

CROATIAN WOMEN AND THE PARTY OF THE RIGHT DURING THE 1880s

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Despite the fact that women were denied the right to political decision-making both inside and outside of the established legal framework, the question arises as to whether Croatian women in the latter half of the nineteenth century exhibited any interest in politics and political life in Civil Croatia, and whether they demonstrated their preference for a specific political party in any way whatsoever. In this work, the author attempts to respond to this question by analyzing the political press of the Party of the Right from the beginning of the 1880s and primary materials from the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb in which, as in the press, rare sources for the history of women are interwoven into the plethora of sources on the activities of men. The ways in which women demonstrated their preference for the Party of the Right and its leaders are shown. The central protagonists are the teachers Anka Tkalčić and Vera Tkalec, whose open sympathies for the Party of the Right drew the attention of the authorities and placed their livelihoods in jeopardy.

“In the theater of remembrance, women are but fluctuating shadows” (Michelle Perrot)

Women's history

Driven by the need to view history from a new, previously neglected and suppressed perspectives, women's history since the 1970s has successfully performed its task of making women more visible in history. The wealth of works on women that have appeared were the fruit of women's movements and the expansion of social and anthropological history, which place greater emphasis and focus on everyday life. Women unwittingly, albeit necessarily, had to find their place in research into social structures, family

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histories, historical demography, and interest in the 'imaginary'.¹ The new knowledge of women is characterized by an exceptional diversity of topics and interpretations, but what the exponents of all of the various schools have in common is that women are the core of their inquiry, the subject of the story, and the driver of the narrative.² Without delving into the theoretical aspects of women's history and the interpretation of its developmental phases, it should be stressed that women's history over the past decade of the twentieth century became increasingly intertwined with gender as a socio-cultural phenomenon, implying the need to study occurrences and relations not only within genders, but also between them, to ultimately incorporate the knowledge so obtained into the postulates of general history. In this sense, women's history is not solely oriented toward areas in which only women are present and active or those in which women constitute a majority, for it also undertakes research into those areas dominated by men, but which nonetheless had a crucial impact on women's lives (e.g. wars, industrial labor, historiography, etc.) and areas in which women were entirely absent (e.g. universal suffrage in the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century).³

Alongside numerous other questions, the question of the relationship between gender and politics arises, for this is the area that was closed to women the longest, as the prevailing civil codes of the nineteenth century firmly restricted them to the home.⁴ Within the framework of efforts to observe the juncture of women/politics/ideology within the realm of theoretical discourse in a new way, it is noteworthy that research into national ideologies dealing with its gendered aspects ushered in a new dimension. In various theoretical considerations of national phenomena, women were normally "hidden," which was a consequence of the division of civil society into public and private spheres, wherein women were assigned to the private sphere that was not deemed politically relevant. Although women were always vital players in the national arena, because they were essential to its development and biological and cultural reproduction, incorporation of women into the analytical dis-

¹ Mirjana Gross, "Nevidljive žene," *Erasmus*, no. 3 (Zagreb, 1993), p. 59.; Ibid., *Suvremena historiografija; Korijeni postignuća, traganja* (Zagreb, 2001), p. 346.

² On the diversity of themes and interpretations, see: Joan Wallach Scott, *Rod i politika povijesti* (originally published in English under the title *Gender and the Politics of History*) (Zagreb, 2003), pp. 29-46.

³ Dubravka Peić Čaldarović, "Teorijski aspekti historije žena i ženskih studija," *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 29/1996: 278. In this same work the author deals with the notional differentiation between the basic terms: sex and gender, pp. 279-282. Numerous definitions of the term gender are also provided by J. Wallach Scott in the second chapter of her book *Gender and the Politics of History* entitled "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," pp. 47-73 (citations here taken from the Croatian translation of the book, *Rod i politika povijesti*); See also: Dinko Župan, "Foucaultova teorija moći i kritika pojma rod," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 41/2009, no. 1: 7-24.

⁴ Suzana Leček, "Dosada se samo polovica hrvatskog naroda borila. Hrvatska seljačka stranka i žene (1918.-1941.)," *Historijski zbornik* (Zagreb, 2006), 93-129, here: 93.

course tied to nations and nationalism is a very recent and very piecemeal phenomenon.⁵

Despite the fact that women's history has long had a status equal to other branches of history in the wider world, in Croatia even today, despite the efforts which mostly women scholars in various disciplines have invested since the beginning of the 1980s, women's history has still not gained recognition as a legitimate academic and research field, even though awareness of its importance is constantly growing.⁶ Croatian and earlier Yugoslav historiography followed the "struggle" of Yugoslav women and women in the labor movement, while attention was also accorded to women who accepted the ideology of Yugoslavism and the ideologies and actions of women's organizations tied to the Croatian Peasant Party during the interwar period.⁷ Information on women in nineteenth-century Croatian history is sparse, even though some of their contemporaries observed the mobilizing role which women played in the national movement. One of the leaders of the Croatian national awakening, Count Janko Drašković, aware of the importance of women, mothers and teachers to national pride and upbringing, dedicated his booklet *Ein Wort an Illyriens hochherzige Töchter* to "Illyrian" women.⁸ Even though many works have been written about the Croatian national revival, women and their contributions are still submerged in the past. Not even Josipa Vancaš, the so-called "Mommy of the Illyrians," in whose salon the leaders of the Illyrian Movement gathered, drew much attention, while the teacher Dragojla Jarnević, one of the most intriguing names of the early national movement's literature, a women who refused to be identified as a German even though this would have assured her of solid employment, goes almost unmentioned in the major overviews of the history of the Illyrian Movement.⁹ Thus, even at a time when production of literary works was deemed a patriotic duty and

⁵ Nira Yuval - Davis, *Rod i nacija* (Zagreb, 2004), pp. 12-14.

⁶ Andrea Feldman, "Posljednjih dvije tisuće godina: povijest žena - ženska povijest - kulturna povijest," in: *Žene u Hrvatskoj; Ženska i kulturna povijest*, Edited by: Andrea Feldman (Zagreb, 2004), pp. 9-19, here: 16-18.

⁷ For example: *Borbeni put žena Jugoslavije* (Beograd, 1972); Jovanka Kecman, *Žene Jugoslavije u radničkom pokretu i ženskim organizacijama 1918-1941* (Beograd, 1978); Desanka Stojić, *Prva ženska partizanska četa* (Karlovac, 1987); Andrea Feldman, "Poričući gladnu godinu. Žene i ideologija jugoslawenstva (1918.-1939)," in: *Žene u Hrvatskoj; Ženska i kulturna povijest*, pp. 235-246; S. Leček, "Dosada se samo polovica hrvatskog naroda borila", op. cit. pp. 93-129.

⁸ A. Feldman, "Posljednjih dvije tisuće godina: povijest žena - ženska povijest - kulturna povijest," pp. 14-15; "Grof Janko Drašković i Hrvatice," *Hrvatska*, 3 June 1893/125.

⁹ An integral version of the controversial journal (*Dnevnik*) of Dragojla Jarnević in which she, among other things, described certain events of 1848 and made assessments of Ljudevit Gaj, Stanko Vraz, Ivan Trnski and others, was only published in 2000, edited by Irena Lukšić. A. Feldman, "Posljednjih dvije tisuće godina: povijest žena - ženska povijest - kulturna povijest," op. cit. p. 12, Stanko Dvoržak, "Dogadaji g. 1848 u Dnevniku Dragolje Jarnevićeve," *Historijski zbornik IX*, 1-4 (Zagreb, 1956), pp. 147-150; Kristina Pešić, "Dragojla Jarnević u raljama vremena," *Kolo XI/2001*, no. 2: 446.

poetry was considered essential to arouse the people from their lethargy, the women who made their contribution to the Croatian renewal movement remained “invisible,” which was the case of Sofia R...v, the ‘Illyrian woman from Trsat,’ and Krunoslava Horvatova, whose verses in the magazine *Danica* were dedicated to the homeland, as well as Ana Vidović from Šibenik, whose booklet in 1841 was dedicated to women, in the desire to convey all of the love she felt for everything Illyrian to the hearts of “other her fellow females of the Illyrian nation.”¹⁰

After Illyrianism, the next item on the agenda was the criticism, especially in literature, of women steeped in “foreignism,” who turned men away from participation in the national movement, so that women as fellow travelers and moral support to the patriotic efforts of men were described as a contrast and desirable ideal.¹¹ For the duration of the nineteenth century, advocacy of women’s rights was limited to individual actions and initiatives by prominent educators, writers and teachers as the first intellectuals among women. In Croatia’s traditional and patriarchal society, the idea of redefining the role of women, who had no political rights and limited civil rights, and minimal rights to education, was met with neither sympathy nor support.¹² For the bourgeoisie, the most important thing was to encourage the Croatian national awareness among women, so that they would raise their children and back their husbands in this regard. The women’s question, restricted to the problem of education, was highlighted by Ivan Filipović, Ivan Perkovac, and August Šenoa, which led to the opening of the first Girls’ Academy in Zagreb in 1868.¹³ Dissatisfied with the level of women’s education, in the early 1860s, Šenoa wrote: “Blessed be that people among whom women know what the nation is, in which her heart beats with love for the homeland; such women shall never bring a coward into the world: (...) a woman of the nation cannot love a renegade husband; (...) our women nurture noble virtues, patriotism springs from their hearts, but this feeling requires guidance, (...). And how can this be done? Only by education, and so for us girls’ schools are very important.”¹⁴ “Our life,” stressed Šenoa in advocating the opening of the Girls’ Academy, “must be nationally-oriented if we care about the political and social, and the

¹⁰ Sofia R...v, Ilirka s Tarsata, “Mojoj miloj domovini,” *Danica Ilirska*, 30 July 1841/30; Krunoslava Horvatova, “Poziv,” *Danica horvatsko, slavonska i dalmatinska*, 7 Feb. 1846/6.; “Literatura ilirska,” *Danica Ilirska*, 19 June 1841/ 25.

¹¹ Women’s writing in the thirty years after 1848 was covered by Mirjana Gross in: Mirjana Gross and Agneza Szabo, *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu: društveni razvoj u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća* (Zagreb, 1992), pp. 553-555. M. Gross, “‘Nevidljive’ žene,” op. cit. p. 63.

