TEACHER EDUCATION WITHIN SLOVENIAN AND CROATIAN REGIONS FROM 1867 TO 1914

Monika GOVEKAR-OKOLIŠ

The article discusses the education of primary school teachers in Slovenian and Croatian regions of Austria-Hungary through legislation and the organisation of teachers colleges. The study consists of a historical comparative analysis for the period from 1867 to 1914. With the appearance of the dualist monarchy, changes occurred in teacher education which can be identified on the basis of school legislation. Teachers became state employees. New state teachers colleges and private ones with public accreditation appeared, separated by gender, some lasting three and some four years. Analysis of the legislation showed differences between the syllabuses of teachers colleges in Slovenian and Croatian regions. A comparison of their activities also shows differences in development, number and organisation. In Slovenian regions, under the Austrian school legislation, the development of four-year teachers colleges and the implementation of new features in teacher education was somewhat faster than in Croatian regions, even though in Istria and Dalmatia the same Austrian school laws applied.

Keywords: 19th century, teacher education, school legislation, teachers colleges, Slovenian regions, Croatian regions, Austria-Hungary

Introduction

During the period dealt with by this article, i.e. from the emergence of the dualist Austria-Hungary (1867) until World War One (1914), many changes were implemented in education. The network of schools grew, attendance in-
creased, the obligation to attend school became better established, education had ever greater influence on the development of culture and general awareness, while the supervision of schools was transferred from the Church to lay/state supervision. This meant that in addition to religious education, the importance of secular education (civic, patriotic and national) grew. Schools acquired visible characteristics of national, state directed institutions. With the final separation of the work of teachers from that of parish clerks, the role of teachers changed and teachers colleges were founded.\(^1\)

The aim of this study is to compare the development of the education of primary school teachers in Slovenian and Croatian regions within Austria-Hungary. School legislation pertaining to teacher education is analysed, and the syllabuses and foundation of teachers colleges and their organisation with regard to the founder and gender are compared. The study deals with those areas within Austria-Hungary which in the period in question were populated by Slovenians or Croatians. Slovenians lived mostly in administratively divided regions (Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Gorizia and Gradisca, Istria, and Trieste) in the Austrian half, as well as to a lesser extent and without national rights in the Zala and Vas counties in the Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary, as well as in Friulian Slavia, which from 1866 onwards belonged to the Kingdom of Italy.\(^2\) Slovenians represented an absolute majority only in Carniola and a relative one in Gorizia, while in all the other administrative areas they were a minority. The study includes teachers colleges across the whole Slovenian ethnic territory, the marginal parts of which today are outside the Republic of Slovenia (Klagenfurt, Gorizia, Trieste). The Croatians lived in the more unified territory of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia and in Međimurje in the Hungarian part, as well as in Dalmatia and most of Istria in the Austrian part of Austria-Hungary.\(^3\) In addition to the Slovenians, the northern parts of Istria were also populated by Italians, mostly in the seaside towns.\(^4\) The study thus encompasses data about the teachers colleges in the Slovenian regions within the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary: Maribor (Styria), Klagenfurt

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(Carinthia), Ljubljana and Škofja Loka (Carniola), Gorizia (Gorizia and Gradisca), Koper (Istria) and Trieste, and data about the teachers colleges in the Croatian regions of the Hungarian half of the empire: in Zagreb, Karlovac, Đakovo, Petrinja, Pakrac and Osijek (Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia), Čakovec (the Hungarian Zala County), and in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary in Rovinj, Kastav and Pazin (Istria), as well as Zadar, Arbanasi and Dubrovnik (Dalmatia).5

The organisation and functioning of the centrally-led school system was managed by the school administration, which was part of the state administration. In accordance with the legislation of the time, the state school bodies had the jurisdiction to adopt syllabuses, curricula and standards, to organise school inspection services and to develop the school network. Since prior to 1867 there were different laws pertaining to different fields, including schools, in the two halves of Austria-Hungary and the introduction of dualism only affirmed this, the school legislation of the two halves must be treated separately. After the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868), the Croatians in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary handled school matters independently. In 1874, under the influence of the Austrian and Hungarian state school laws, the first Croatian school law was adopted and modernised in 1888, after the incorporation of the Military Frontier into the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia.

The influence of legislation on teacher education in the Austrian half

The fundamental changes and modernisation of primary school, including the education of teachers, began in the public schools reform plans in Austria in the revolutionary 1848.6 However, these plans were mostly unrealisable since they were based on reform in other areas, including the introduction of modern administrative municipalities. After Austria’s defeat to Prussia (1866), which led to the dualist division of the monarchy and because of which Austria rejected German unification, the German Liberals took on the

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5 The terms Croatian and even more “Slovenian” regions is problematic since it is not completely historically justified. During the period dealt with here, there were no political-administrative units under these names. They are used for an easier comparison between the education of teachers in the areas with Slovenian and Croatian populations in the second half of the 19th century.

6 Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unrichtwesens in Österreich 1848 (Wien: Der kaiserlich - königlichen Hof - und Staatsdruckerei, 1848).
leading role in Vienna. With the introduction of the new school laws, which were among the most important Liberal demands, primary education was thus during the first few years of dualism led in a Liberal direction. Firstly, the state law of 25 May 1868 that contained basic provisions connected with the relationship between school and Church facilitated a transition from Church to secular schools. The state took on administration and control of the implementation of education in schools, while the Church kept direct control over religious education. Article 9 of this law states that the state performs the highest governance and control over the whole of education via the Ministry of Worship and Education. The law also introduced the principle of decentralisation, with school councils at three levels. Article 10 states that education was administered at the regional level by regional school councils, in district by district school councils and in municipalities, by local school councils. The councils also decided on quantitative and qualitative changes in teacher education.

