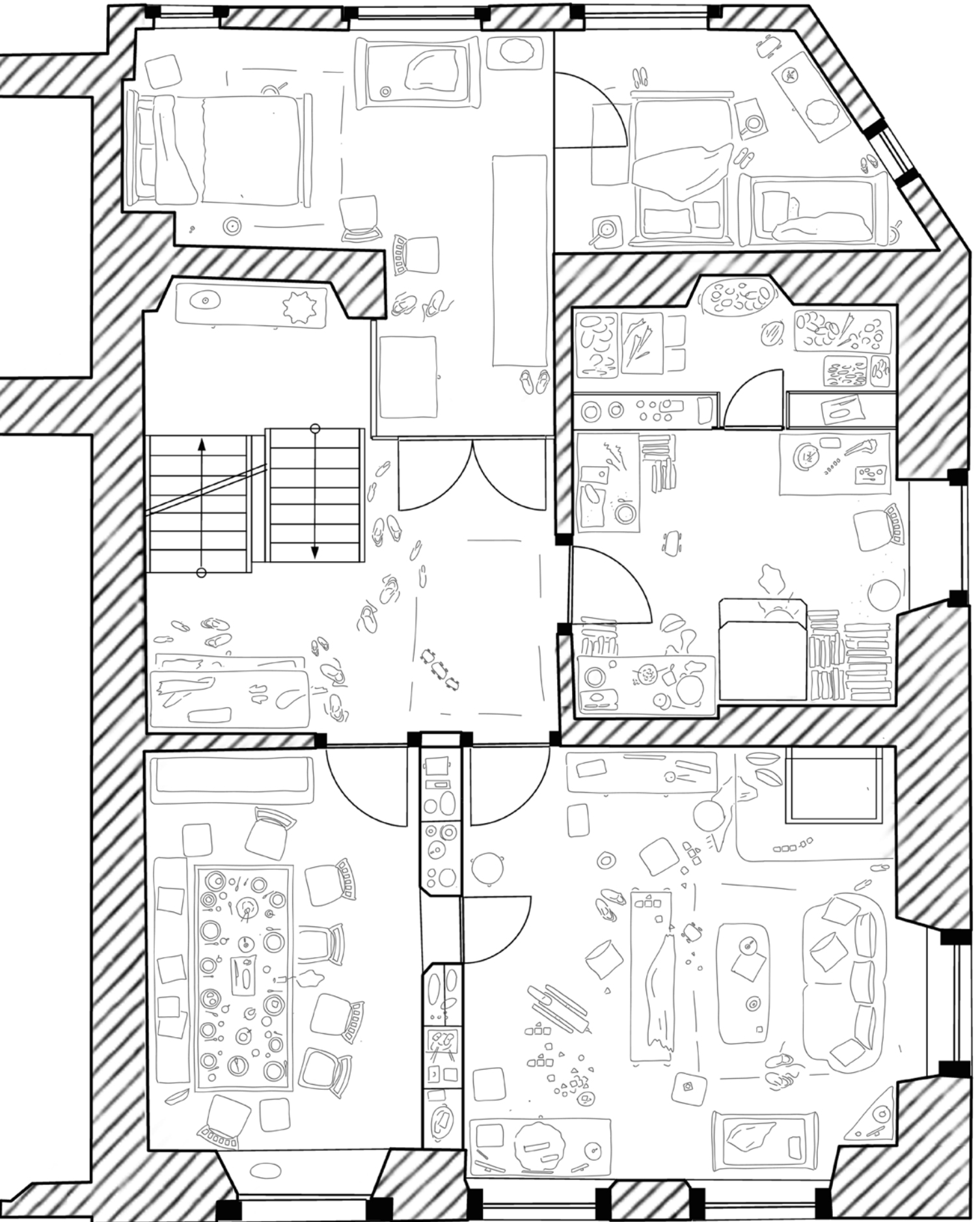
75 *Kirchweg 2*, Ennenda, inhabited by one family, assumptive drawing

76 *Kirchweg 76*, Ennenda, impression of the current use, 2024

77 *Arbeitsalltag und Betriebsleben*, 1982, p. 114, ad for a workers' family

77

Arbeiterssuch.
 Eine größere Arbeiterfamilie findet in einer Spinnerei lohnende Beschäftigung.
 Eine schöne und billige Wohnung nebst allfälligem Pflanzland kann gegeben werden. Zu erfragen bei der Expedition dieses Blattes. 2)



78 *Kirchweg 2*, Ennenda, inhabited two families and *Kostgänger*, assumptive drawing

79 Fabrik-Wohnhäuser in der Schweiz, 1989, family sizes, p. 29

80 Arbeitsalltag und Betriebsleben, 1982, monthly salaries, p. 104

A Working Family?

It was not unusual that employers searched for entire families to work in their textile factories, especially before the factory law of 1856 prohibited the employment of children under the age of twelve years old. The flourishing textile industry was in need of workforce. Consequently, large families were drawn to participate in the textile industry. In return, the family size in the textile industry was above average.

Termination of Employment = Termination of Lease

The dependency of the Stalder family on their employer and landlord came to light as they were informed that four *Kostgänger*, all unmarried young men, employed at the factory, would move into their house. According to their rental agreement their employer was allowed to do this if he thought that they had spare space in their home. The family had no say in it. Naturally, the *Kostgänger* were given the rooms with the worst conditions: A room in the attic that was not airtight or a space in the extension towards the northern side, far away from the stove, moist and moldy.

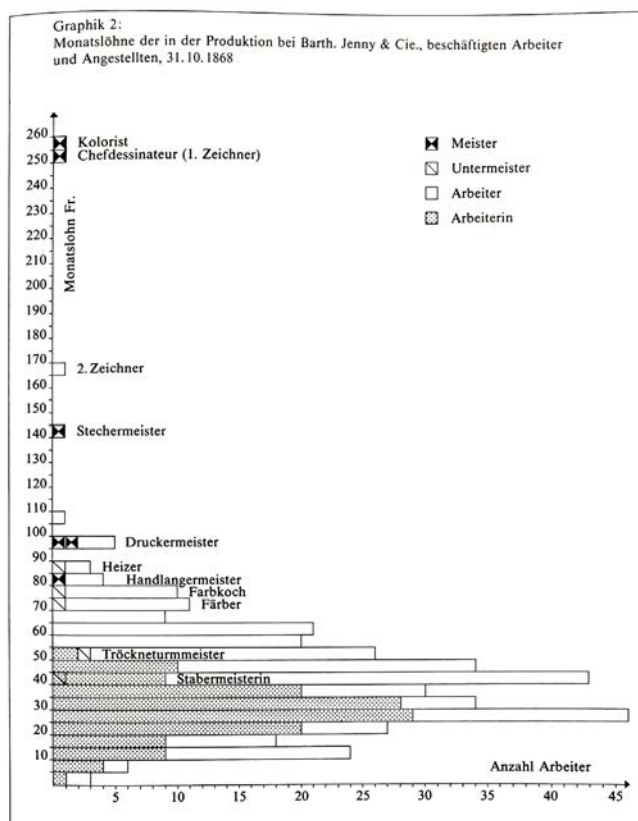
Furthermore, the employer expected at least half of the inhabitants of the house to work for his factory, otherwise a fine had to be paid or the contract would be terminated. As per the factory law of 1856, children under the age of twelve were prohibited to work in factories. However, starting from the age of twelve the four children were expected to work in textile printing, as *Handlanger* or *Streicher*. Later on, as the number of workers at the factory further grew, the landlord exercised his right to send a second worker's family to live in their home. After all, their home was one of the biggest houses at *Kirchweg*. From then on, the house was not inhabited by one family, but by four *Kostgänger*, a family of six and a family of five.

The dream of the Stalder family, to live in a calm single-family home in privacy with a pretty garden has definitely not been fulfilled. In 1906 textile printing in Ennenda was given up due to the decline in sales and economic crisis. The company switched to industrial spinning and weaving.

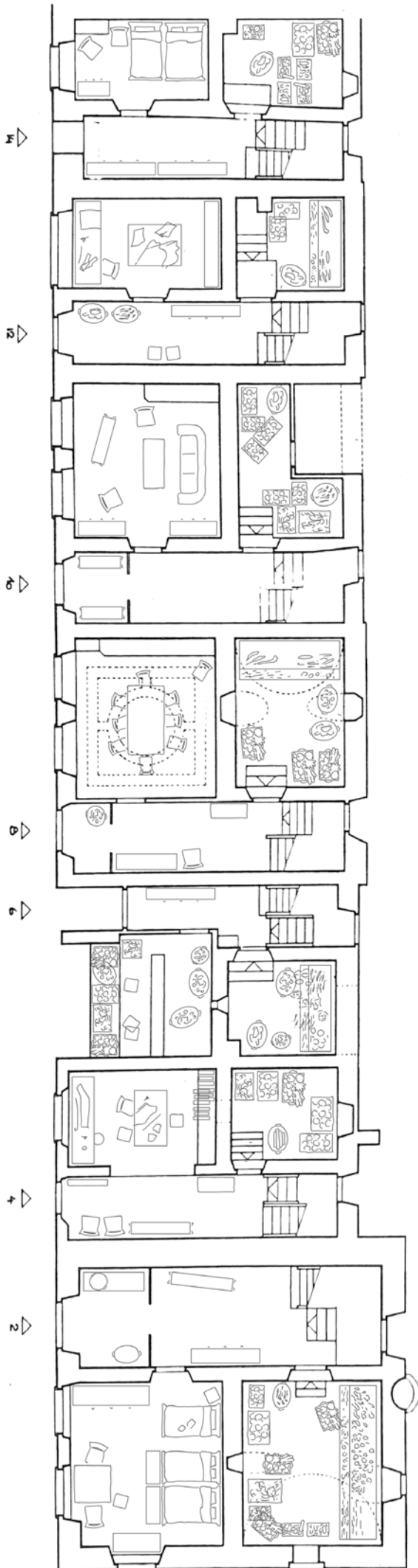
79

Familien von:	1—2 Personen.	3—5 Personen.	Über 5 Personen.
Baumwoll-Industrie . . .	15.1 0/0	46.7 0/0	38.2 0/0
Seiden-Industrie . . .	20.1 0/0	47.7 0/0	30.2 0/0
Stickerei	14.8 0/0	55.6 0/0	29.6 0/0
Übrige Textilindustrien	17.7 0/0	45.2 0/0	37.1 0/0
Metall-, Maschinen- und Uhren-Industrie . .	7.8 0/0	49.5 0/0	42.7 0/0
Verschiedene andere Industrien	9.2 0/0	47.7 0/0	43.1 0/0
Baugesellschaftswohnungen	23.4 0/0	52.1 0/0	24.5 0/0

80



GRUNDRISS EG



81 *Kirchweg* 2-14, circa 1835, assumptive drawing

82 Row of houses at *Kirchweg*, 1972

83 Aerial view of the entire *Kirchweg*, 1948

82



The Development of the Kirchweg Row Houses

The construction of the first houses at *Kirchweg* started in 1827, in the exact same year the brothers Trümpy founded a cotton printing factory in a distance of two minutes by foot. The company was taken over by Barth, Jenny & Cie. in 1830. A building boom in Ennenda followed, which lasted from 1830 until 1860.

At the time of the construction of the row houses at *Kirchweg*, each house was only two rooms deep. Some of the houses have been built by the factory owners, some by speculators from the construction industry and some by workers themselves. It is even recorded that some factory owners handed out loans to their workers for the construction of a house.