¹² Ida Ograjšek, “Zastupljenost ženskog pitanja u hrvatskim glasilima na kraju 19. stoljeća,” *Radovi- Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 34-35-36/2001-2004: 89-100, here p. 90.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ “Djevojačke škole,” *Pozor*, 29 Oct. 1861/249. Cited according to: August Šenoa, *Sabrana djela*, book IX (Zagreb, 1964), pp. 154-155.

prime factor in this regard is women,” for “a nationally-conscious woman in the family defends the rights of the Croatian people from foreign animosity better than the most splendid speech on the floor of parliament.”¹⁵ The role of women, above all those from the middle class (bourgeoisie), in the process of the Croatian nation’s integration in the latter half of the nineteenth century was deliberated at the end of the 1860s by liberal intellectuals gathered around the magazine *Vienac*. At lectures organized for women, those attending were familiarized with the achievements of medicine, the natural sciences and Croatian literature, for which Vladimir Mažuranić wanted a Croatian version of George Sand.¹⁶ These lectures, however, soon stopped. A new phase in the women’s movement in Croatia began in 1871, with the addresses delivered by Marija Fabković¹⁷ and Marija Jambrišak at the First Teachers’ Convention. Henceforth the brunt of the struggle for women’s rights was assumed by women themselves, mostly teachers who, because they were publicly active and capable of independently supporting themselves, were the first to become aware of the numerous unjust restrictions imposed upon them by society.¹⁸

¹⁵ “Višja djevojačka škola,” *Pozor*, Dec. 5, 1862/280. Cited from: A. Šenoa, *Sabrana djela*, op. cit. p. 185.

¹⁶ M. Gross and A. Szabo, *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu*, op. cit. p. 554; I. Ograjšek, “Zastupljenost ženskog pitanja u hrvatskim glasilima na kraju 19. stoljeća,” op. cit. p. 90.

¹⁷ Prior to the uprising in Rakovica in 1871, the teacher Marija Fabković (Prague, 1833 - Zagreb, 1915) distinguished herself with her Rightist orientation. Her husband Skender Fabković was a friend of Ante Starčević in secondary school, and later also with Eugen Kvaternik. After their marriage, Marija joined this circle as well, which influenced her socio-political leanings. The Fabković couple attracted great attention with their addresses at the First Croatian Teachers’ Convention in 1871, when they steadfastly opposed the clergy’s influence on schools and children’s education. In a speech also published by the Rightist weekly *Hervatska* on Sept. 3, 1871/36, Marija said: “When the Croats were still their own people (...), great was their national awareness, and from this power ensued, and the same royal edicts that did not entirely suit the national good were placed ‘*ad acta*’ with great respect. And we, ladies and gentlemen, are here with the same purpose, namely, to place all of the edicts, decrees and commands of the king of ignorance, the king of folly and spiritual slavery, the king of darkness – not with respect – rather with ‘for the sake of historical memory’ as a *curiosum* for happier future generations – in the archives, ‘*ad acta*’. (Applause and cheers!) The exclusion of ‘woman’ from every intellectual endeavor is primarily a decree of the king of ignorance; not only that, the door to all knowledge was shut before her with iron bolts. (...) All efforts to reform education remain unsuccessful as long as women are not allowed to fulfill their duty.” Even though the authorities and clerical circles were appalled by her speech, Marija did not incur any negative consequences as a result. Marija Fabković’s participation in the work of the First Teachers’ Convention was not limited to this speech. During participation in discussions, she struggled for the rights of women teachers, believing that they had to have equal rights with their male counterparts in salaries, and she called for granting women teachers the virile right to vote in municipal school boards and the right to be elected to county councils. For more on Marija Fabković, see: Mihajlo Ogrizović, “Društveni rad Marije Fabković,” *Zbornik za historiju školstva i prosvjete* 1967, no. 3: 121-141; Ibid., “Životni put i društveni pogledi Marije Fabković,” *Zbornik za historiju školstva i prosvjete* 1969-1970, no. 5: 173-209; I. Ograjšek Gorenjak, “On uči, ona pogađa, on se sjeća, ona prorokuje” - pitanje obrazovanja žena u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj krajem 19. stoljeća,” in: *Žene u Hrvatskoj; Ženska i kulturna povijest*, pp. 157-179, here, p.160.

¹⁸ I. Ograjšek, “Zastupljenost ženskog pitanja u hrvatskim glasilima na kraju 19. stoljeća,” op. cit., p. 90.

Since the sole women's issue over which the Croatian public showed any interest in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the matter of education and upbringing of girls, those few Croatian historians who studied women in Croatia during this period also dealt with it from this standpoint.¹⁹ Advocacy of political rights and a more just status for women was rarely mentioned in Croatia at that time and generally with a negative connotation when it was, while even those rare individuals who exhibited some understanding of their unfair treatment believed that women had no place in politics because it was so corrupt and mercurial.²⁰ Croatia was not exceptional in this regard, for in all countries the most difficult barrier for women to cross was the political barrier, since politics as the arena of decision-making and the core of political power was deemed the job and privilege of men.²¹

But despite the fact that women were denied the right to political decision-making in either the legal or extra-legal framework, the question arises as to whether Croatian women in the latter half of the nineteenth century exhibited any interest in politics and political life in Civil Croatia and whether and how they expressed their preference for a specific political party.²² In this work, I shall endeavor to respond to this query by analyzing the political press of the Party of the Right from the early 1880s, and primary documents from the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb in which, as in the press, the rare sources for women's history are buried in an abundance of sources on the political activities of men.

The consequences of the system set up by the Croato-Hungarian Compromise (*Nagodba*) of 1868 were very soon felt in Civil Croatia, creating the conditions not only for the return of the Party of the Right to political life, but also its growth from a small "sect" of like-minded individuals prior to the Rakovica uprising of 1871 into a broad national movement. The Hungarian government's systematic pressure on Croatian autonomy, the impotence and opportunism of the National Party and the devastating effect of Croatia's economic and financial dependency, which led to dissatisfaction and despair among the broadest masses, paved the way for more radical politics. With its platform of an independent Croatian state rooted in the principle of national sovereignty,

¹⁹ The question of women's education in the nineteenth century was considered by: Mirjana Gross in the book *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu*, op. cit. pp. 553-555; Dinko Župan, "Uzor djevojke: obrazovanje žena u banskoj Hrvatskoj tijekom druge polovice 19. st.," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 33/2001, no. 2: 435-452; Ida Ograjšek Gorenjak, "On uči, ona pogađa, on se sjeća, ona prorokuje" - pitanje obrazovanja žena u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj krajem 19. stoljeća," in: *Žene u Hrvatskoj; Ženska i kulturna povijest* (Zagreb, 2004), pp. 157-179; Ibid., "Zastupljenost ženskog pitanja u hrvatskim glasilima na kraju 19. stoljeća," op. cit. pp. 89-100.

²⁰ I. Ograjšek, "Zastupljenost ženskog pitanja u hrvatskim glasilima na kraju 19. stoljeća," op. cit. p. 98.

²¹ Michelle Perrot, *Moja ženska povijest* (Zagreb, 2009), p. 182.

²² I was inspired to pose this question, and then attempt to find a response, by a remark made by Mirjana Gross: "it would appear that the Party of the Right had sympathizers among women," in the book *Izvorno pravaštvo. Ideologija, agitacija, pokret* (Zagreb, 2000), p. 421.

and its calls on Croatian state and natural rights, as well as its fierce criticism of the existing regime, the Party of the Right met these needs and demands. Promoting the idea of Croatian state independence and inciting patriotism, this party even gained adherents, it would appear, among women, although its notions of acceptable and desirable roles for women, as will be seen in the Rightist press, did not differ from the notions of the Croatian “male” public of the time, but also of women, even those deemed more progressive.

The Rightist press on the role and status of women

While Croatian political parties had differing standpoints on other issues, almost all of the press in Croatia, even at the end of the nineteenth century, agreed that the basic objective of education is to direct women to be good mothers, wives and patriots.²³ The Rightist political press of the 1880s dealt with the women’s issue in the same context – and with the same notion of education.²⁴ The newspaper *Sloboda* carried only a single article that did not advocate the rigid, traditional division of men’s and women’s spheres. This was the article “The Woman as Physician,”²⁵ in which the writer states regretfully that a woman may very rarely choose an “independent path” and that she cannot expect to overcome all of the enormous obstacles restricting her freedom. His view is that there never will be “a full conception of any subject, until women, like men, focus their full attention to it,” for both sexes think, feel and draw conclusions differently, so that “not one theory of life or any of its works can be complete as long as men and women fail to consider them and mutually coordinate their ideas.”²⁶ However, the redefinition of women’s status in this manner was not approved by this Rightist political paper, which may be concluded from the note published by the editorial board next to the article, stressing “occasional” disagreement with the “composition.”²⁷ The viewpoints expressed on the article on “The Task of Woman” were certainly closer to *Sloboda*’s editorial stance,²⁸ for the editorial board did not qualify it with a similar note. The article was reprinted from a Paris newspaper in which

²³ See: I. Ograjšek Gorenjak, “On uči, ona pogađa, on se sjeća, ona prorokuje,” op. cit. pp. 160, 172-173.

²⁴ After the crisis which arose after the Rakovica uprising in 1871, the Party of the Right returned to Civil Croatia’s political life in 1878. The political bulletin *Sloboda* was launched in Sušak on Sept. 1, 1878. As of 1884 it was printed in Zagreb, and ceased publication on Jan. 30, 1886. On Feb. 1, 1886, the daily newspaper *Hrvatska* was launched in Zagreb as the bulletin of the Party of the Right.

²⁵ This was a translation of a study done by a respected English physician, which had been published in six editions.

²⁶ “Žena kao liečnik,” *Sloboda*, Feb. 16, 1883/20.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ “Zadaća žene,” *Sloboda*, Feb. 13, 1881/19.

it was published in response to a draft bill before the French parliament on the establishment of women's colleges for "law, mathematics and the abstract and transcendental sciences." Criticizing "instructional fanaticism," the article's author compared the "fairer sex" to the "stronger sex" and stressed the physical and intellectual shortcomings of women in relation to men, and he backs the assertion that women is a developmentally-impaired human using the example of George Sand, who was, he underscored, "lovely," "gifted," "emotional," and, briefly, "all art," but she lacked the "intellect and strength of a man." These constructed differences between men and women then became the basis for a conclusion on their different tasks and rights and duties, wherein the greatest complaint against women is "when they want more than they can manage." In society, the writer continued, the woman has been assigned a role different from the man, and this is why she can never be "sovereign unto herself like a man." Sovereignty is composed of "the land which provides, the voice which decides and the weapon which defends," while the woman can never possess the latter. According to this author's view, failure to accept the differences between men and women and advocacy of their equality mean opposing "nature," "the contentment of mankind and women," and, in this vein, the welfare of humanity, for women were created to bear and raise children as free citizens worthy of freedom. It bears emphasis that in the assignment of the place and role of women in society, the concept of motherhood assumed a central position not only in the ideologies of the nineteenth century, but also during the interwar ideologies in twentieth-century European countries with advanced democracies, wherein the role of mothers was interpreted not only in the sense of biological, but also socio-cultural reproduction. In the context of national interests, besides the biological function of giving birth to as many children as possible, it was important to stress that task of mothers to raise their children in the national spirit. Thus women, through motherhood and child-bearing and child-rearing, were presented as a national interest, and entered the public sphere and became politically interesting, even though they had no political rights.²⁹ In this sense, the Rightist press of the 1880s interpreted and defined the role of women as mothers, for the proper upbringing and education of the youth, as Starčević underscored, was the fundamental prerequisite for the emergence and preservation of a future free and independent Croatian state.