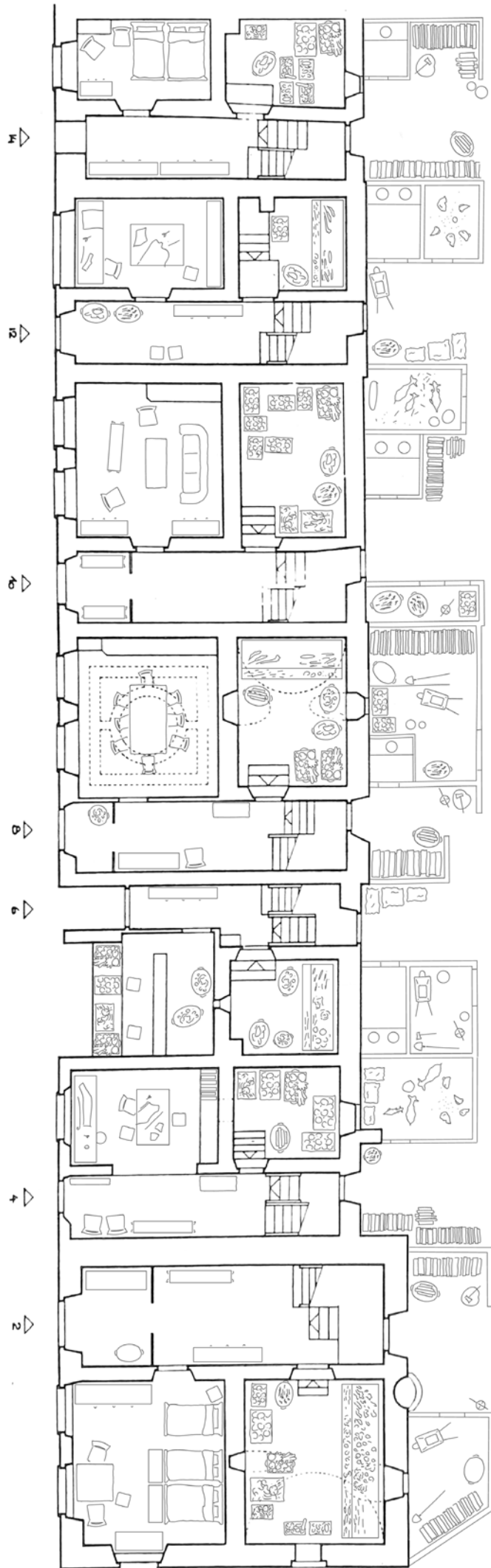
The row houses at *Kirchweg* have been adapted according to these changing needs over time. Whether these were the needs of the inhabitants, or the needs of the owners is unclear. The construction at *Kirchweg* started in 1827 and it was almost the earliest of its type in the canton of Glarus. The very first row of houses is also in Ennenda, at the *Mühlestrasse*. Their construction began even before the turn of the century. The *Mühlestrasse* row of houses is shorter than the row at *Kirchweg* and consists of 23 properties. Both *Kirchweg* and *Mühlestrasse* are in the immediate vicinity of the Barth, Jenny & Cie. textile factory.

The row of houses at *Kirchweg* is divided into three sectors and it seems that the eastern sector, numbers 2-14, was the first one to be built. The structure of all houses is generally the same. The house can be entered on the ground floor level through a corridor that leads to a stairway. There is also an entrance door from the back, which is three or four steps elevated in comparison to the main entrance. On the ground floor each house has a cellar towards north, which our family used to store fruit and vegetables. On the southern side the houses have one room, which could be used as a workshop, small store, bedroom or additional living room. On the first floor each house has a kitchen and living room with a stove. The best chambers were directly above the stove in the third floor. Each house is two or three window axes wide. The houses of the first section, *Kirchweg* 2-18, have the most expressive facade design with cross gables.

83



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- 84 *Kirchweg 2-14*, circa 1850, assumptive drawing
- 85 *Hinterer Kirchweg*, 2010
- 86 *Kirchweg 4*, 1920

Room for Adaptation

Soon after the completion of the row houses, extensions were added to the northern side, in the direction of the garden lots. These were simple wooden structures like sheds to store wood, tools for gardening, or even enclosures for chickens or goats. The cultivation of the garden was crucial for the worker's families, as it still allowed them to have a small degree of self-sufficiency and more diversity in their diet. Furthermore, the extended rooms were also used as toilets, a product of the advancing housing technology.

While the southern front facade of the row of houses remained linear and regular, the northern back facade started to become chaotic, irregular and an expression of the individual needs of the inhabitants or owners.

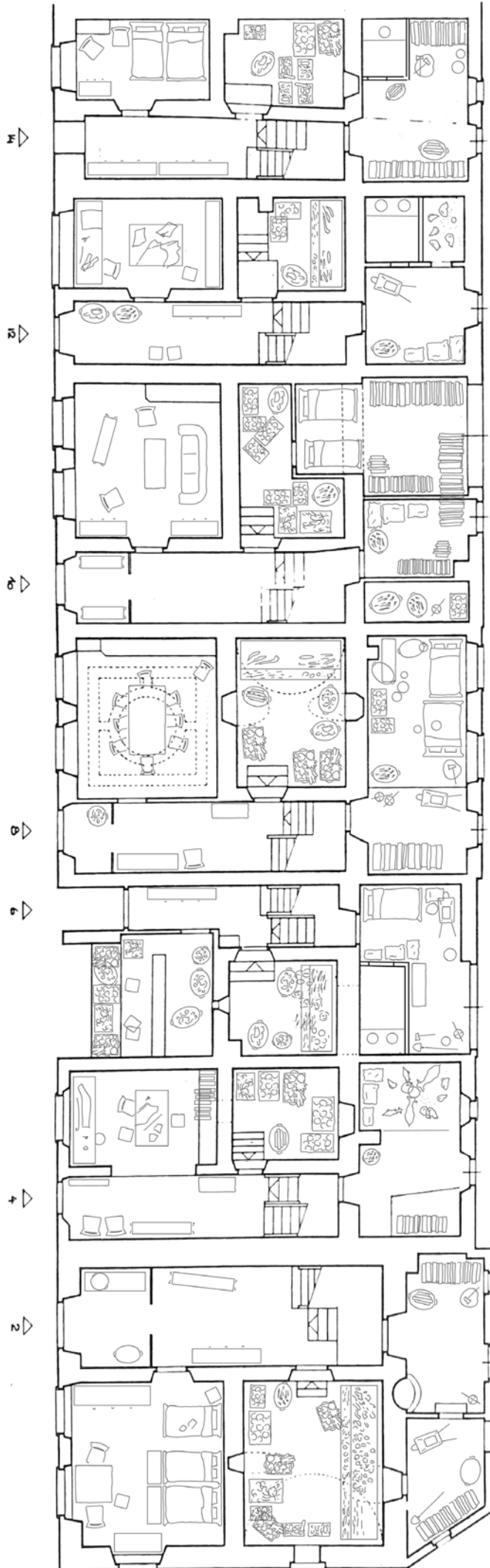
86



85



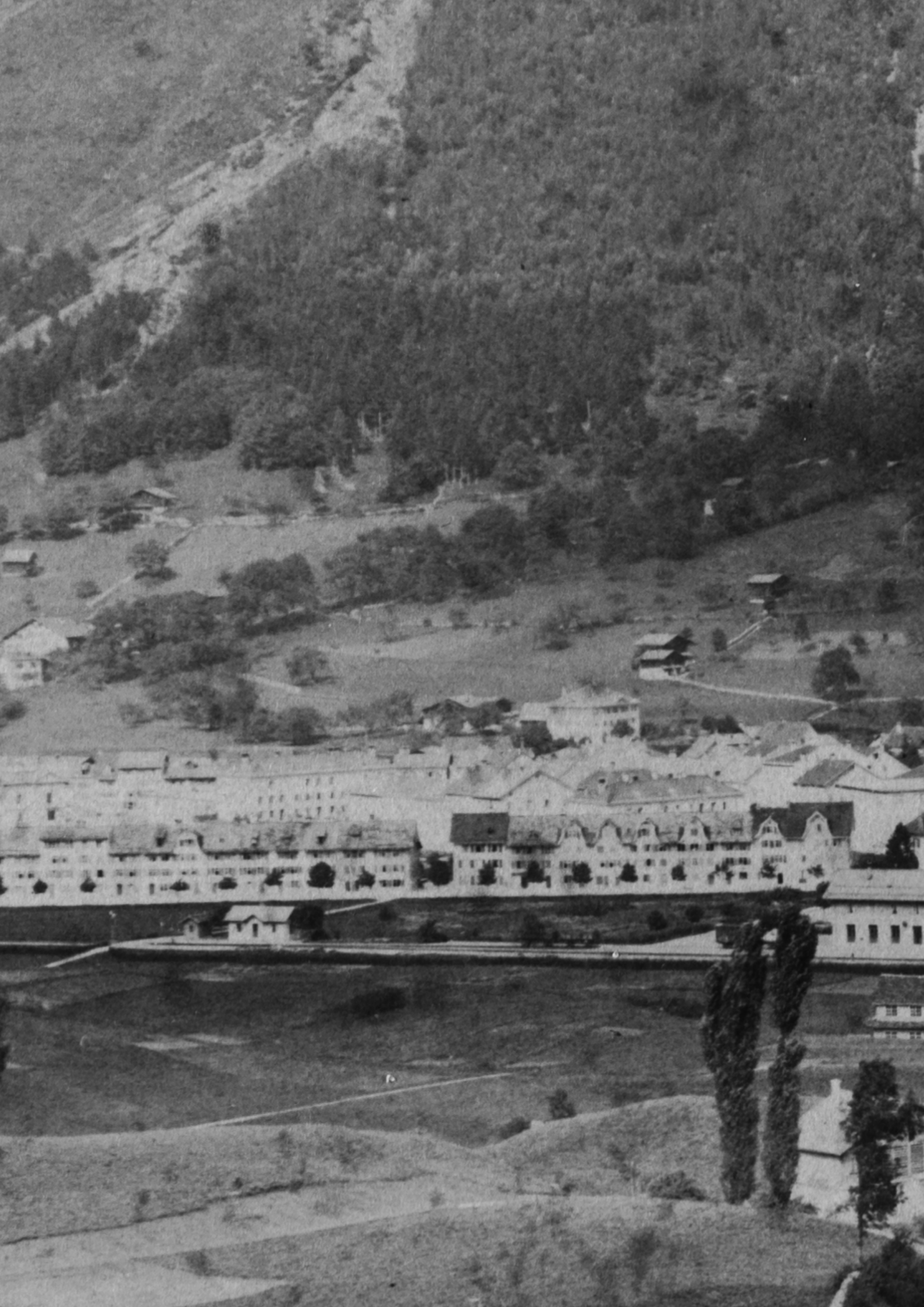
GRUNDRISS EG











STUDIENWOCHE TWI 2B6
 23./28. Juni '80 WYLER
 ENNENDA / GLARUS

SEITE
HAUPTGASSE

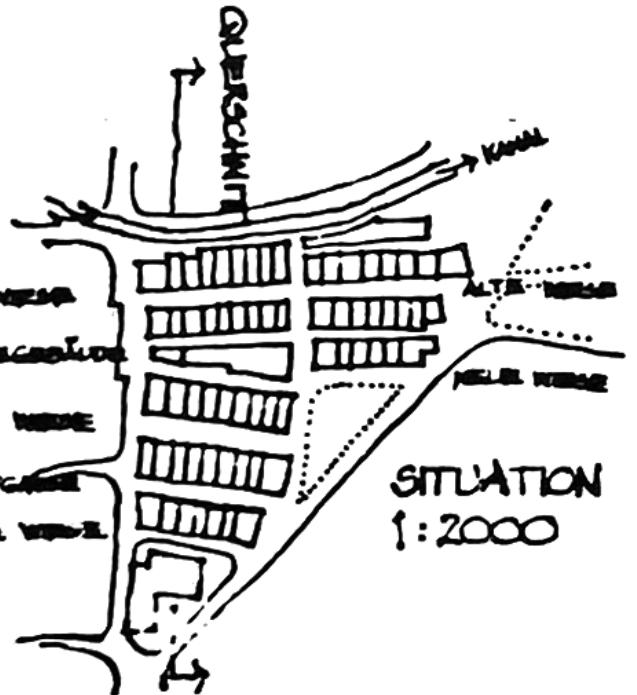
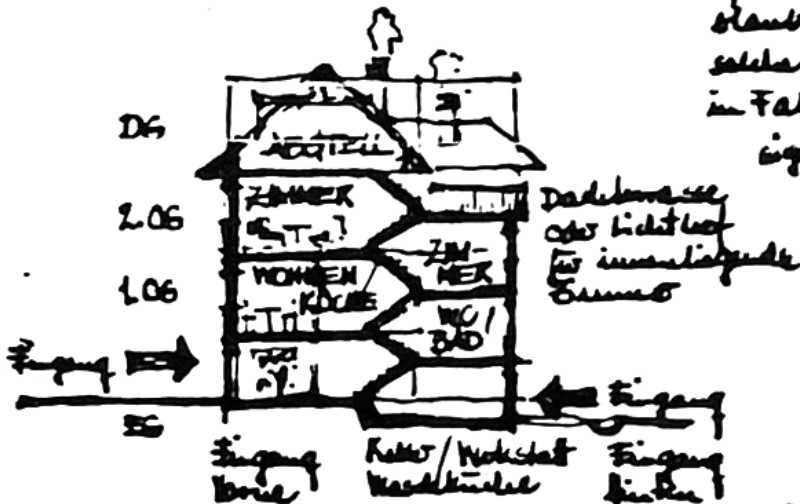
WOHNHAUS