Following Starčević's Rightist teachings, in which a prominent role was accorded to Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan, the "magnificent martyr Katarina Zrinska" was extolled as a model in *Sloboda*.³⁰ The promotion of the cult of Katarina Zrinska, that "most eminent Croatian woman" in the second half of the nineteenth century and afterward was used to encourage and arouse "the moral, social and national awareness" of Croatian women.³¹ "Croatian

²⁹ Suzana Leček, "Dosada se samo polovica hrvatskog naroda borila," op. cit. pp. 99-101.

³⁰ "LISTAK- Hrvaticam," *Sloboda*, July 10, 1881/82.

³¹ Lucija Benyovsky, "Društvo Katarina grofica Zrinski," *Hrvatska revija* VII./2007 no. 3: 86-100, here pp. 86-87.

women! May our motto be that folk saying 'Whosoever fails to dedicate, fails to avenge'; in this spirit, in raising our children we shall raise iron heroes who will defend the homeland, who will avenge the Zrinjski family, and seek out the rights which a few sold for generous compensation, and prove to the world that there are still Croats, that the Zrinović and Frankopan spirit still resides in us," the ardent 'Primorka' lectured Croatian women in 1881.³² At the time, the key problem associated with women – conceived of in this way not only by men but also those women who accepted Rightist teachings – was the lack of national consciousness due to the education and upbringing of girls. "As a child she is sent to some foreign institution, most often German, or she is assigned a tutor who is also a foreigner, and she is raised in the foreign spirit, for she is only deemed comprehensively educated, when she forgets how to speak Croatian. Thus, when she reaches adolescence, she knows nothing of the bloody history of her people, she has no interest in Croatian books, for they are much too serious, too apparently crude, and they have not the least bit of raciness, and so forth. She is imbued with the spirit of all manner of foreign, mainly German, novels, and whatever wisdom she may still possess is lost by reading such books. You must acknowledge that such women are not capable of raising worthy and substantial sons."³³ Already in 1867 the first Rightist periodical, the humorous and satirical *Zvekan*, subjected the upbringing and education of women to fierce criticism and ridicule, as young women pupils were first encouraged to renounce their language, to revile "the domestic language and customs, its people and what they deem sacrosanct."³⁴ Using the Croatian language in polite society was both vile and scornful, which is why every Croatian woman spoke German and French.³⁵ Advocating a return to authentic values and the patriarchally perceived role of women as spouses, mothers and housewives, *Zvekan* stressed that "here children are taught everything, except that which would help them confirm that Croatian saying, according to which the husband holds only a single corner, while the wife holds three corners of the household."³⁶ The upbringing of girls "is getting better ever day; all for dancing, fun, plays and wherever there is merriment," while at home they read "French and German novels, and they need not know how to sew, knit, wash and cook," said the 'Bohemian Pupil,' adding that "all of them only think about jewelry, finery and some such; not one husband could scrape together the money for this, and on top of it all, girls flirt as much as possible,

³² "LISTAK- Hrvaticam," *Sloboda*, 10 July 1881/82.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Zvekan* was published in Zagreb as a bi-monthly from Jan. 17 to 31 Dec. 1867.

³⁵ "Žensko odgojilište u Japanu," *Zvekan*, Feb. 15, 1867/3.

³⁶ "Spectabilis poglavitomu," *Zvekan*, Mar. 1, 1867/4; Citing folk sayings in books, and in this case in a humor-satirical paper, was supposed to confirm the rectitude of the desired identity as continuity with tradition. See: Dinko Župan, "'Uzor djevojke': obrazovanje žena u banskoj Hrvatskoj tijekom druge polovice 19. st.," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 33/2001, no. 2: 435-452, here, p. 451.

and I have to ask: where is all this leading?" In *Zvekan's* view, this question can only be answered by "old maids."³⁷

These "anti-Croatian women," "pseudo-Croatian women," "Croatian quasi-German women," were often the topic of mocking and ironically-intoned pieces, mostly ditties in the Rightist humor/satire periodicals of the 1880s as well. The "fairer sex" continued to be chided for the same transgressions: faddishness, excessive zeal for dances and parties, spendthriftiness, gaudiness, reading foreign, German and French novels, "philo-Germanism," and especially a lack of interest in the status and fate of the Croatian nation, and even hatred for Croatia.³⁸

<p>From heart to heart</p> <p>Dedicated to the pseudo-Croatian woman by Aristophanes</p> <p>...</p> <p>You so "shrewd," are but a goose, Emptying pockets is your only sport, The child you give to a wet-nurse, While with the boys you cavort.</p> <p>So you hate your fatherland, Which gave you all. She hates, yes hates, but does apprehend, That none will take her but a Croat man. (...)</p> <hr/> <p>Od srca k srcu Posvećuje pseudo-Hrvaticam Aristofan</p> <p>...</p> <p>Ti «pametna» guska jesi, Samo znadeš praznit žep, Svoje diete dojki daješ, S momci vodiš život liep.</p> <p>K tomu mrziš otačbinu, Koja ti je dala sve. Mrzi, mrzi, al ne misli, Da će Hrvat uzet te.</p>	<p>To our pseudo-belle (...)</p> <p>Now she's here, now she's there, All day she runs free, Her tender voice doth declare: 'Work is simply not for me.' (...)</p> <p>In this entire world Not a care has she ever met But to help the days unfurl She lights a cigarette...</p> <hr/> <p>Naše Talmi krasotice</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Sad je ovdje, sad je tamo, Cieli danak šeće, Nježnim glasom guče samo: 'Radit mi se ne' (...)</p> <p>Baš za ništa ne brine se Na ovome svijetu A da vrijeme kraće joj je</p> <p>Puši cigaretu...</p>
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Bič, October 1, 1884/no. 19; November 1, 1884/ no. 21.

³⁷ "Grabancijaš djak i Zvekan," *Zvekan*, Apr. 15, 1867/7.

³⁸ "Hrvatske 'Nadrišvabice' i Vragoljan," *Vragoljan*, Sept. 15, 1882/18; "Nehrvatici," *Vragoljan*, Dec. 1, 1883/23; "Žene," *Vragoljan*, Jan. 20, 1884/2; "Od srca k srcu – Posvećuje pseudo-Hrvaticam Aristofan," *Bič*, Jan. 1, 1884/19; "Marica po modi," *Bič*, Oct. 15, 1884/20; "Naše Talmi krasotice," *Bič*, Nov. 1, 1884/21, etc.; *Vragoljan* was published in Bakar from July 1, 1881 to July 20, 1886, while *Bič* was published in Zagreb from Nov. 1, 1883 to June 2, 1885.

As opposed to the “belle,” who is described and ridiculed by *Bič*, the desirable ideal Croatian woman was the nationally-conscious Croatian woman, a “Croatian mother” who loves her homeland and her language, raising for it “worthy sons and daughters.”³⁹

The “fairer sex” also awakens

During the 1880s, when the Party of the Right began to grow into a national movement, attracting wider masses of the disaffected populace, even women began to express the Rightist political orientation in various ways. Women, largely as the writers of poems, short stories and vignettes, began to appear with increasing frequency in Rightist publications. One of the contributors to the almanac *Hrvatska, knjiga za godinu 1880*. (‘Croatia Book for 1880’), written and published by the Rightist youth section, was Josipa Horvat, while the 1881 edition of this same almanac, “which the Croatian youth send forth to the wide world under the unabashed banner of the Party of the Right,” contributors included not only Horvat but also Anka Karlović and Ljubica Durbešić.⁴⁰ In 1882, the literary paper *Hrvatska vila*, which was launched with the goal of ridding Croatian homes of the fruits of “German culture” and to safeguard Croatian society from “degrading foreign influences,” published letters by Darinka V. and Anka K-ć (probably Karlović), while in the next year it carried contributions by Klotilda Kučera, Josipa Navratil, Lasta Buneta and Marija Kumičić.⁴¹ Full-time contributors to the paper *Balkan* included Milka Pogačić and Marija Fabković, Ljube Dragić and Lasta Buneta.⁴² Among the poems, stories and anecdotes from everyday life by these contributors to *Hrvatska vila* and *Balkan*, the poems by Marija Kumičić, Josipa Navratil and Milka Pogačić are distinguished by their patriotic character.

³⁹ “LISTAK- Hrvaticam,” *Sloboda*, July 10, 1881/82.

⁴⁰ The contributors are listed at the beginning of both almanacs, but the tables of contents do not specify who the authors of individual contributions are, so there is no way of knowing whether these authors wrote poems, stories, tales or articles in the section entitled “Lessons.” On the contributions of girls who were not students at the Francis Joseph I University in the magazine *Hrvatski dom* published by the student society of the same name and the almanac *Hrvatska*, see also: Tihana Luetić, “Društvo Hrvatski dom - počeci studentskog organiziranja u Hrvatskoj,” *Hrvatska revija IV/2004*, no. 2: 89-93, here, p. 92.

⁴¹ For more on the wife of the renowned Croatian writer and distinguished Rightist Eugen Kumičić, see: Lucija Benyovsky, “Putem uspomena Marije Kumičić,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest 28/1996*, no. 3: 427-438, here, p. 429.

⁴² *Hrvatska vila*, “a journal for entertainment, edification, art and literature,” was published in Sušak from January 1882, while from 1883 to mid-1885 it was published in Zagreb. In January 1886, instead of *Hrvatska vila*, the Rightists, wanting to continue working on the advancement of Croatian literature, launched *Balkan*, similarly subtitled as a paper for ‘entertainment, edification, art and literature.’

<p>Slumber and wakefulness (...) Dawn breaks over Velebit's heights, The long-awaited day is arising; Croatia shall shine under freedom's lights, The past is naught but a dream subsiding. (....)</p> <hr/> <p>San i java (...) Nad Velebitom zora se radja, Duskora svanut će željeni dan; Zemlji Hrvata sjat će sloboda, Prošlost tek puki biti će san. (....)</p>	<p>Henceforth I shall not... (...) Europe, and humanity - Did you save by your ability - For others did you don death's pall - But never did you fall!</p> <p>Never fallen; nor may you fall, For if but one is left to persist - We shall watch, and never desist - The instant that you sound the call.</p> <hr/> <p>Od sad neću... (...) Čovječanstvo, Europu- Spašavat si znao- Za druge si umirao- Al nikada pao!</p> <p>Pa i nećeš, nesmješ pasti, Dok je nas jednoga- Mi bdijemo, mi čekamo- Čas poziva tvog.</p>
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Selected verses from poems by Marija Kumičić and Josipa Navratil published in *Hrvatska vila*⁴³

Only Marija Fabković wrote about the status of women in *Balkan's* section called "Learning." In analyzing the works of the Czech writer Karolina Světlá, Fabković stressed that the French Revolution was still not complete, for many issues, such as religious, political, national, and educational concerns and equality, liberty and fraternity "are driving with greater or lesser intensity the hearts and minds of humanity." In her opinion, Světlá's works assess, analyze and aid in resolving these matters, while the point of departure is always the "idea of woman, the idea of woman free in well-being, the idea of woman as the divine providence of men, for which Světlá is ever ready in battle." Expressing her admiration for the work and views of this Czech writer, Fabković concluded by posing the question: "What century will place such a woman at the disposal of the Croats?"⁴⁴

⁴³ See note 43.

⁴⁴ Marija Fabković (M.Š.), "Karolina Světlá", *Balkan*, May 1, 1886/9.

Whether or not the remaining women contributors to the aforementioned almanacs and literary papers were Rightist in orientation is difficult to ascertain, but the fact remains that even “ordinary” women expressed their preference for the Party of the Right almost from the onset of this party’s return to political life in Civil Croatia. Already in 1879, on the name-day of party leader Ante Starčević, among the many congratulatory messages, telegrams arrived from “the women of Hrelje” and a “Croat women in Rijeka,” while in the following year, well wishes also arrived from “Mrkopalj women,” “Požega Croat women,” “Osijek Rightist women,” “Croat women of Crikvenica,” a “Croat woman from Karlovac,” “the women of Senj,” “Ogulin’s Croat women,” and “the belles of Bakar.” Wishing the “Greatest Croat,” “the truest son of the homeland,” “the mighty defender of Croatian rights,” a long life to the “benefit and honor of the Croatian homeland,” these well-wishers thanked Starčević “for the awareness” that he aroused in them and for all of the good he is doing for the Croatian nation.⁴⁵

With countless thundering cheers for long life, may
our meek voice be heard; in harmony will it resound,
and be heard to the heavens. Long live our dear father
and bold defender of our Croatian motherland.
May you live to see the fruit of your labors, for this
to the Almighty shall pray
the Women of Senj

Uz bezbroj gromkih «Živio»; neka se
i naš slabi glas čuje; u slogi biti će jak,
čuti će ga nebesah. Živio mili naš otče
i dični branitelju hrvatske nam majke.
Da dočekate plod svoga rada, za to će
Svevišnjega moliti
Senjkinje

Telegram sent to Ante Starčević by women from Senj to celebrate his “sixtieth anniversary/name day,” *Sloboda*, June 15, 1883, no. 71.

Women began exhibiting an interest in Rightist ideas by reading the Rightist political press, for which a correspondent from Senj in the early 1880s

⁴⁵ *Sloboda*, June 20, 1879/73.; June 15, 1881/71; June 16, 1882/72; June 15, 1883/71; June 14, 1884/134.

praised them for their patriotism, observing that the young ladies “fought over” copies of *Sloboda*.⁴⁶ A correspondent from Požega also noted that the Croatian spirit had not only begun to overwhelm students, the intelligentsia and the public, for the “fairer sex” had also awakened.⁴⁷

Women also showed their preference for the Party of the Right during the elections to the Croatian Sabor (territorial diet, parliament) in 1881. Even though they could not vote, they nonetheless participated in the campaign in their own way at the polling stations in Novi and Virovitica. In the Novi electoral district, where the Rightist candidate Erazmo Barčić was running against the National Party’s Ivan Vončina, women assaulted and plastered with mud the pastor Petar Car who “went back on his word so many times,” and instead of endorsing the Rightist candidate nominated the National Party’s Vončina.⁴⁸ The Virovitica sub-prefect Jovan Mladenović, in a report sent to Zagreb on September 16, 1881, complained that on election day some electors abandoned the government’s candidate and backed the Rightist Mijo Tkalcich “because indeed the women, walking down the avenue, pulled them to the other side, admonishing them as cowards and traitors.”⁴⁹ *Sloboda* also carried coverage on the influence of women on the election outcome in Virovitica, saying that they “morally intervened” in the elections, for their husbands could not vote against their wishes.⁵⁰ During the first elections to the Croatian Parliament held in the former Military Frontier territory in 1883, the report by Mayor Stipan Domines on the election of the delegate in Karlobag, sent to Ban (Viceroy) Ladislav Pejačević⁵¹ on April 28, 1883, mentioned as a “Rightist woman” the administrator of the telegraph office, Cecilija Smojver, who seriously confounded the mayor’s secret plan to manipulate the electoral outcome. When the supporters of the Party of the Right from Sveti Juraj and Jablanac rented a steamboat on election day to convey the electors from these municipalities to Karlobag to vote for the Rightist candidate, Domines, with the help of Senj Mayor Izidor Vuić, attempted to have the director of the steamboat company⁵² hinder this voyage. However, the telegram arrived in Senj only after the boat had set off, and the individual primarily “guilty” of this was in fact Cecilija

⁴⁶ Letters section, *Sloboda*, Jan. 11, 1880/5.

⁴⁷ Letters section, *Sloboda* Jan. 23, 1880/10.

⁴⁸ Jasna Turkalj, “Pravaški opredijeljeno svećenstvo Senjsko-modruške biskupije na saborskim izborima 1881. godine (izborni kotarevi: Novi, Delnice, Čabar),” *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 2005: no. 56: 105-119, here, p. 111.

⁴⁹ Croatian State Archives (HDA), Presidency of the Territorial Government (PRZV), box 169, file no. 2734./Pr.-1881.

⁵⁰ “Izbor u Virovitici,” *Sloboda*, Sept. 25, 1881/115.

⁵¹ After Ivan Mažuranić was dismissed, the office of ban was assumed by Count Ladislav Pejačević at the beginning of March 1880.

⁵² V. Olivieri, a land-owner and wholesale merchant from Senj, one of the founders and shareholders of the First Croatian Steamboat Company in Senj.

Smojver. In order to prevent the Rightists from learning of the content of the telegram through her, which Domines thought would happen immediately if it had been sent from Karlobag, he hired a boat and gave the telegram to a trusted associate to deliver to the telegraph office in Pag, two and a half hours away by boat, whence it was sent to Senj, "but to no avail." Domines additionally reported to Ban Pejačević that on election day Cecilija Smojver "loudly shouted from her window, 'long live the Party of the Right and death to Hungarians,'" from her window, and at the end of the report he stated that "this report has been delivered by express indirectly through the post office in Gospić, because he does not dare send it through the local post office, managed by the aforementioned Cecilija Smojver, a woman who fiercely supports the opposition and a woman of poor moral fiber."⁵³ Since votes from the electors of Sveti Juraj and Jabalanc were in fact crucial to the victory of the Party of Right candidate, it may be concluded that Fran Pilepić won his seat thanks in part to a single woman.

Besides being recorded in the official reports, these examples of women supporting the Party of the Right did not illicit a response from the authorities.

However, when women teachers began to adopt Rightist principles, the territorial government responded very rapidly with very rigid measures.⁵⁴ Since civil servants and the bureaucracy were under government's purview, during the 1880s the Party of the Right won the most adherents among teachers,⁵⁵ and judging by the sources, individual women teachers were also "seduced." Ban Pejačević decided to halt the spread of Rightist ideology among teachers using all available means at his disposal. "Those who are in public service must be watched with the eyes of Argus, their political views ascertained, and if they do not stand with the government, then there will be dismissals, suspensions, inquests, reprimands, etc. (...) If any poor public school teacher, man or woman, is denounced by some ne'er-do-well for just reading *Sloboda*, much less holding it, then let them prepare for the Pakrac decree!"⁵⁶ (...) For women teachers, this has already been done. Rejoice, Croatian people!" wrote *Sloboda* in December 1882, alluding to the dismissal of the teacher Anka Tkalčić, the sister of the attorney Mijo Tkalčić, a delegate of the Party of the Right in the Croatian Sabor.⁵⁷

⁵³ HDA, PRZV, box 170, file no. 1812-1883; See: Jasna Turkalj, "Stranka prava i izbori za Hrvatski sabor na području bivše Vojne krajine," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 36/2004, no. 3: 1013-1037, here, p. 1019.

⁵⁴ The Croatian government's bodies had jurisdiction over issues of professional oversight, admittance and dismissal from the civil service, transfers, retirement and the disciplinary accountability of teachers. For more, see: Nives Rumenjak, *Srpski zastupnici u Banskoj Hrvatskoj; okvir za kolektivnu biografiju 1881. - 1892.*, (Zagreb, 2003), p. 52-53.

⁵⁵ Jasna TURKALJ, *Pravaški pokret 1878.-1887.* (Zagreb, 2009), pp. 113-114.

⁵⁶ The phrase "Pakrac decree" was often used when speaking of dismissal from the civil service.

⁵⁷ "Naše prilike, Zagreb, 18. prosinca," *Sloboda*, Dec. 22, 1882/153; Mijo Tkalčić was elected to

The case of the teacher Anka Tkalčić

Anka Tkalčić was posted in the elementary girls' school in Bakar from November 1878 to early August 1882, when she was presented with a "dismissal decree" signed by Petar Maričić, the Rijeka County superintendent of schools.⁵⁸ In the decree, which was formally delivered to her on August 7, it states that after an inquiry it was ascertained that "dissolute thoughts," of which "traces were found" in the schoolwork of pupils in the fourth grade, could be directly ascribed to her influence and that pursuant to these "principles dangerous to the upbringing of youth," on August 1, 1882 Ban Pejačević by his discharge declared her "unfit to perform the service of teacher."⁵⁹ In other words, Anka Tkalčić was not only dismissed from her post in the school in Bakar by the ban's decree, she was also banned from applying for any other teaching post outside of Bakar. On October 22, 1882, *Sloboda* published a letter from Anka Tkalčić in which she described in detail not only how she had to "plead for her rights" after her dismissal from the service, but also all that she had to endure to obtain "a better insight into today's intrigues contaminating official circles." The beginning and end of the letter, otherwise almost a quarter of its content, were not published, rather there was a white empty space with the word "Seized" impressed over it. With reference to the injustice done to her, the dismissed teacher first turned to Ivan Vončina, the chief of the government's Religion and Education Department. During this conversation with Vončina, Tkalčić learned that the attention of the authorities was drawn by the homework assignments which her pupils wrote on the topic of Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan. At the end of the 1850s, the founders of Rightist thought, Ante Starčević and Eugen Kvaternik, had already laid the foundations for the cult of Zrinski and Frankopan as symbols of the Croatian nation's resistance against the despised Austria. The cult of these two Croatian magnates which the Habsburgs executed due to their love for their homeland became the symbol and feature of the Rightist movement during the 1860s,⁶⁰ while during the 1880s, Rightist activists regularly observed April 30, the execution date of these "Croatian giants" and "gallant martyrs," with ceremonial events and church memorial services. *Sloboda* reported on these events, at which there was singing and "sublime addresses," publishing telegrams which arrived while they were held. Zrinski and Frankopan were exalted at them as the defenders of the Croatian right to statehood and as freedom fighters, while the resurrection of a free Croatia was invoked, traitors and executioners were

the Croatian Sabor in Sept. 1881 in the electoral district with polling station in Virovitica.