SEITE
INTERIORGASSE

um 19 besteht im Ennenda
 in der Nähe eine Arbeitersiedlung
 mit Zeilenfamilienhäusern.
 Die Häuser besitzen eine sehr gelassene
 und intelligente Vorderfassade, die auf
 eine "Hauptgasse" hin ausgeht und
 auch Repräsentationsräume dienen,
 und sind sehr zolltiefen, offenen,
 verwinkelten Rückfassaden, welche
 sich der "Hinterhofgasse" zuwenden.

das ist eine sehr reizvolle Wohn-
 Form, die auch durch ihre recht-
 winkliger Anordnung des Strassen-
 systems eine gute Anbindung
 erlaubt.

solche Arbeitersiedlungen entstanden
 in Fabriknähe oder sogar auf einer
 eigenen Insel des Firmengeländes.



HAUSTYP

Querschnitt
 linke Seite: Treppe, rechts
 angeordnet: Treppe ca. 1.5m

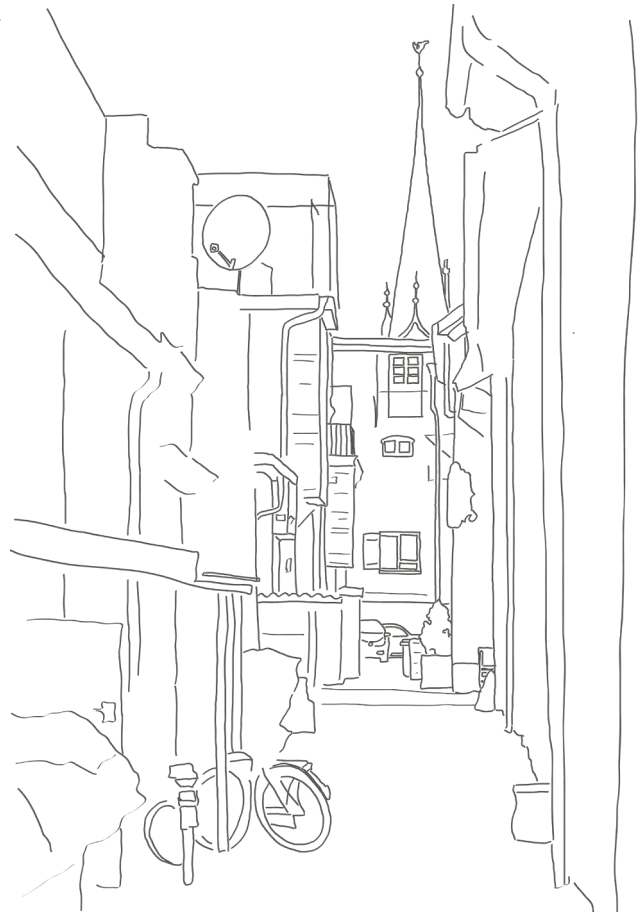
- 91 *Wiese*, sketches, 1980
- 92 Impression of the current use of the *Wiese*, 2024
- 93 Dorfbach im *Wiese* Quartier, 1974
- 94 *Wiese* neighborhood, 1883
- 95 Section through the *Wiese*, 1980

A Dense Row House Neighborhood

The *Kirchweg* row houses are just one example of this typology in Ennenda. The *Wiese* neighborhood with its 69 houses is another example that was built around the same time. The *Wiese* is much denser than the *Kirchweg*. It consists of six rows of houses that stand back-to-back, resulting in a big contrast between the front- and backside alley. In comparison to the *Kirchweg*, the *Wiese* houses are less representative and simpler in construction. Like the *Kirchweg* homes, these also have three stories of living space. A similar phenomenon can be observed: Many of the rooms on the ground floor are unused and shut off with blinds.

Today, out of the 69 houses at the *Wiese* 44% are rented out whilst 56% are inhabited by the owners directly. About 10% of the houses are owned by real estate funds that are in the names of former factory owner families of Ennenda.

92



93







STRASSE

FABRIKANAL

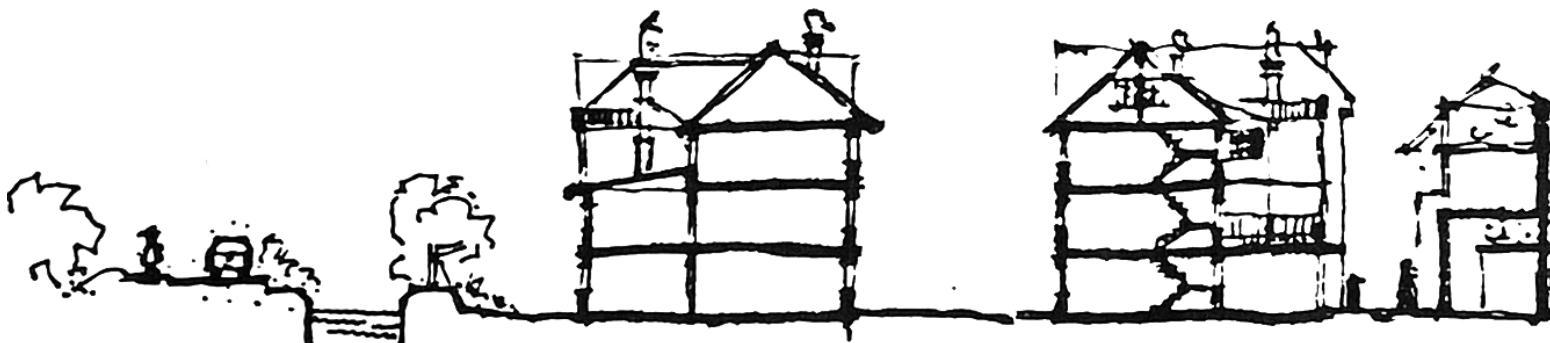
HINTERHOF

WOHNHAUS

HAUPTGASSE

WOHNHAUS

KLEINTIERSTÄLLE
ÖKONOMIE



der Fabrikkanal

Energiehaushalt:
Antrieb für sämtliche Maschinen, mittels
Wasserräder und Transmissionen, später
Turbinen und Elektrifizierung.

QUERSCHNITT

durch das Querhaus, in der Höhe
im Erdgeschoss / 1. Etage
industriell-schickler
Anbauverbindung

Die der Hauptgasse zu-
gewandte Vorderfassade
hat repräsentive Charakter:
große, gleichmäßig an-
geordnete Fenster, die Ein-
gangstür, gleiche Trauf-
höhe, sorgfältig und
fertig verputzte Fassade,
die Vorderhäuser stehen
in der gleichen Richtung.
städtischer Charakter

die Fabrik
führt oft in
Ecken und
in Höfen,
Gassen und
zum Teil sind
diese Selbst-
entworfene
bauten die
anderer nach
anderen F
zu einer An

WONNUNG
LAGERSCHUPPEN

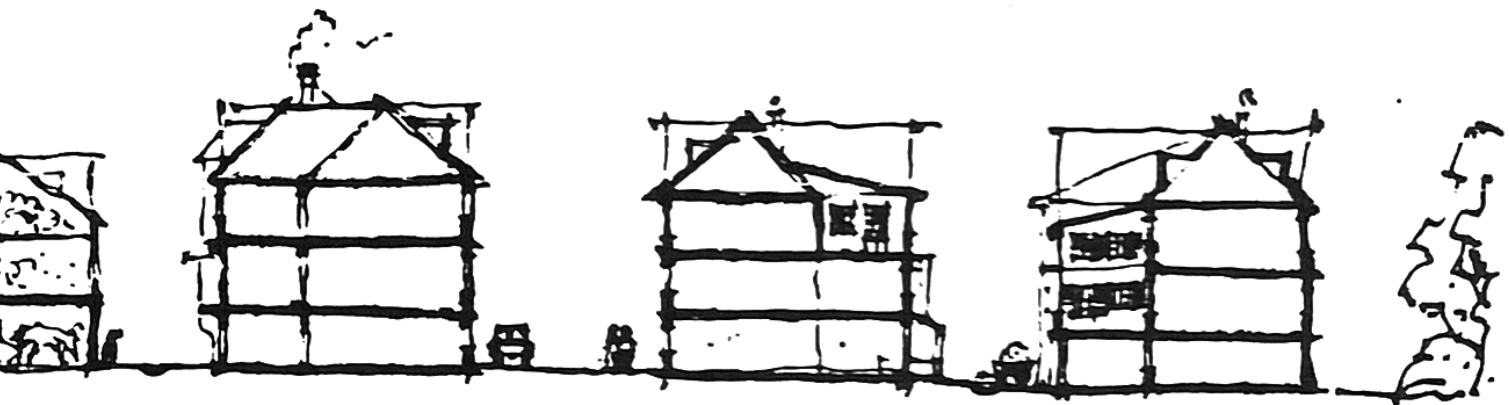
WOHNHAUS

HAUPTGASSE

WOHNHAUS

INTERNOFGASSE

WOHNHAUS



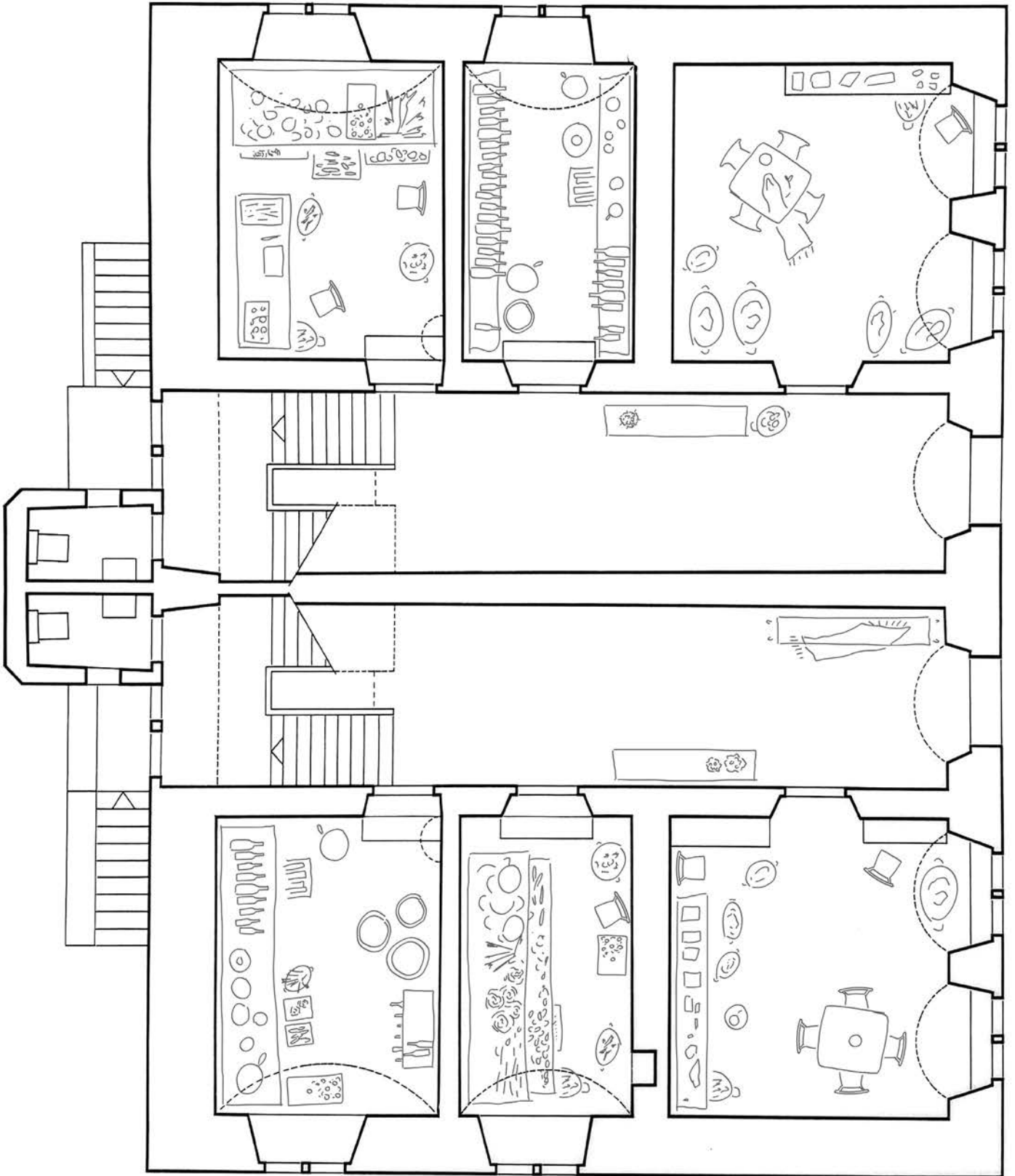
die kleinen Äquien
/ oder einige Kleinlöcher
Säulen, Kaminchen,
kommen sich dadurch
für sorgen.
Forschung Bildung sich
elektronisch wird; man
an Familienfamilientönen
Reihenkleinchen, in
ist als Hinterhofgebäude
Lichtverteilung

die Hauptgassen sind
höher als die Hinterhöfe,
sie wirken jedoch hoch und
imposant, sehr sauber
zwei, aber auch irgendwie
deutlich, vor allem im Gegen-
satz zu den hohen zur
sammengesetzt wirkenden
Hinterhöfen. Eine kleine
Frau hat mir erklärt, dass
viele Leute für den Arbeits-
gebrauch den Hinterhof vorziehen.

Die Hinterhoffassaden sind sehr zurückhaltend
und ein funktionalistisches Gebilde; es
innerliegende Fenster bedeckt werden müssen,
wenn Lichtschatteneffekte Anspornungen
freigeben. Dachabwasserleitungen werden
offen und verlaufen zum Erdboden geführt,
es kommen die verschiedenen Fassaden-
kleidungen zur Anwendung: Holz-
schalungen, Kork, Fibritverkleidungen.
In der Mitte der Gasse führt eine offene, ge-
plätschende Rinne des anfallenden Wassers weg.
Die Hinterhöfe sind sehr lebendig und
stellen eine positive Akzeptanz aus.







The Bourgeois Houses

This is the story of the young girl, pictured on the previous page in a postcard from 1913, growing up in the double family home *Sunnezyt* in Ennenda. The girl was most likely part of the Jenny family. Her first name is unknown, so I will call her Bertha.

Born into a Family of Merchants and Manufacturers

Bertha's ancestors were one of the earliest families in Glarus who founded their own companies to produce and trade textiles, whilst the earlier merchants of the 16th and 17th century were mainly wealthy tradesmen from Zürich and St. Gallen. One of these early trading companies from Glarus was the so called *Wienerhandlung* by Jenny-Aebli & Cie. The *Wienerhandlung* was an internationally active cotton trading company that later had their headquarter in Brussels.

The double family home *Sunnezyt* was built in 1781 by Balthasar and Rudolf Aebli, the two sons of the founder of the *Wienerhandlung*. The ownership of the house has changed multiple times but has been in the hands of the Jenny family since about 1910. Three years later, the photograph of Bertha in front of the house was taken.

Brüderlich Teilen - Sharing like Brothers

As the house was initially built for the two brothers, it was symmetrically split in two parts, one for each of the brothers' families, with two identical and very spacious corridors and staircases directly next to each other. The ground floor was probably mostly used by the maids and for storage. In the upper floors there was a kitchen, living room and a chamber in each half. The extreme generosity of the house can be read by the number of stoves: There are six stoves on the main living floor, some even in the chambers - one of the biggest signs of prosperity at the time.

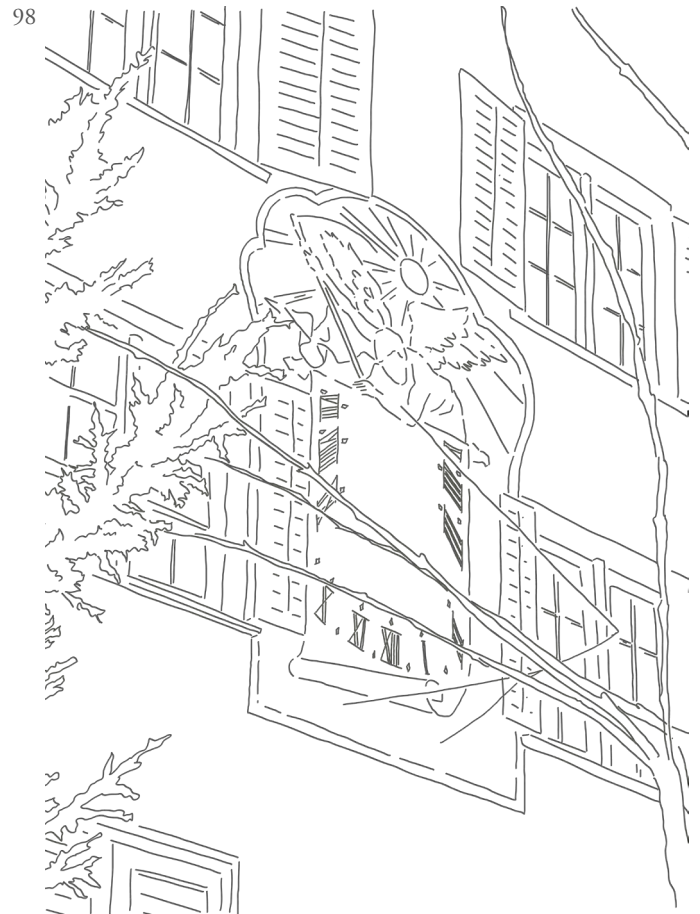
The house got its name from the sun dial that is placed on the southern facade, between the second and third floor. The interior of the house is characterized by the generously wide corridors and staircases. Walnut wood cabinets stand in the living rooms. The tiles of the stoves, which are imported from Stäfa, are decorated with paintings of landscapes. The third floor houses the large hall with stucco decorations on the ceiling and a drawing room with oil paintings in the style of Louis XIV. The houses expresses its own lavishness primarily on the inside, while remaining relatively sober on the outside.

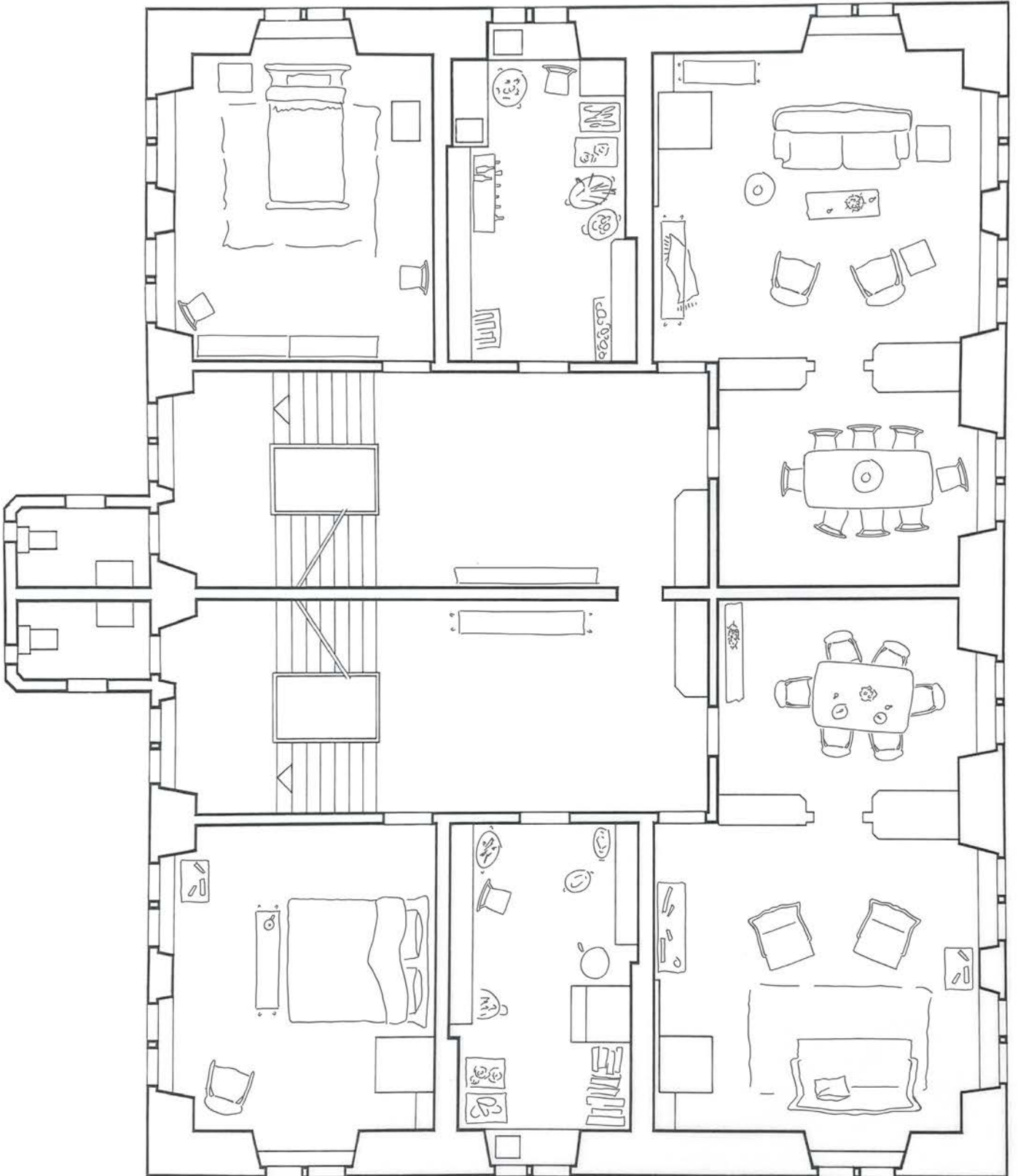
96 Postcard, girl in front of *Sunnezyt*, 1913

97 *Sunnezyt*, ground floor, assumptive drawing

98 Impression of the current state of the *Sunnezyt*, with sun dial, 2024

99 Inhabitants at *Sunnezyt*, 1913





I would love to tell you the story of Bertha, the girl in the photo. Unfortunately, it is very challenging to find information on girls and women that were in a similar position to Bertha. Often their names are omitted in family trees. During her lifetime there were already address books of Ennenda. However, one of the few ways a woman's name would make it in there is if her husband had passed away. This issue does not only apply to women in bourgeois families like Bertha, but women of all social classes.