⁵⁸ Data on Anka Tkalčić are provided by Manon Giron in: "Školska spomenica bakarske osnovne škole od 1876. godine do kraja Prvoga svjetskog rata," *Bakarski zbornik* 2007, no. 11: 51-98, here, pp. 57, 67; Petar Maričić was appointed school superintendent of Rijeka County in 1875. He was transferred to Zagreb in 1886. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵⁹ "Zanimivo pismo," *Sloboda*, Oct. 22, 1882/127.

⁶⁰ Mirjana Gross, *Izvorno pravaštvo*, op. cit. pp. 62, 75, 130, 192.

denounced, and the Party of the Right was praised as “the sentinel of their ideas.”⁶¹ Among the numerous telegrams, already in 1880 there was one from the Croatian women of Karlovac.

Karlovac. Long live the memory of Zrinski-Frankopan
Croatian women

Sloboda, “Celebratory commemoration of Zrinski and Frankopan,”
May 5, 1880, no. 54.

It is certain that to observe April 30, Anka Tkalčić also gave her pupils an assignment on that topic. It should also be noted the Vončina, as the departmental head, visited all grades of the boys’ and girls’ elementary school in Bakar on May 19, 1882, accompanied by public school superintendent Petar Maričić, who on June 2-3 Maričić “inspected” these same classrooms.⁶²

According to the “Public Schools and Teacher-Training Academy Organization Act of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia” of October 14, 1874, teachers were subject to “standard or disciplinary sanctions” for dereliction of duties depending on characterization of the breach of duties, i.e., “either as simple misconduct, (...)” or as “official malfeasance.” The standard sanctions were legally-stipulated notice and reprimand, which were issued, in case of official notice, by the municipal school board through the local school superintendent, or in case of reprimand, by the county school board through the county school superintendent, in writing. “Disciplinary” sanctions were under the jurisdiction of the territorial government, and they entailed: “a monetary fine in an amount of 5-20 for. [forints] paid to the teacher pension endowment,” “denial of quinquennial supplements for briefer or longer periods,” “removal from service of the relevant teacher,” “local removal from teaching post,” and “comprehensive dismissal from the service.” This latter measure, also the severest penalty, to which Tkalčić was subjected, was, according to the aforementioned law, applied in cases “in which the continuance of the teacher in the service would run contrary to the purpose of schooling in general.” In order for this measure to be pronounced, the teacher had to have been disciplinarily sanctioned at least once prior and thereafter once more neglected or violated official duties to a considerable degree. By way of exception, the “punishment of dismissal” could ensue immediately if the teacher “abused disciplinary measures and thereby caused severe bodily harm to a child or otherwise harmed the child’s health; then if by gross violation of religious doctrine or morality,

⁶¹ “Proslava uspomene Zrinskog i Frankopana,” *Sloboda*, May 5, 1880/54.

⁶² M. Giron, *Školska spomenica bakarske osnovne škole*, op. cit., p. 71.

either in word or deed, committed blasphemy publicly and before children, or incited or attempted to incite children to immoral conduct.” It is important that § 121 of the Act stipulated – a point Tkalčić cited – that prior to application of any of these “disciplinary sanctions” it was necessary “to hold a formal hearing of the person accused and to conduct a disciplinary inquest into the act in question with full and documented evidence therefor.”⁶³

When she complained during the meeting with the departmental head in Zagreb that she had been dismissed without prior notice or reprimand and that a “valid inquest” was not conducted, she received a response which illuminated the reasons for dismissal for the service. Vončina told her: “What can I do for you? Why were the children writing inanities about Petar Zrinjski and Krsto Frankopan? (...) Why did you give these assignments as ‘very good’ mark?” To Anka’s comment that “If I did not write ‘very good’ I would have written ‘excellent,’” Vončina responded in a “harsh tone”: “I cannot help you in the least.” “I was astonished by the depth of Mr. Ivan Vončina’s refinement!” Tkalčić wrote, stating that she then contacted Ban Pejačević, to whom she first directed a verbal and then a written request, asking him to conduct an investigation, because she had been deeply maligned and that the “government did not hear her before pronouncing such a horrible sentence.” In her “humble request” addressed to “Your Eminence, the Ban!” dated August 30, 1882, Tkalčić stressed that “murderers and arsonists” are heard prior to being sentenced, “while I am denigrated to less than a murderer, for I am condemned without being heard in advance.” Even though the aforementioned “dismissal decree” stated that an inquest had been conducted, that witnesses had testified, and that Tkalčić herself had acknowledged her culpability “to a certain extent,” in her entreaty to the ban she emphasized that she knew nothing of this and that, moreover, the county school superintendent Maričić particularly praised the assignments of her pupils. The dismissed teacher also asked the ban to allow her to continue to work as a teacher at her preceding workplace in Bakar, “if not as a full-time, then at least as a temporary teacher” until conduct of the investigation.

The “worthy and esteemed citizens of Bakar” also sent a petition to Ban Pejačević on Tkalčić’s behalf on August 22, 1882. The parents of the girls who signed the petition, mainly sea captains and their wives, as well as ship-owners and merchants,⁶⁴ like the entire population of Bakar, were dismayed by the

⁶³ “Zakon ob ustroju pučkih školah i preparandijah za pučko učiteljstvo u kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji” of Oct. 14, 1874, *Sbornik zakonah i naredabah valjanih za kraljevinu Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, 1874 (Zagreb, 1874), p. 406-407 (§ 116-§ 121).

⁶⁴ The petition was signed by: Avelin Mifka, sea captain; Franjo Golubović, ship-owner; P. G. Bakarčić, city councillor; E. Golubović, sub-prefect, school board member and ship-owner; Škender Marijašević, Esq., ship-owner, city councilor and school board member; Jakov Batistić, pharmacist; Ivan Šepić, sea captain; Ivan Škijavon, machinist; Bonaventura Urpani, sea captain; Josip Korić, parl. delegate; Miko Polić, sea captain; Jakov Ćepulić, sea captain; Ivan Stjepanović, sea captain; D. Akurti, merchant; Antun Antić, merchant; Cesar Andrijić, sea captain and

teacher's dismissal, for whom the petition had only words of praise concerning her work as a teacher and her conduct "both in the moral and social sense." The undersigned parents asked the ban to "mercifully deign to reappoint Anka Tkalčić to the same post, if only temporarily." The Bakar school board also contacted the ban and the territorial government with the request to return the dismissed teacher to her previous post in Bakar, and barring this, to at least allow her to serve in some other teaching post. Since all of these attempts yielded no result, Tkalčić submitted a request to the territorial government on September 25, 1882 asking that the penalty be reduced, i.e., to allow her to work as a teacher outside of Bakar. Only two days later she was summoned by a highly-placed civil servant (whom she did not wish to name in her letter published in *Sloboda*) to come to her office, where he presented her with a request which he drafted in her name and which she, after signing, was supposed to send to the ban. Urging her to deliver the transcribed request to the ban already the next day, he promised her that she would certainly be returned to the service because departmental chief Vončina made this pledge to him. Handing her the request, the civil servant stressed that "among eighty people" he had never done anyone such a favor. I hereby provide this request in its entirety, for its content is both interesting and illustrative, as it directly intimates the actual reasons why Tkalčić was banned from working as a teacher.

"Your Eminence, the Ban!

"By decree of the high presidency of His Majesty's Territorial Government of 1 August of this year, no. 3275/pr. I was proclaimed unfit to serve as a teacher and have thus been deprived of my livelihood, for which I dedicated so many years of study with the greatest diligence.

"To my great misfortune, I came to Bakar alone, young and inexperienced, and into the deleterious influence of the Party of the Right, where, surrounded only by this party's adherents, I was led astray, for which I had to bitterly endure the severe consequences.

"Lamenting my distressing situation, I have seen my error, and I firmly resolve to avoid even the merest shadow of any Starčevićism in the future, and to remain solely dedicated to my pedagogical/didactic vocation.

ship-owner; Ivan M. Bonetić, sea captain; A. A. Smokvina, ship-owner; Ivan Šepić, merchant; Fr. Šepić, sea captain; I. B. Katarinić, merchant; Tomaz Tadejčić, sea captain; I. Mikoč, sea captain; Matija Cirković, land-owner; Josip Tarabokija, ship-owner; Srećko Findinić, sea captain; F. Randić, sea captain; Ivan Penko, merchant; Srećko Cučulić(?) merchant; Ana Pšibl, née Burdac (widow); Marija Burdac, Kopusan, Esq.; Nina Snautz, sea captain's wife; Hedviga Martinić; Fanija Andrijanić, ship-owner's wife, Angelina Marokoni, sea captain's wife; Marija Bujan, sea captain's wife; Katarina Matrljan, ship-owner's wife; Josipa Medanić, sea captain's wife; Marija Marokoni, sea captain's wife; Germanina Krtica, sea captain's wife; Marija Golubović, née Dall'Astra; Anas Štiglić, sea captain's wife; Paskvalina Soić, sea captain's wife.

“I therefore most humbly beseech Your Eminence, to bestow upon me your mercy and relieve my initial penalty of comprehensive dismissal from the teaching service and magnanimously permit me to apply for another teaching position outside of Bakar, or permit my appointment to some other post.

“In the reiteration of my most humble entreaty, I remain with utmost awe

“Your Eminence,

“in Zagreb.....