Ruth Kobelt-Jenny

One story of a woman I can tell is the one of Ruth Kobelt-Jenny. Ruth was born in 1944, into the same family just about 38 years later than the girl in the photo who we call Bertha. Today she still lives in the *Sunnezyt*, which had already belonged to her grandparents. She lives in the top floor, whilst the rest of the house is rented, and makes sure that there's always enough room and toys for when the grandchildren visit. She married young and had her first child before she had finished her education. She made a career out of being a musician, singer and cabaret artist, next to being a mother and housewife. She loves to perform for small groups of people. She feels most comfortable if the audience is so small, that not even a microphone is required.

Marriage as a Corporate Concept

For many of the textile manufacturer's families at the time business relations and personal relations intertwined. Often times marriages were entered in order to strengthen a business relation. This was not the case for Ruth's parents. Her mother grew up in Winterthur in a family of confectioners and moved to Ennenda for her husband.

Ruth herself grew up in Ennenda and moved into the *Sunnezyt* only after she and her husband lived in Geneva for three years, where he worked as an orchestra musician. After they returned, her husband finished a second degree as operations manager and worked in the Jenny family textile business from then on.

The Family Legacy

After the Jenny textile factory in Ennenda was closed in 1975, her father established the company archive. She often helped him organize guided tours. She does feel a sense of duty to continue the family legacy but does not see herself fit to take on the responsibility of running the archive herself. Her sons have stepped up to help and one of her cousins is writing down the family history.



102



103



100 *Sunnezyt*, first floor, assumptive drawing

101 Ruth Kobelt, 2006

102 *Haus Brunner*, living room, 1975

103 *Sunnezyt*, 1977

104 *Sunnezyt*, design for the garden gate, 1926

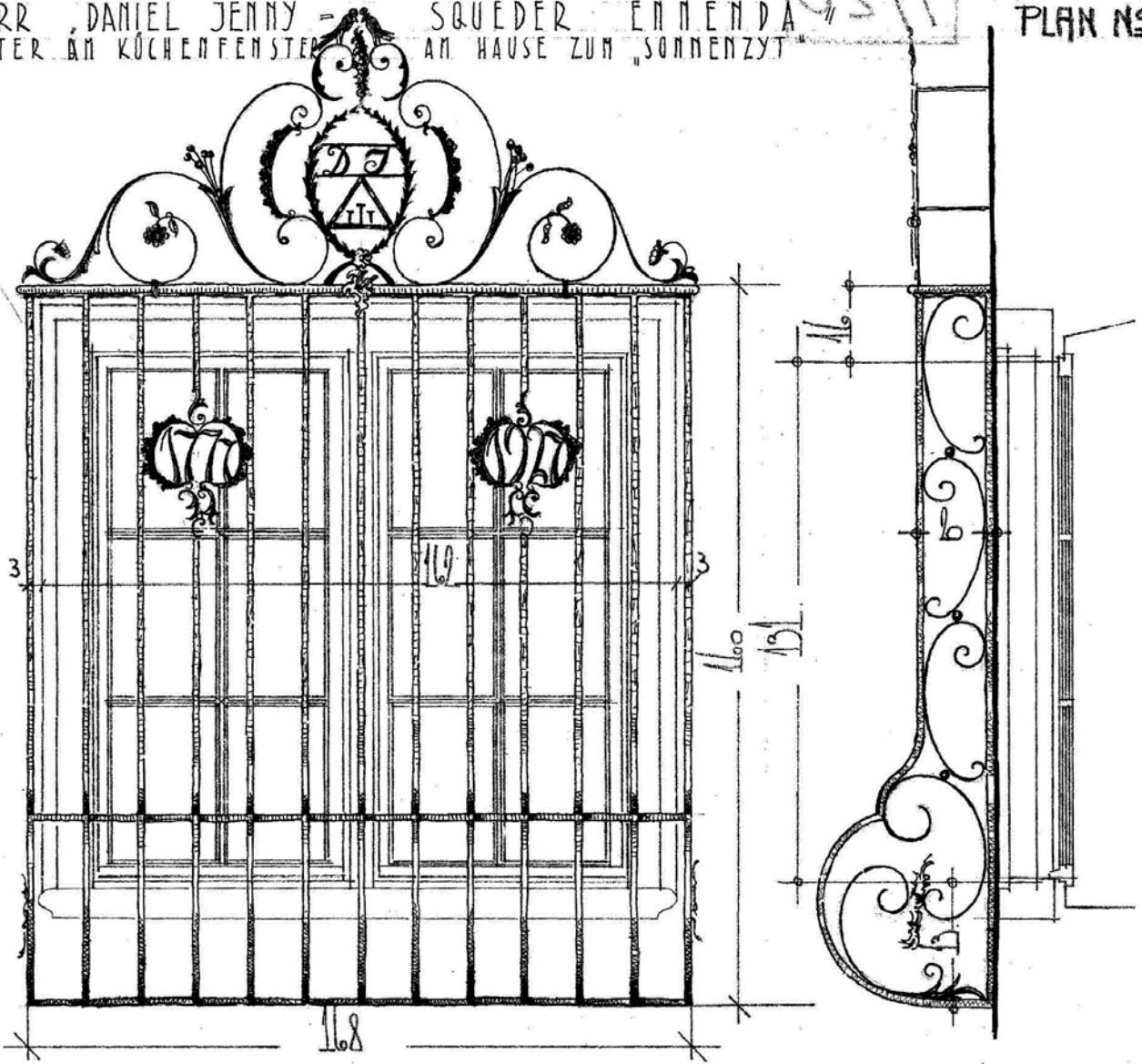
105 *Sunnezyt*, design for the garden gate, 1926

31135

0517

HERR DANIEL JENNY - SQUEDER ENNENDA
GITTER AN KÜCHENFENSTER AN HAUSE ZUM „SONNENZYT“

PLAN №7/20



MASS 1/10.

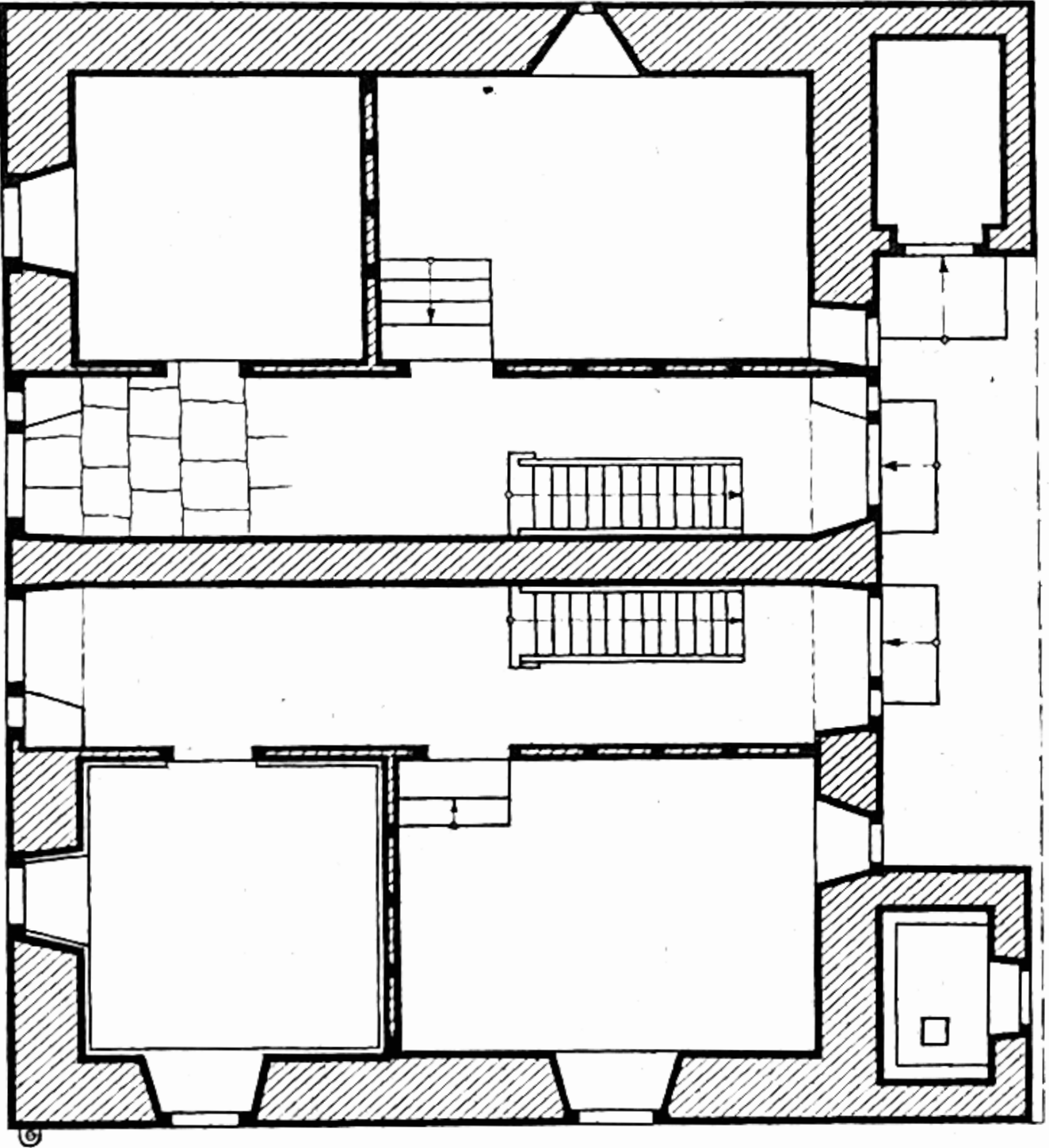
KLARUS, DEN 8. SEPT. 1926. H. LEVZINGER, ARCHITEKT, B.S.A.

MAP. 1. 7 (3) 10/9



4
25/15

MAPL 1-7(5) 10/14



- 106 *Köblhof*, ground floor
- 107 *Köblhof*, Ennenda
- 108 *Köblhof*, ornament on purlins
- 109 *Köblhof*, purlins
- 110 *Köblhof*, first floor
- 111 Choir Stiftskirche Kloster Säckinggen

Another Kind of Bourgeois Home

Another house in Ennenda that would fall into the category of bourgeois houses is the *Köblhof*. The three-story high double family home wears the nickname *Klösterli*, meaning small cloister. The name must somehow date back to the rule of the cloister Säckinggen. It is possible that levies for the abbess in Säckinggen were stored in the cellar of the house.

According to an inscription on a purling of the roof, the house was built in 1700. The layout of the house with its two symmetrical halves is typical for the bourgeois double family homes of the time. It is a rather early example though. Concerning its size, it is a lot smaller than many of the later bourgeois houses, like the *Sunnezyt*.

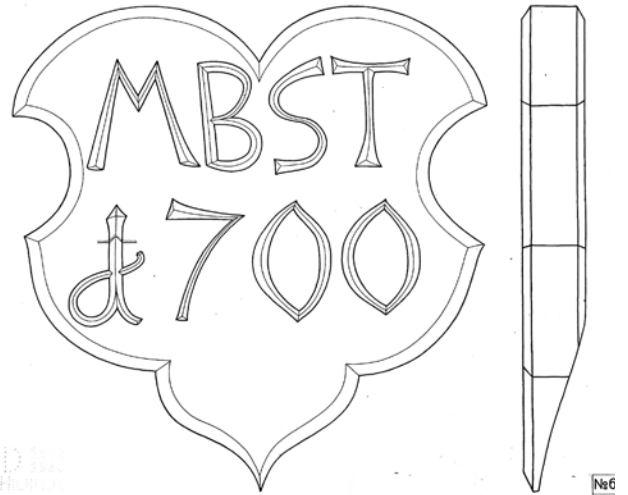
The power of Merchants and the Power of the Church

This house, unlike other bourgeois homes in Ennenda, is not only linked to aspiring manufacturer's and merchant's families, who built their luxurious homes as an attempt to consolidate their new role as the ruling elite in the 18th century. It is also linked to the power of the church, represented through the cloister.

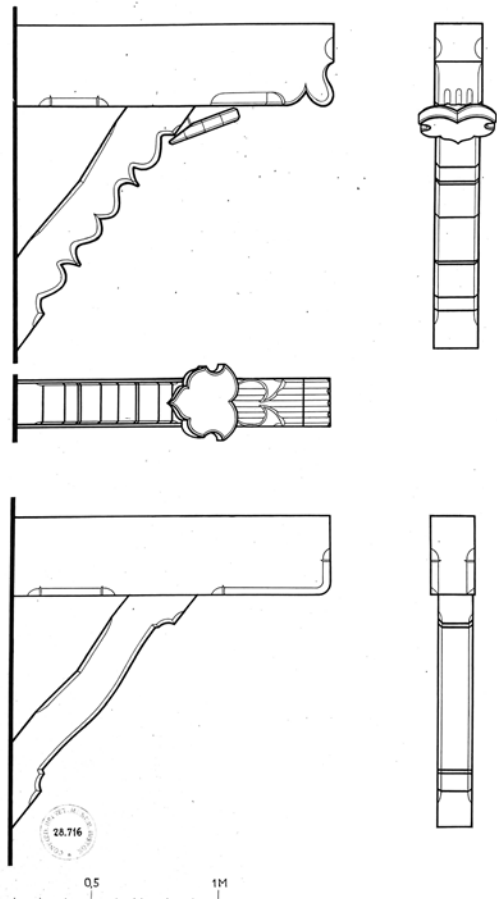
The people of Glarus bought themselves free from the women's cloister Säckinggen in 1395. Still, they had to pay a yearly tax until their overturn in the end of the 18th century. In 1530 most of the inhabitants of Glarus had already adopted the confession of the reformed church.

To this day the *Köblhof*, with its lavish decorations and its opulent wooden ornaments is a reminder of the long lasting power the catholic church has had over the region and the people of Glarus.