“most submissively yours

“(he signed my name here).”⁶⁵

After transcribing the request at home and re-reading it three times, Tkalčić decided that she would not submit it to the ban, and she explained her decision to the readers of *Sloboda* as follows: “(...) my clear conscience will not allow me to submit any such thing to the ban and moreover sign my name to it. (...) Nobody persuaded me of anything, nor was I led astray. (...); and I honestly know no mistakes on my part.” On the same day, September 27, 1882, that the dismissed teacher was dealing with this request, Eugenija Knopfhardt was appointed by decree of the Territorial Government and the Religion and Education Department to the post of teacher in the elementary girls’ school in Bakar.⁶⁶ Anka Tkalčićeva claimed that Ivan Vončina had pledged her teaching position to Knopfhardt even before the government had seen the assignments by her pupils and that she had been selected and confirmed by the government even though Bakar’s residents proposed “Miss Posilović, for she had the best certification.”⁶⁷

The case of Anka Tkalčić and the “Pakrac decrees” to teachers, both male and female, were mentioned in an address on the floor of parliament on January 10, 1884 by Rightist deputy Milan Pavlović.⁶⁸ Wishing to underscore all of the means used by Ban Pejačević in his campaign against the Party of the Right, Pavlović selected precisely the case of the sister of deputy Mijo Tkalčić, saying: “To be sure, Count Pejačević’s government has gone so far in placing obstacles before the Party of the Right that even the fairer sex has not been spared its wrath. But there is an old Croatian saying: he who can’t mount the horse, mounts the saddle. Count Pejačević could not exact retribution on Mr. Tkalčić, so he went after his sister, who is a teacher, simply for saying that she is a Croat.”⁶⁹

⁶⁵ “Zanimivo pismo,” *Sloboda*, Oct. 22, 1882/127.

⁶⁶ M. Giron, *Školska spomenica bakarske osnovne škole*, op. cit., p. 72.

⁶⁷ “Zanimivo pismo,” *Sloboda*, Oct. 22, 1882/no. 127.

⁶⁸ Pavlović was elected to the Croatian Sabor in 1883 from the electoral district in Brinje.

⁶⁹ *Saborski dnevnik kraljevinah Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije* (SD), 1881-1884, Vol. II (Zagreb, 1884), p. 944.; the speech by Pavlović of Jan. 10, 1884 was also published in *Sloboda* on Jan. 23, 1884/19.

The case of the teacher Vera Tkalec

In this dealings with the Party of the Right, Ban Pejačević could not bypass Senj, a Rightist “fortress” in Civil Croatia. In September 1882, Octavian Klemenčić was appointed governmental commissioner for Senj. To implement his intention to transform Senj into a politically “loyal” town he decided, among other things, to impose “loyal political comportment” upon the Rightist adherents among the elementary and secondary school teachers.⁷⁰ Having received warnings from Senj on the inappropriate political conduct of certain teachers in Senj, on January 29, 1883 the ban ordered a disciplinary inquiry. The Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, in the Territorial Government Presidency collection, include the report of the grand prefect of Rijeka County, Ljudevit Reizner⁷¹ of February 14, 1883 with attachments (See: Appendix 1), in which he reported to the ban on the results of the inquiry and “humbly requested” the measures required against individual teachers.⁷² In these documents, the twenty-eight year-old teacher from Zagreb, Vera Tkalec, is also mentioned among those suspected of being Rightist sympathizers.

The suspected teacher was the wife of Zvonimir Tkalec, an elementary school teacher also posted in Senj, who was one of the principals in the “disciplinary inquiry” which Ban Pejačević ordered on January 29, 1883. Based on the content of the attachments that Grand Prefect Reizner submitted together with his report to the ban, it is apparent that the primary motive underlying the inquiry against Zvonimir Tkalec was an incident, or rather an “ugly performance” on December 21, 1882 in Klemenčić’s garden, when he refused to join the toast proposed by the chief of the telegraph office, Gustav Poršinski (Porschinski; Poršinski), to the “illustrious Ban” Pejačević. A “commotion ensued” between the two of them which even resulted in a lawsuit filed by Poršinski against Tkalec. The other incident mentioned in the inquiry against Tkalec occurred during a party in the Music Institute in Senj on December 31, 1882, when, according to a report filed by two Senj residents,⁷³ a group consisting of Gržanić, Krajač and several supporters of the Party of the Right, including the teachers Tkalec and Novak, “and the wife of the teacher Tkalec, were

⁷⁰ For more on Klemenčić’s “ordering” of Senj, see: Jasna Turkalj, “Senj i Senjani u pravaškom pokretu 1880-ih godina,” *Senjski zbornik* 30/2003: 287-320, here, pp. 292-300.

⁷¹ For the Rijeka County grand prefect’s surname, I chose the spelling Reizner which is customary in contemporary historiography (e.g.: M. Gross, *Izvorno pravaštvo*, op. cit., p. 395; M. Gross and A. Szabo, *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu*, op. cit., p. 490; Ivo Perić, *Hrvatski državni sabor 1848.-2000.*, Vol. 2: 1868-1918 (Zagreb, 2000), pp. 83, 96, 301, and in SD, I, 1881-1884, op. cit., p. 3, although in the *Kronologički i alfabetički našastari sabora za trogodište 1881.-1884.* (Zagreb, 1900), p. 262, the spelling Raizner is used, as it is in “Iskaz Prelatah i velikašah onda narodnih zastupnikah na saboru kraljevinah Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije,” HDA, PrZv, box 109, file no. 2505/Pr-881.

⁷² HDA, PrZV, box 171, file no. 535/pr.-1883. (Report of Feb. 14, 1882 with attachments).

⁷³ Attachment listed under no. 5 accompanying Reizner’s report to Ban Pejačević.

raising toasts to the Party of the Right, and then to Starčević, Folnegović and Gržanić individually, and when we began to shout, 'long live Ban Pejačević,' they rose up against us, and Novak urged them to assault us, and he was the first to approach us to begin a physical altercation, but we moved off."⁷⁴ On the same day, February 9, in the minutes compiled together with Senj's mayor, Izidor Vuić,⁷⁵ it is noted that Vera Tkalec stands out as an adherent of the Party of the Right in any company and that she publicly leans toward that party. During the hearing held on February 10, 1883, Zvonimir Tkalec, "originally from Nart in the Zagreb Sub-county, Roman Catholic, 25 yrs. old," among other things,⁷⁶ had to explain the event in the Music Institute, at which time he denied that toasts were raised to Starčević and Folnegović while he was there. Tkalec closed his defense with the conclusion that in his conduct as a teacher and in his general public comportment he "perfectly complies with his duties," and "that these accusations have now arisen due to the unfortunate political unrest in Senj," and he referred to school superintendent Maričić. On the same day, Zvonimir's wife Vera also testified, and during the hearing she that she is a Croat woman "body and soul to be sure," but she denied supporting the Party of the Right (See: Appendix 2. – Minutes to V. Tkalec testimony).

"With reference to the relevant investigative and hearing files," in his report to the ban, Grand Prefect Reizner proposed that Zvonimir Tkalec be dismissed from the service due to the events of December 21, 1882, but also due to conduct

⁷⁴ Josip Gržanić was a Rightist activist who was highlighted by the official newspaper *Narodne novine* in the early 1880s as the individual who bears primary responsibility for the dissemination of Rightist ideas in Senj. The Krajač merchant family, i.e., the brothers Franjo (Fran), Ivan and Ladislav, were noted for their Rightist orientation. Ivan and Ladislav in particular were underscored as "fanatical" adherents of the Party of the Right. I have assumed that the report refers to Ladislav Krajač, who was elected to the Croatian Sabor as a candidate for the Party of the Right in the Brlog electoral district in 1883. Fran Folnegović was elected to the Sabor in Senj in 1878, 1881, 1884 and 1887, when his election, following an appeal by the National Party in Senj, was voided at the parliamentary session of Nov. 28, 1887, while Koloman Bedeković was verified as deputy for the town of Senj. For more, see: J. Turkalj, "Senj i Senjani u pravaškom pokretu," op. cit., pp. 288-318; Vjenceslav Novak, a distinguished Croatian realist writer, was a teacher in Senj for five years, after which, in 1884, he went to Prague to attend the Conservatory. As of 1887 he taught music in Zagreb's teaching training academy, and he also distinguished himself as a composer. See: Dragomir Babić, "Književnici i publicisti (i drugi protagonisti pisane riječi i kulturni radnici) profesori i đaci Senjske gimnazije," *Senjski zbornik* 16/1989: 163-184, here, pp. 175-176.

⁷⁵ Attachment listed under no. 3. accompanying Reizner's report to Ban Pejačević.

⁷⁶ He responded to questions on the events of Dec. 21, 1882 in Klemenčić's garden, on the attack on Gustav Poršinski and Mayor Vuić in *Pozor*, the paper of the Independent National Party; on the events of Feb. 9, 1883, it was claimed (Attachment listed under no. 5 accompanying Reizner's report to Ban Pejačević) that upon the departure of the district judge Josip Culije he signaled those "whose blew horns," and then that he employed impermissible disciplinary measures in his work with children (he was reported by Vincenc Scarpa for treatment of his son Eugen), and that his pupils, whenever they see Mayor Vuić or some other supporter of the governing party on the street, shout: "Long live Folnegović" (Attachment listed under no. 7 accompanying Reizner's report to Ban Pejačević).

unbecoming a teacher – wherein he cited the county superintendent’s report to the government’s Religion and Education Department – as per § 119 of the Act of October 14, 1874. It is worth noting that on January 9, 1883, meaning even before the initiation of the inquiry, Oktavijan Klemenčić proposed Tkalec’s dismissal from the service.⁷⁷ As to Vera Tkalec, the grand prefect stated that the inquiry turned up no evidence that could serve as grounds for her dismissal, but he stressed, citing the statement of Major Gustav Metz,⁷⁸ that there was “considerable suspicion” that she was “a proponent of politically questionable principles.” Particularly interesting is that Reizner stressed that Vera was older than her spouse, so that in his judgment, “as someone older and more reasonable, she could have turned her husband Zvonimir Tkalec from inappropriate public outbursts.” At the end, the grand prefect proposed to Pejačević that Vera Tkalec be subjected to “the strictest supervision,” and that if possible she be transferred to a village “here her principles would pose less of a threat.” I could not find any information as to whether Vera Tkalec was in fact transferred from Senj, but just the initiation of an inquiry, and especially the draconian punishment of Anka Tkalčić clearly and unambiguously demonstrate that the government wanted – as *Sloboda* wrote in its address to the Croatian teaching profession on the eve of the parliamentary elections in 1881 – to raise children “not for a free, but rather for a pro-Compromise Croatia”⁷⁹ and that any teachers, male or female, would be penalized most severely even on suspicion of being supporters of the Party of the Right.

“Public and visible expression of sympathy” and support for the Party of the Right by “women patriots”

As opposed to teachers, the government saw no danger in the expression of support to the Party of the Right by women from the artisan, merchant or peasant classes, for the “public and visible expressions of sympathy” by women, particularly during parliamentary elections, amounted to little more than brandishing bouquets of flowers tied with the Croatian tricolor and garlands with which the lady friends and spouses of Rightist electors honored Rightist leaders, adorning their “hats and chests.”⁸⁰

Besides the parliamentary minutes which recorded that the Rightists enjoyed support from the “ladies’ gallery” with “thunderous applause and

⁷⁷ Attachment listed under no. 2 accompanying Reizner’s report to Ban Pejačević.

⁷⁸ Attachment listed under no. 6 accompanying Reizner’s report to Ban Pejačević.

⁷⁹ “Rieč hrvatskom učiteljstvu,” *Sloboda*, Jan. 26, 1881/11.

⁸⁰ “(Izbor gjurmanečki)” in the ‘Our Correspondence’ section, *Branislav*, Sept. 4, 1878/29; “(Gospić, 10. rujna)” in the Correspondence section, *Sloboda*, Sept. 15, 1884/210; “(Iz Sunje)” in the Correspondence section, *Sloboda*, Sept. 29, 1884/221; “Iz Voj. Križa,” “Ob izboru u Karlovcu” in the ‘Elections in Croatia’ section, *Sloboda*, Sept. 27, 1884/220.

cheers,”⁸¹ the Rightist political press also underscored the presence of members of the “fairer sex” at various occasions with a political character, which was understood as support for the Party of the Right. “Honorable urbane daughters” thus participated in the welcome ceremony organized in Sisak by Rightist supporters for Grga Tuškan,⁸² who on August 27, 1884 referred to the Sabor as a “cave” in which “the bandits have their den,” for which he was penalized by being excluded from six parliamentary sessions, and then removed from the parliamentary chamber with the help of the sergeant-at-arms.⁸³ Both the pro-regime *Narodne novine* and the Rightist *Sloboda* registered, among other things, the participation of mainly the daughters of local artisans (tailors, bakers, cartwrights, carpenters and coopers) in the welcome ceremony, and they were also mentioned by Sisak Mayor Lovrić, in a report dated August 30, 1884, in which he informed Ban Khuen-Héderváry of this event, stressing that besides the welcome ceremony, these girls, albeit in a smaller number, were also present at the dinner in a local inn also held in Tuškan’s honor.⁸⁴ The pro-regime newspapers rarely mentioned such expressions of support by women for the Party of the Right, and when they did mention them, as in this case, it was with amusement or disparagement.⁸⁵

Women followed the trials against members of the Party of the Right with interest. According to *Sloboda*’s report, the courtroom during the trial against David Starčević, Josip Gržanić and Eugen Kumičić, held on December 15, 1885 due to events in the parliamentary chamber on October 5 of that same year, was filled with women “from well-respected Zagreb circles.”⁸⁶ Again, at the pronouncement of the sentence against Grga Tuškan due to “criminal fraud perpetrated” by falsified testimony in the same criminal trial, “the courtroom was filled with ladies from the finest classes” of the city of Zagreb.⁸⁷ “Zagreb’s Croat women” also participated in the “ovations” organized for D. Starčević and Gržanić in May 1886 after their release from prison, “and a particularly sizeable number of the fairer sex” accompanied the carriage and rail car of

⁸¹ Mirjana Gross, *Izorno pravaštvo; Ideologija, agitacija, pokret*, op. cit., pp. 421, 798.

⁸² G. Tuškan lived and had law office in Sisak.

⁸³ SD 1881-1884, II, op. cit., pp. 1685, 1687-1688; “(Zagreb)” in the Correspondence section, *Sloboda*, Sept. 1, 1884/199.

⁸⁴ PrZV, box 204, file no. 3967/Pr.-1884.

⁸⁵ ‘Domestic vistas’ (section), *Sloboda*, Sept. 2, 1884/200; “(Iz Sunje)” in the Correspondence section, *Sloboda*, Sept. 29, 1884/221.

⁸⁶ On Oct. 5, 1885, a conflict arose in the parliamentary chamber between Rightist deputies and Ban Khuen due to the “chamber files” which the ban took from the Archives and sent to Budapest at the request of the Hungarian government. During the commotion, several Rightists ran up to Khuen, and Gržanić kicked him in the “rear”; For more see: M. Gross, *Izorno pravaštvo*, op. cit., pp. 488-500; “Narodni zastupnici pred sudom,” *Sloboda*, Dec. 15, 1885/285.

⁸⁷ “Razprava proti g. dr. Grgi Tuškani,” *Hrvatska*, May 1, 1886/74. Tuškan was sentenced to two years of hard prison time, loss of his academic degree and the right to continue practicing law. The sentence was later commuted to eight months in prison.

David Starčević, while in Jastrebarsko, a welcome ceremony was organized for him attended by “young ladies and women especially from the peasant and artisan classes.”⁸⁸

Gržanić's physical assault of Ban Khuen also inspired women in a humorous fashion, for they rendered moral support with very indicative gifts, and also accorded recognition to the convicted Rightist leader during his prison term.⁸⁹ The women “who leaned toward” the Party of the Right wished to honor him, and probably also raise his spirits, with a silver goblet shaped like a boot, which was supposed to be delivered to him by the wives of Rightist parliamentary deputies Baron Gjuro Rukavina and Hinko Hinković, but their visit was not allowed.⁹⁰ The same symbolism was exhibited by the “exquisite cane” with a handle in the same indicative shape as the aforementioned goblet which the “lovelies from a small town” sent to Tuškan in Sisak to present to Gržanić on his name day.⁹¹ While the courts did not react to these expressions of acknowledgement to the Rightist “martyr,” in May 1887 the act of presenting the gift of a goblet and ring, which some women in the apartment of Ante Starčević gave to Tuškan and Ivan Plochberger (Plohberger) after their release from prison on May 10, 1887,⁹² served as a pretext for bringing Tuškan, Ploch-

⁸⁸ David Starčević and Josip Gržanić were sentenced to three months in prison on Dec. 18, 1885, while David was stripped of his doctorate and the right to practice law. In the appeal hearing, the Council of Seven voided the pronounced sentence and raised the penalty against Starčević and Gržanić to five months in prison, but the perpetrated offense was reclassified as a misdemeanor rather than a crime, while David did not lose his doctorate or the right to practice law. The sentence was counted from the date of pronouncement of the first ruling, i.e., from Dec. 18, 1885; “Sudnica,” *Hrvatska*, Mar. 6, 1886/28; “Ovacije d-ru. Davidu Starčeviću i Josipu Gržaniću,” *Hrvatska*, May 20, 1886/90.

⁸⁹ After Gržanić kicked the hated ban in his posterior, his political sympathizers gave him a miniature boot as a symbol and memento, and soon thereafter a promotional picture appeared which in its lower section featured a photograph of Gržanić with the caption “Josip Gržanić, intrepid defender of our rights, 5 October 1885.” The upper, larger portion of the picture featured a boot adorned with flowers and a tricolor; Josip Horvat, *Politička povijest Hrvatske*, Part One, 2nd edition (Zagreb, 1990), p. 215; Dubravko Horvatić, “Starčević i hrvatska stranka prava prema likovnim umjetnostima,” *Život umjetnosti* 1983, no. 36: 29-42, here, pp. 31, 36, 38.

⁹⁰ “(Srebrna čizmica)” in the “Daily Chronicle” section, *Hrvatska*, Feb. 12, 1886/10.

⁹¹ “(Dar gosp. J. Gržaniću)” in the “Daily Chronicle” section, *Hrvatska*, Mar. 22, 1886/41.

⁹² The pro-regime *Narodne novine* also wrote about the honoring of “the supposed people's defender” and glorification of “outrages and cowardice” at the beginning of 1887, supposedly lamenting the seduced “university youth” who decided to purchase a ring for Tuškan as a sign of appreciation with the engraved dedication “University citizens – to a fighter for truth.” With reference to this event, *Hrvatska* reported that after a disciplinary hearing all participants therein received a sharp reprimand with a grave warning. “Sveučilišni građani - borioci istine,” *Narodne novine*, Jan. 14, 1887/10; “Domaće vesti,” *Hrvatska*, Feb. 1, 1887/25; During the sentencing of Starčević and Gržanić for the aforementioned events in the parliamentary chamber on Oct. 5, 1885, Ivan Plochberger shouted “Death to the ban” and “A noose for Khuen's neck,” for which the Court Council sentenced him to six months in prison; “Sudnica,” *Hrvatska*, Mar. 2, 1886/25; “Domaće vesti,” *Hrvatska*, May 10, 1887/106.

berger, and Fran Folnegović and Starčević, who were also present, before an investigative judge. Since the invited ladies refused to testify in “an investigation conducted over a gift,” they were penalized with heavy monetary fines,⁹³ and in the same ruling, Tuškan, besides the fine, was ordered by the court to turn in the goblet and ring. They responded to the Court Council’s ruling, deeming it unjust and illegal, by filing criminal appeals with the Ban’s Council.⁹⁴ On June 2, 1887, the newspaper *Hrvatska*, in its “Domestic News” section, briefly reported that Anka Tkalčić, the dismissed teacher and sister of Mijo Tkalčić, and Marija Kumičić, the wife of Eugen Kumičić, were summoned to testify before the investigative judge on the hand-over of the gifts, but by all accounts criminal proceedings in this case were never launched. Had any of the participants in this matter ended up in court, *Hrvatska* would have certainly informed its readers thereof.⁹⁵ However, keeping in mind the persons who were encompassed by the investigative procedure, either as perpetrators of the disputed act or as witnesses, and its initiation on the eve of parliamentary elections at which Khuen resolved to crush opposition parties using all available means, it is likely that this was yet another form of pressure on the Party of the Right and its more prominent members.⁹⁶ This assumption appears all the more justified since there was the possibility that the witnesses, if they “remained insistent” even after being fined, could be sentenced by the courts “to up to six weeks in major cases.”⁹⁷ Even though not one of the aforementioned Rightist leaders was jailed, as at mid-May 1887 it was still not known whether the court would decide that the act that prompted the investigative procedure was sufficiently serious to jail the witnesses. During the elections to the Croatian Sabor in 1887, at which Khuen’s repressive regime managed to break the opposition, among the rare reports in *Hrvatska* that mentioned women in the context of the elections, there was a report from Karlovac in which Party of the Right member Dr. Ivan Banjavčić was elected as a deputy: “Oh, you ladies and young women of Karlovac, may you be honored and praised before the entire nation! You illuminated yourselves, you were our advocates and aides, you have earned respect and praise. All glory and fame to you! (...). You showered the Croatian envoys with garlands and flowers, but even more sweetly and beauti-

⁹³ The Court Council fined Starčević and Folnegović 100 forints, which was the highest penalty in cases of witnesses refusing to answer a summons to testify.

⁹⁴ “Iztraga proti ‘nepoznatim,’” *Hrvatska*, May 12, 1887/108.