108

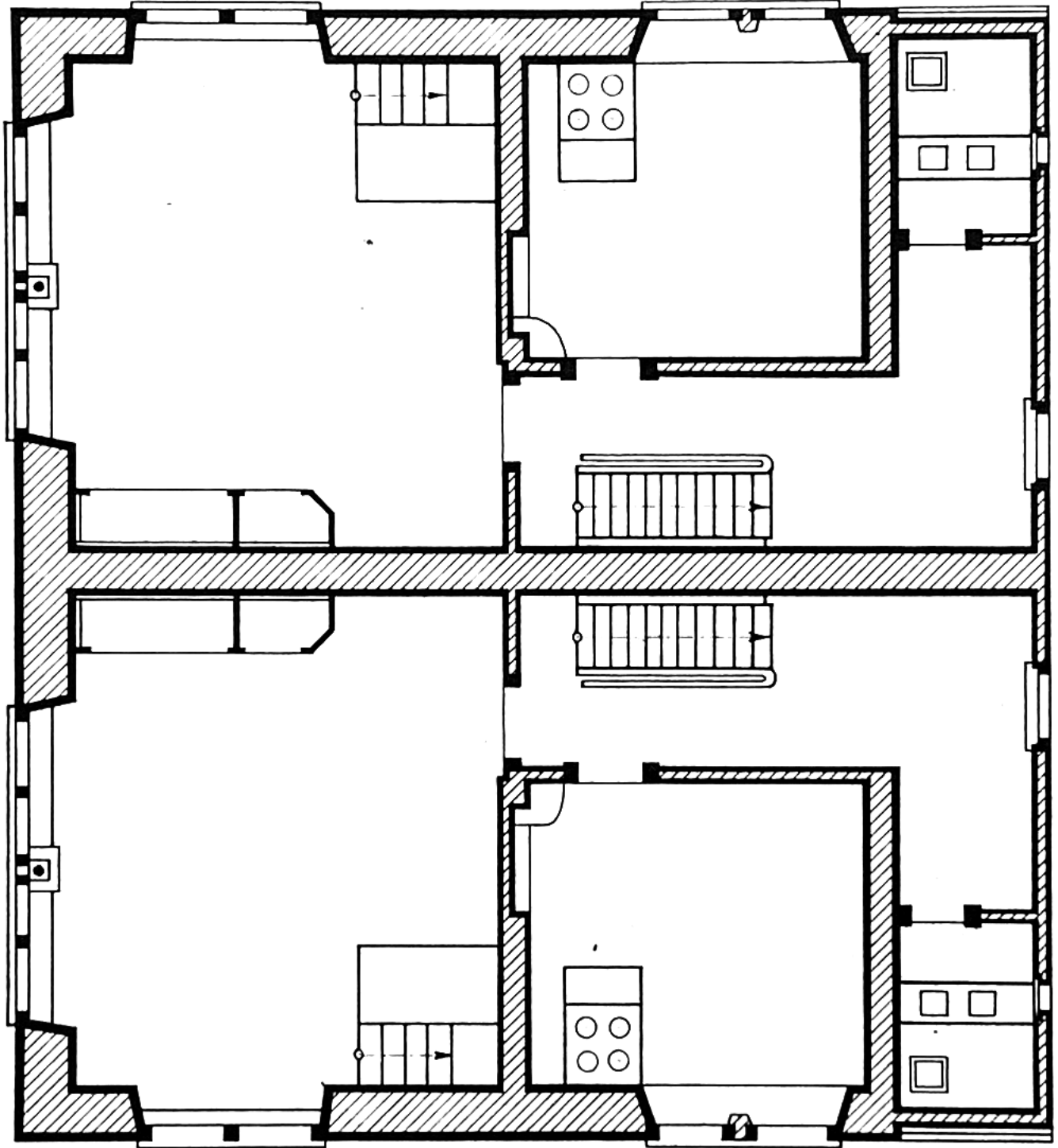


109

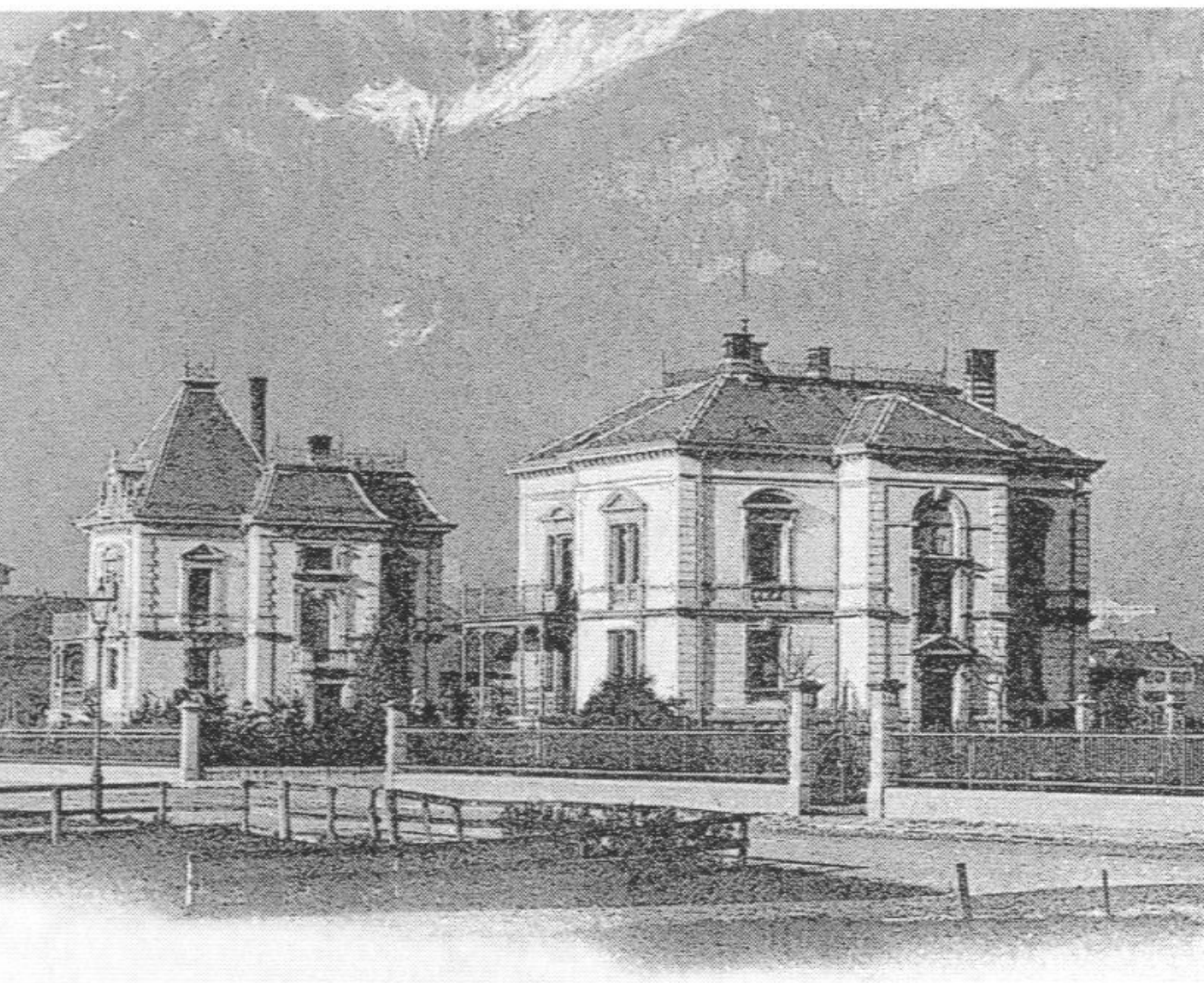


107

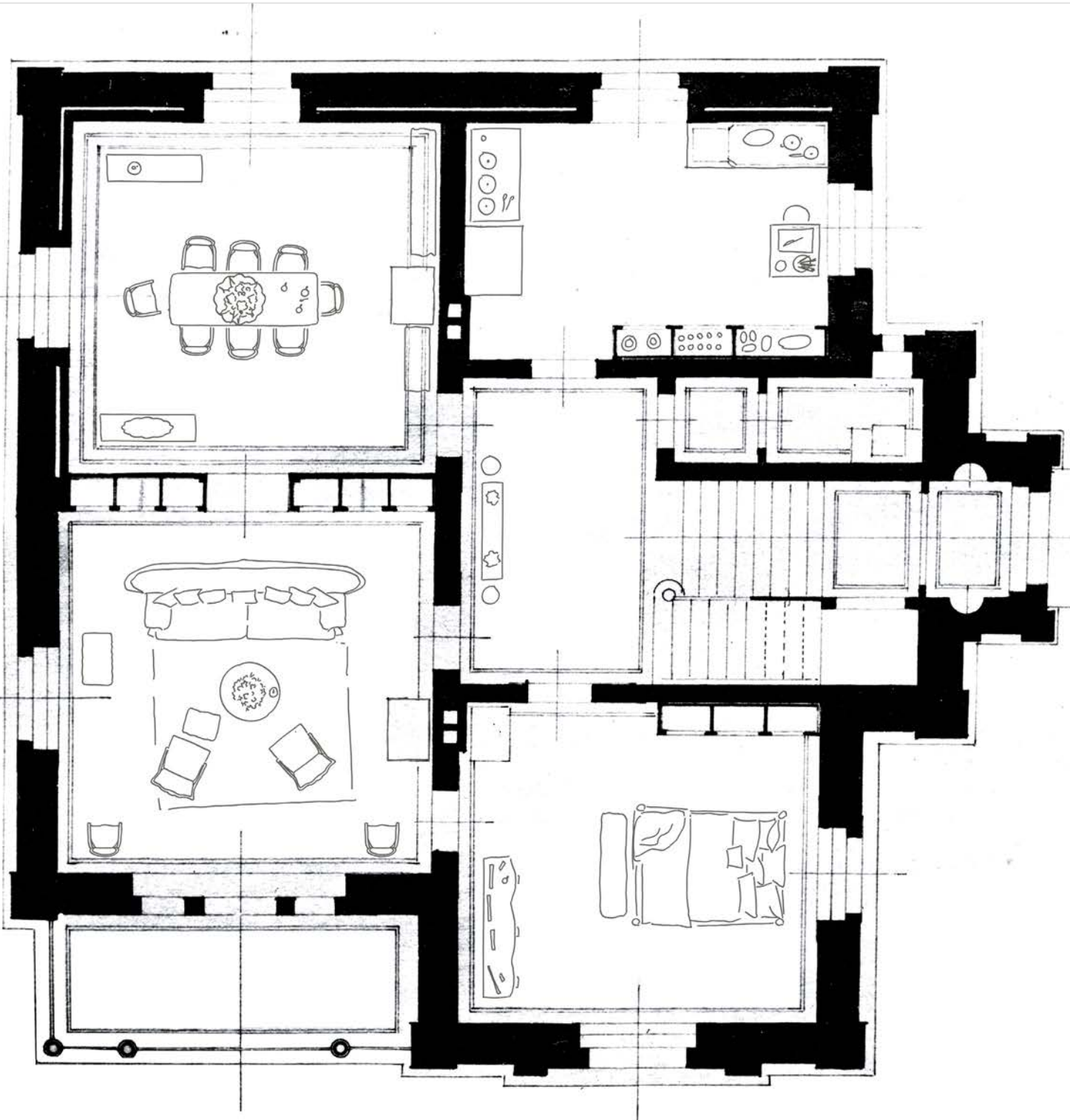












The Factory Owner's Villas

The Villastrasse, the most prominent neighborhood in Ennenda, consists of just three houses. All three of them were built between 1888 and 1890 by the architects Jakob Kehrer and Karl Knell from Zürich. The owners were Bartholome Jenny-Trümpy (*Villa Wartegg*), Adolf Jenny-Trümpy (*Villa Fontana*) and Rudolf Freuler (*Villa Freuler*). The impressively big *Gemeindehaus* was also built by Kehrer and Knell around the same time. The three villas with their surrounding gardens claim more terrain than all the 23 workers' row houses at *Mühlestrasse* together.

114

A Villa within Certain Distance to the Factory

The *Villa Wartegg* is just one of the many buildings in Ennenda that was owned and inhabited by members of the Jenny family. Like many other factory owners, they used the architecture of their house as a way to express their status. The size, type, placement and style of the houses that were used for this undertaking have greatly varied over time.

After the founding of the textile companies, many owners built a large stately house directly on the production site. These were usually single or double family homes. It allowed them to overview all action in the factory at all times. Starting from 1850 a new trend appeared: Many factory owners had a new home built in a certain distance to the factory. These villas were built in a neo-renaissance style. All three villas at *Kirchweg* fall into this category. All three are symbols of success, status and power that clearly distance their owners from regular settlements in the surrounding.

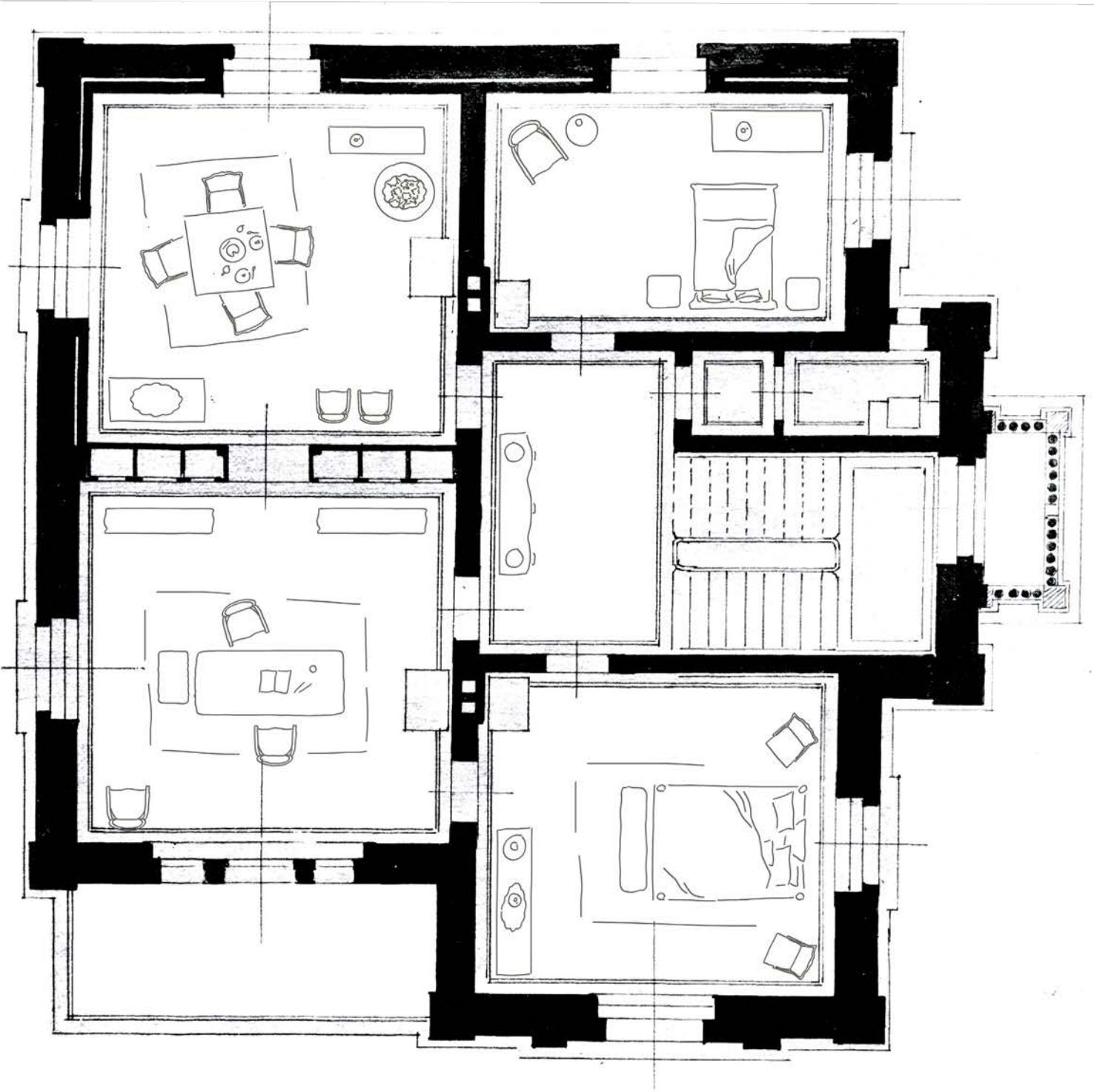
Bartholome Jenny-Trümpy's *Villa Wartegg* stands at a walking distance of about 150m from the site of the textile printing factory. It is surrounded by a large garden and fully fenced off. It references classical architecture and renaissance symbols.



112 Villastrasse, Ennenda, 1903

113 *Villa Wartegg*, ground floor, assumptive drawing

114 *Villa Wartegg*, impression of the current use, 2024



- 115 *Villa Wartegg*, first floor, assumptive drawing
- 116 Hintere Villastrasse, 2024
- 117 *Villa Wartegg*, eastern elevation
- 118 *Villa Wartegg*, southern elevation



The Duty of the Grandson of the Founder

Bartholome Jenny-Trümpy, born in 1844, was the grandson of Bartholome Jenny-Becker, born in 1779, the founder of Barth. Jenny & Comp. in Ennenda. When Bartholome Jenny-Becker died in 1836, his son Daniel Jenny joined the company. He withdrew from the company just six years later and focused on his career in politics. Many years later, Bartholome Jenny-Trümpy joined the company as shareholder.

As a direct descendant of his grandfather, the founder, he had a duty to continue the legacy of the company, even though he was just the third born son. In his case this seemed to include a marriage with his first cousin, Elsbeth Jenny-Trümpy.

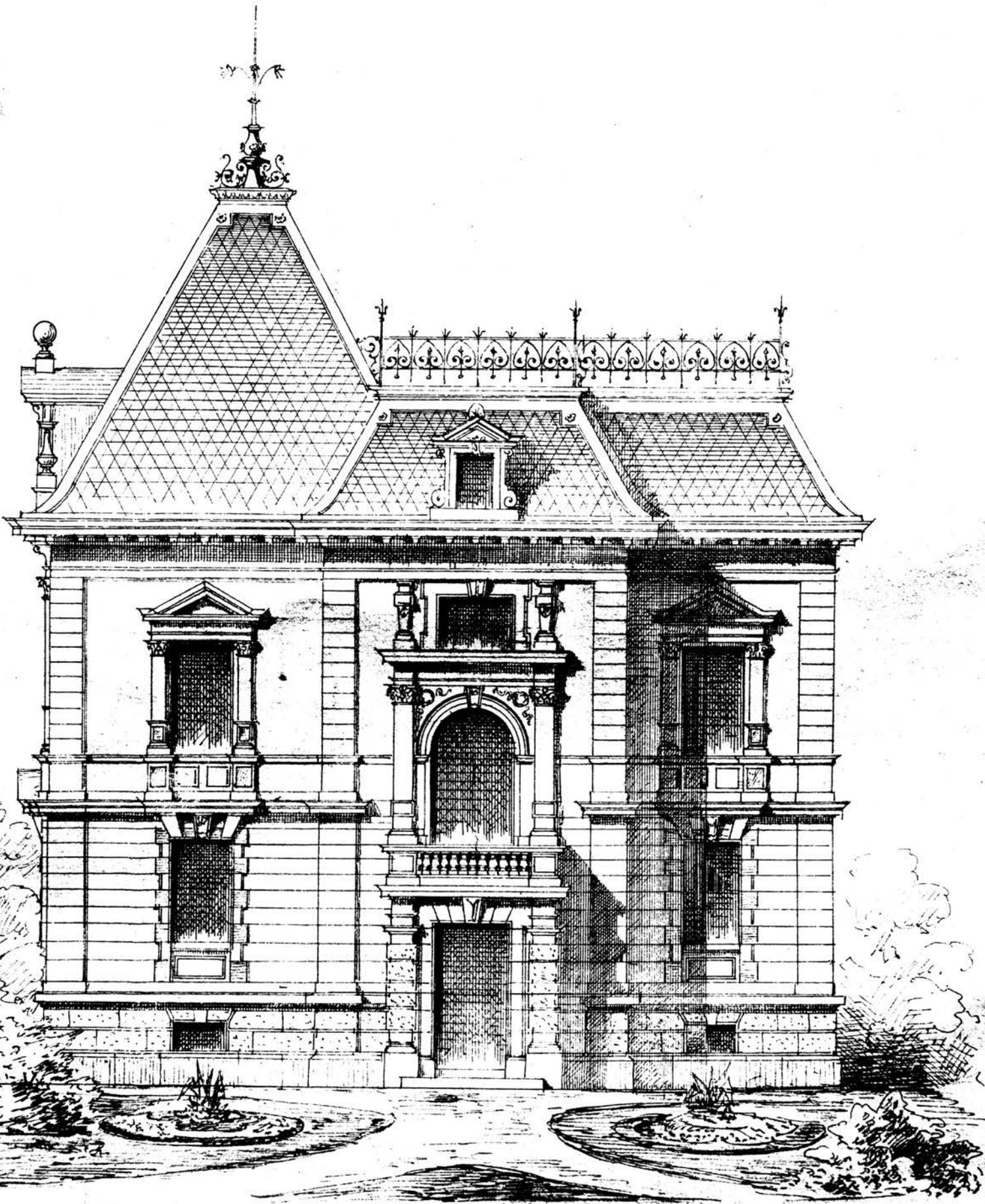
Elsbeth's mother was Anna Maria Jenny, the sister of her husband's father, Daniel Jenny. Elsbeth's parents' marriage was an intentional act to tie the company relations. Her mother, as a Jenny, came from the owner's side, Her father, as a Trümpy, came from the operator's side. Whether the marriage between Bartholome and Elsbeth, the owners of the Villa Wartegg, was also a strategic business act, or an act of love is not known.

One of many Bartholomes

Bartholome was one of the traditional names for boys in the Jenny family. It was the name of his grandfather, the infamous founder. It was also the name of two uncles, both brothers of his mother Anna. Both boys passed away before they turned one year old. Bartholome, the protagonist of this story, wasn't the only of his siblings with this name. Five years before him, his parents had a baby boy, that was given the same name, but he also passed away as an infant. The infant mortality rate, even in the affluent families, was shockingly high at this time.

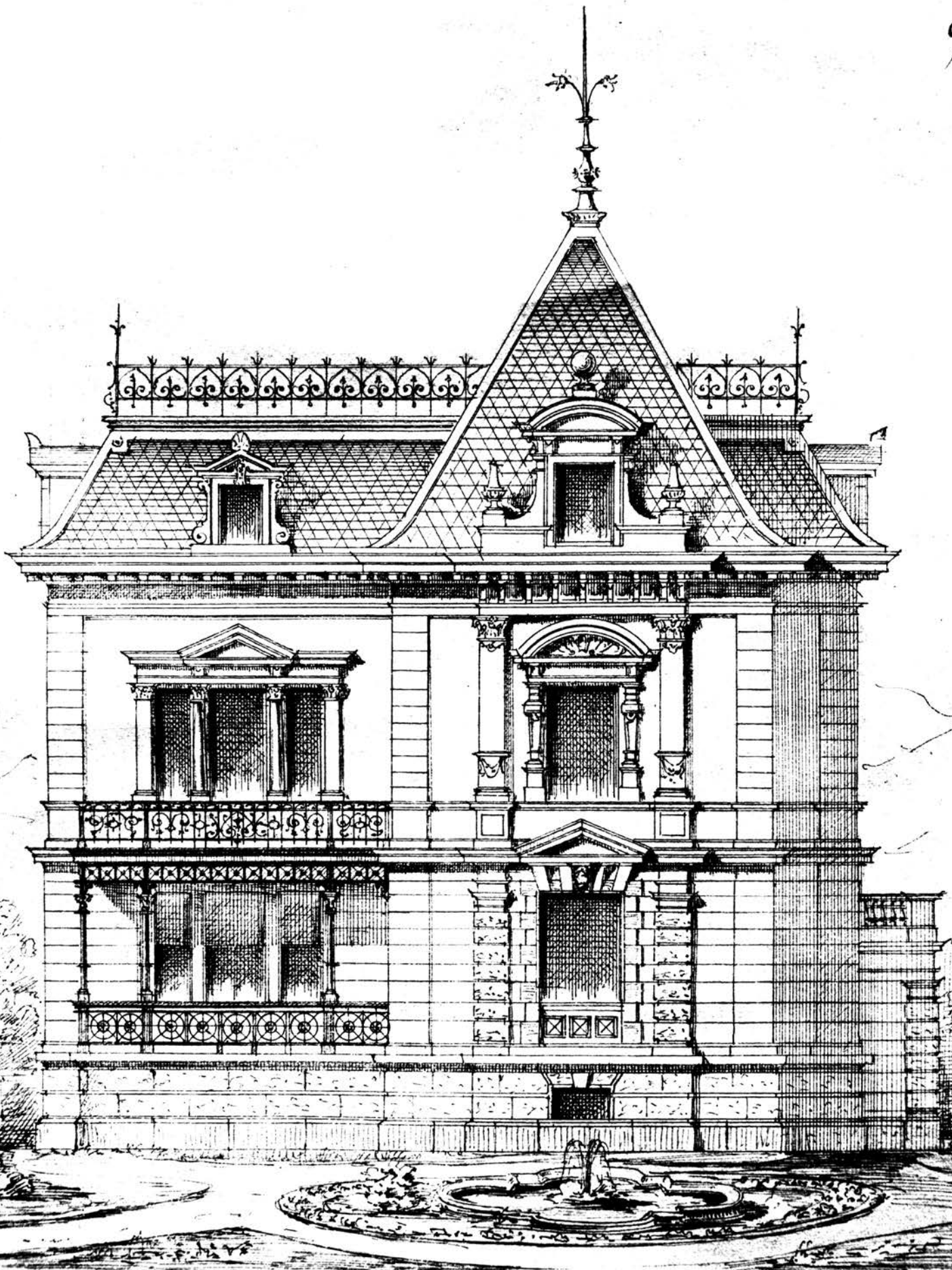
The Villa Wartegg Today

Today the *Villa Wartegg* is used differently than initially intended. Part of the Villa is used by a law firm. The smaller brick building that also stands on the lot is used by the *Hilfsverein Ennenda*, a benefit society, as a community space to educate, meet and exchange. None of the Villas at Villastrasse are currently owned by anyone directly from the Jenny family.



Ost-Façade.

911.

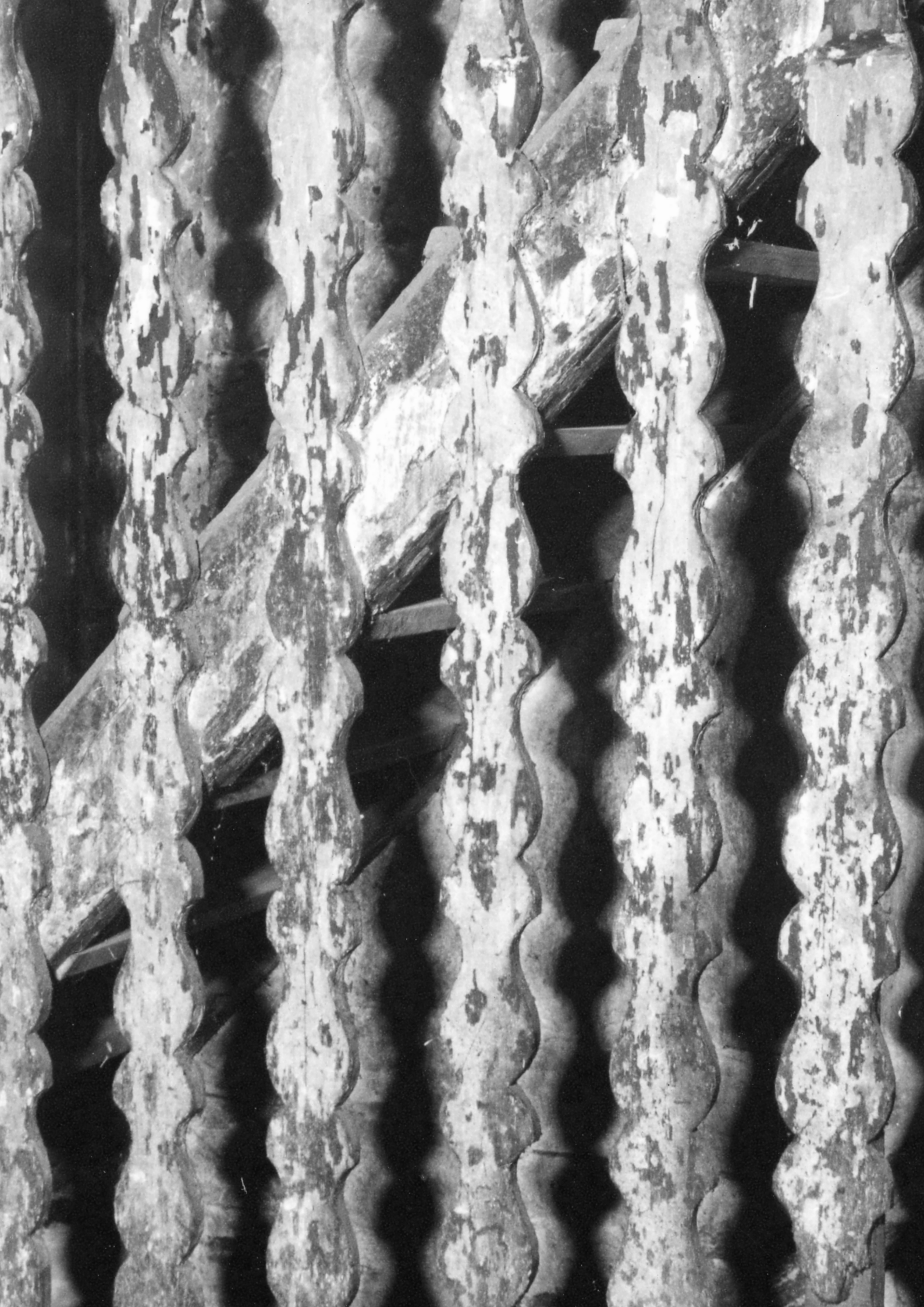




On Texture

The Devil's in the Details

- 119 Haus Gastpar Lichtensteig, 1976
- 120 Rüfhaus, staircase
- 121 Dekanenhaus, Mollis 1975
- 122 *In der Wiese*, Glarus, 1977
- 123 Kirche, Matt
- 124 Äusserer Hof, Ennenda
- 125 Blumerhaus, Nidfurn, 1977
- 126 Im Auen, Elm, 1977
- 127 Im Auen, Elm, 1977
- 128 Haus Gastpar Lichtensteig, 1976
- 129 Spielhof, Rüti







Die Kirche ist erbauet worden Anno

1758. wiederum

aus dem

in dem

heiligem Evangelium

am Ende













Dear Reader,

The goal of this book was to understand a section of the history of people that took part in the textile industry of the 19th century through their houses. I wanted to gather all possible knowledge to gain a more holistic understanding than the information provided in books about the history of architectural typologies. In order to represent this information,

I specifically adopted the layout, appearance and structure of the book series *Bauernhäuser der Schweiz* by the *Schweizerische Gesellschaft der Volkskunde*. Their research on farmhouses in Switzerland started in the 1940s, as an employment program for unemployed architects and technicians, organized by the *Institut für Haus- und Siedlungsforschung*. The first book of the series was published in the 1960s.

Unequal preservation

For this reconstruction I was dependent on the preservation of buildings in their physical state but also their preservation in the shape of plans, drawings, photos and texts. However, not all buildings are preserved equally. And even before that, not all buildings are documented equally. This means that my view is distorted and biased. All of the buildings that are mentioned in this book are privileged in some way, to still have a presence today. The actual buildings of the lower-class population can't be found in the archives or in publications.

I was also dependent on information about social and economic aspects about the inhabitants of certain typologies. The same struggle applies here: Not all information is preserved equally. So, whenever I had a certain basis of knowledge I dared to dive into fictive writing.

What is a building without its users?

Through this book I understand architecture as a social space that is under constant change by its users and that constantly influences the lives of its inhabitants. It is my understanding that the built environment is an expression of the conditions of inhabitants and users and that therefore architecture can also be intentionally used to express and consolidate existing power dynamics and hierarchies. Which is why I plead that the built heritage should never be considered without the inclusion of social and economic aspects of its users.

Zürich, in the spring of 2024

Lara Graf

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*These plans are an overlay of a found floorplan by Knell & Kehrer Architekten or the Technischer Arbeitsdienst Zürich, and an assumptive drawing by Graf L.

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