⁹⁵ *Hrvatska* often published articles under the heading “*Iz sudnice*” (‘From the courtroom’); Feb. 19, 1887/40; Feb. 21, 1887/41; Mar. 3, 1887/50; Mar. 11, 1887/57; May 14, 1887/110; July 9, 1887/154; July 11, 1887/155; July 12, 1887/156; July 16, 1887/160; Aug. 30, 1887/196, etc.

⁹⁶ Just prior to the elections held in mid-June 1887, the opposition parties (Party of the Right, Independent National Party, Parliamentary Centrist Party and Serbian Independent Party) established an electoral coalition to jointly oppose Ban Khuen’s regime.

⁹⁷ “Iztraga proti ‘nepoznatim,’” *Hrvatska*, May 12, 1887/108; Criminal Procedure Act of May 17, 1875, *Sbornik zakonah i naredabah valjanih za kraljevinu Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1875*. (Zagreb 1876), p. 276.

fully, you made these garlands yourselves, you glorious Croatian women, you are truly worthy of the designation of esteemed daughters of your sorrowful mother. Together with your husbands and brothers, you stand by our banner of Croatian justice, truth, pride and awareness.”⁹⁸

Although, as seen herein, various “public and visible expressions of sympathy” and support by women for the Party of the Right can be followed almost from the return of this party to the political scene, a direct public address by a woman only occurred in 1894 at the ceremony to place the cornerstone of the Starčević Hall. On this occasion, the speakers who praised the attending members of the “fairer sex” were addressed by Mrs. Terihaj, whose speech was not just an expression of gratitude but also a political oration. At the actual installation of the cornerstone, when she led a delegation of Zagreb ladies to present a gift to Starčević, he quite emotionally thanked her for her rapturous speech with these words: “The seeds of pure Croatian patriotism emerge from the hearts of Croatian women.”⁹⁹

⁹⁸ ‘From the polling stations’ section, *Hrvatska*, June 22, 1887/140.

⁹⁹ M. Gross, *Izvorno pravašto*, op. cit., p. 798.

Appendix 1



Izkaz

Spisak priloženih izvjestju velikoga župana ričkogoga od 14. veljače 1883 br. 22. ob izvještenju i iztrazi vođenoj u Senju.

Redni broj		Broj komada
1.	Tužba Gustava Toršinskia proti pučkom učitelju Zvonimiru Tkalcu.	1
2.	Izvadak iz izvjestja plavinoga provjerenika Oktaviana Klemenčića	1
3.	Zapisnik od 9. veljače 1883. sastavljen sa gradonačelnikom Urućem	2.
4.	Zapisnik od 8. veljače 1883 sastavljen sa kotar. sudcom Josipom Čulicom	1.
5.	Zapisnik od 9. veljače 1883 o prijavi Marka Šikića i nuke Rivoševića	1
6.	Zapisnik od 9. i 10. veljače sastavljen sa Toršinskim i majorom Metzom.	2.
7.	Iztražni zapisnik od 10. i 11. veljače 1883 proti pučkom učitelju Zvonimiru Tkalcu.	1.
8.	Iztražni zapisnik od 10. veljače 1883 proti učiteljici Veri Tkalec.	1.
9.	Iztražni zapisnik od 10 i 11. veljače 1883 proti pučkom učitelju Vjenceslavu Novaku.	1
10.	Zapisnik od 10. veljače 1883 sastavljen sa gimnazialnim ravnateljem glede prijave proti gimnazialnim učiteljem.	1.
	Σ	12.

na Rieči dne 14. veljače 1883.
veliki župan ričke županije

List of attachments which Grand Prefect Ljudevit Reizner sent together with his report to Ban Pejačević concerning the inquiry conducted in Senj (HDA, PrZV, box 171, file no. 535/pr-1883.).

Appendix 2¹⁰⁰

Minutes

compiled on February 10, 1883 in the town council chamber of Senj on the disciplinary inquiry conducted pursuant to the order of His Eminence, the Ban on January 29, 1883, no. 133 pr. against the teacher Vera Tkalec.

Present:

The undersigned

1. General:

1. My name is Vera Tkalec née Kohar from Zagreb, faith Roman Catholic, age 28, married, no children, no criminal record.

2. You attended a party in the Music Institute on December 31, 1882, and together with supporters of the Party of the Right you toasted Starčević, Folnegović and Gržanić.

2.

I did attend this party, I came with my husband, - we could not find any place except at a table where those gentlemen were seated, who offered us a place which we accepted. They toasted all present and also the fairer sex, for which I thanked them. Toasts were not then raised to either Starčević or Folnegović, I may (...) ¹⁰¹ confirm this under oath. Those present were: Gržanić, Mile Crnković, Nikola Miletić, Mile Blažević with his wife and Novak. ¹⁰²

3. It has been reported, that in any company you emphasize that you are an adherent of the Party of the Right and that you publicly sympathize with that party.

3. That is not true, I am not an adherent of the Party of the Right nor have I ever presented myself as such. A Croatian woman I am body and soul to be sure, but I recognize no party except that I am a Croat, and on this matter my conscience is clear.

¹⁰⁰ Attachment listed under no. 8 accompanying Reizner's report to Ban Pejačević.

¹⁰¹ Word illegible.

¹⁰² This is Vjenceslav Novak, against whom an inquiry was also conducted. The minutes against him were attached to Reizner's report as attachment 9. In his report to the ban dated Feb. 9, 1883, the grand prefect stressed that Novak's guilt was not proven, but he noted that he "frequents the roadhouse." In case former governmental commissioner Klemenčić, whom Novak summoned as witness, did not speak in his favor, Reizner proposed that he be severely reprimanded "and if that does not prove beneficial, he should be transferred to a village, where he would not have as many opportunities to meet in roadhouses."

4. Your task would be to keep your husband from frequenting inns.

4.

Had we known how this would be interpreted, we would not have frequented public company.

5. Have you anything to add?

5. I have nothing to add, for I feel that my conscience is clear, only that I was in the aforementioned company unintentionally, nor could I have imagined that I would encounter any difficulties as a result.¹⁰³

Kroatische Frauen und die Rechtspartei in den achtziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts

Zusammenfassung

Die einzige weibliche Frage, für die kroatische Öffentlichkeit in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts gewisses Interesse zeigte, war die Frage der Erziehung und Ausbildung von Mädchen, so dass fast alle Zeitungen, ungeachtet ihrer politischen Orientierung, damit einverstanden waren, das Hauptziel der weiblichen Erziehung sei, dass die Frau gute Mutter, Ehefrau und Patriotin wird. Deswegen untersuchten an Zahl geringe Geschichtsforscher/innen, die sich mit Frauen jener Zeit in Kroatien befassten, eben diesen Aspekt, beziehungsweise die Frage der Erziehung und Ausbildung von Frauen. Trotz der Tatsache, dass den Frauen in gesetzlichen Rahmen und außer ihnen das Recht des politischen Entscheidens vorenthalten blieb und dass ihr Wirken auf Privatsphäre begrenzt blieb, kann man die Frage stellen, ob die kroatischen Frauen der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts Interesse für Politik, beziehungsweise für politisches Leben in Banalkroatien zeigten und ob sie und auf welche Weise ihre Sympathien für bestimmte politische Parteien zeigten. In diesem Artikel versucht man, durch Analyse der Zeitungen und Zeitschriften der Rechtspartei zu Beginn der 1880-er Jahre und des im Kroatischen Staatsarchiv aufbewahrten archivarischen Materials diese Frage zu beantworten. Obwohl die Quellen für die Geschichte der kroatischen Frauen an Zahl gering und in die Fülle der Quellen über politische Tätigkeit der Männer einge-

¹⁰³ The minutes were signed by: teacher Vera Tkalec, Grand Prefect Lj. Reizner, secretary, Mayor Izidor Vuić (Wuich).

mischt waren, könnte man die Schlussfolgerung ziehen, dass die Rechtspartei, indem sie die Idee der kroatischen staatlichen Unabhängigkeit und Heimatliebe beförderte, ihre Anhänger auch unter Frauen gewann und dass sich die Auffassungen der Mitglieder der Rechtspartei über die annehmbare und wünschenswerte Rolle der Frau, inwiefern man aufgrund der Presse der Rechtspartei Schlussfolgerungen ziehen kann, von den überwiegenden Auffassungen der damaligen kroatischen „männlichen“ Öffentlichkeit aber auch der Frauen, sogar auch der fortschrittlichsten unter ihnen, nicht unterschieden. In humoristisch-satirischen Blättern der Rechtspartei wurde in den achtziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts dem „wunderschönen Geschlechte“ Modenarrheit, übertriebenes Interesse für Tanzen und Unterhaltung, Verschwendung, Eitelkeit, Lesen der fremden, deutschen und französischen Romane und besonders Uninteressiertheit für Lage und Schicksal des kroatischen Volkes, ja sogar Hass auf Kroatien vorgeworfen. Zugleich registrierten die Blätter der Rechtspartei verschiedene Ausdrücke der Sympathie für die Partei und des Beistandes der Rechtspartei und ihren Führern von Seite der Heimatliebhaberinnen. Während die Frauen meistens aus dem Handwerkers-, Handels- und Bauernstande ihre Sympathien für die Rechtspartei dadurch zeigten, indem sie Ante Starčević seinen Namenstag gratulierten, durch Händeklatschen und Beifallsrufe von Galerien im Landtag, durch Blumenschmuck und Blumenwerfen sowie mit ähnlichen Ausdrücken des Beistandes, blieben diese Manifestationen in den 1880-er Jahren von den Behörden meistens unbeachtet. Schon 1882 aber reagierte die Regierung schnell und mit sehr strengen Strafen auf Informationen, dass mit „umstürzlerischen Prinzipien“ auch Lehrerinnen sympathisierten. Die Hauptprotagonistinnen dieses Artikels sind Lehrerinnen Anka Tkalčić und Vera Tkalec, die durch ihr Sympathisieren mit der Rechtspartei auf sich die Aufmerksamkeit der Behörden lenkten und ihre Existenzen bedrohten. Die „in Spuren“ in den schriftlichen Aufgaben ihrer Schülerinnen gefundene für die Erziehung der Jugend „gefährliche Prinzipien“ waren Grund dafür, dass Anka Tkalčić nicht nur aus dem Dienste in Schule in Bakar entlassen wurde, sondern auch dass ihr dauerhaft verboten wurde, Lehrerverberufung zu praktizieren. Einige Monate später war nur „großer Verdacht“, dass Vera Tkalec mit der Rechtspartei sympathisierte, genügender Grund dafür, dass dem Banus Pejačević vorgeschlagen wurde, sie unter die strengste Aufsicht zu setzen und aus Senj aufs Land zu versetzen.