In 1848 two- and three-year teachers courses were planned in secondary vocational schools, from which teachers seminaries were to subsequently appear. As no significant reform in teacher education occurred in 1848 and until the introduction of the Liberal school legislation in the late 1860s, future teachers were trained on two- and three-year courses at what were still normal schools and some important “main schools”.

The first public teachers colleges in the form of four-year independent secondary school institutions, under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Worship and Education, were introduced by the third People’s School Law of 14 May 1869, which also standardised and professionalised teacher education. The law abolished the former differentiation of primary schools into trivial, main and normal schools, introducing a unified eight-year people’s (primary) school, which became a

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9 The law of 25 May 1868, RGBI 48, p. 98.
10 Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtwesens in Österreich 1848, Articles 17 and 58.
11 “normal schools” were primary schools – People’s Schools in the capitals
12 “main schools” were primary schools – People’s Schools in big towns
state institution and teachers state employees. The law also prescribed that separate teachers colleges were to be founded for men and women.\textsuperscript{14}

With the appearance of men’s and women’s teachers colleges, the path opened up for girls to become teachers, at the time one of the few women’s intellectual professions. The law formalised the equality of the education of male and female teachers, and facilitated an improvement in the social status of many girls who became teachers.\textsuperscript{15} The law also stated that future teachers had to have practical training. Every teachers college thus had a “practice classroom” as a model of a people’s school where the students could practice, while women’s colleges also had to form links with nursery schools.\textsuperscript{16} In comparison to the previous teachers courses at normal and main schools, with the introduction of teaching observation at people’s schools and the sessions in the ‘practice classroom’, the demands on future teachers and their qualifications improved considerably, as did the quality of their work, which followed more modern pedagogical concepts. The 14 May 1869 law also stated that at the end of their education at teachers colleges, students had to pass a ‘maturity examination’ before a committee chaired by a representative of the regional school authorities, and acquire a maturity certificate.\textsuperscript{17}

The 14 May 1869 law also determined the syllabus for the state teachers colleges, which was different for men’s and women’s colleges.\textsuperscript{18} Male and female students shared only five subjects (Religious Education; Teaching and Education: Education History and Auxiliary Disciplines; Grammar: Written Texts and Literature; Geography and History; and Writing). At men’s colleges, there were more lessons in Mathematics (Algebra and Geometry), Physics and Chemistry, while Home-Country Studies and Agriculture were not taught at the women’s colleges at all. The Geometric Drawing (including freehand), Music and Physical Education that were taught at men’s colleges became at women’s colleges Drawing (without geometric drawing and freehand drawing), Singing and Women’s Physical Exercise. Housekeeping, foreign languages and Women’s Handicrafts were taught only at women’s colleges. When needed, male students only were taught how to teach the deaf and the blind, while preschool education was taught only when needed at both men’s and women’s colleges. In general, at women’s colleges there was less instruction in natural sciences and more in typical women’s areas: housekeeping and

\textsuperscript{14} The law of 14 May 1869, RGI 62, Article 26.
\textsuperscript{15} Vlado Schmidt, Zgodovina šolstva in pedagogike na Slovenskem, III. del (Ljubljana: Delavska enotnost, 1988), pp. 245-246.
\textsuperscript{16} The law of 14 May 1869, RGI 62, Article 27.
\textsuperscript{17} The law of 14 May 1869, RGI 62, Article 34.
\textsuperscript{18} The law of 14 May 1869, RGI 62, Articles 29. and 30.
women’s handicrafts. It is clear from the syllabus that the education of future teachers was adapted to their gender.

The law of 14 May 1869 determined that the language of instruction at teachers colleges should be the mother tongue, while in each specific case the responsibility for deciding this was left to regional laws. If the mother tongue as the language of instruction at specific colleges could not be determined even by a regional law, it was to be determined by the Ministry of Worship and Education, advised by the regional school administration. Although the law did not state which were the second regional languages, it did say in the same Article that wherever this is necessary, students should be able to learn also in the second regional language “so that they can teach in this language if necessary.”

In 1870 a new syllabus was prescribed for teacher colleges, which supplemented the previous syllabus and also determined the weekly number of hours for the obligatory (Table 1) and elective subjects (Table 2), again separately for male and female students. In addition to the language of instruction (the mother tongue), the syllabus included French among the obligatory subjects and among the elective subjects “the second regional language”, which was to be taught two hours a week at both men’s and women’s colleges, and English only at women’s colleges, initially for three and then two hours a week. Annual reports from colleges show that in Slovenian regions, German was the language of instruction.

The syllabus for men’s and women’s colleges also differed in terms of hours. During the first two years, men had 30 hours of obligatory subjects and women 34 hours. In the third and fourth year, they all had 33 obligatory hours. At the two types of colleges, eight obligatory subjects were the same, while the other seven differed. At men’s colleges, there was Agriculture, Violin and Physical Education, and at women’s colleges Housekeeping, Piano, French, Women’s Handicrafts and Physical Exercise. Differences also occurred in elective subjects as men could choose from three subjects (the second regional languages included French and English) and women had no such choice.

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19 The law of 14 May 1869, RGBI 62, Article 31.
22 “Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrerinnen”, pp. 482-487.
language, Piano and Organ, or Methods of Teaching the Deaf, Blind and the Mentally Handicapped), and women between two subjects (the second regional language or English).

Table 1: The number of weekly hours of obligatory subjects at men’s and women’s teachers colleges in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary24

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECTS</th>
<th>MEN’S TEACHERS COLLEGES</th>
<th>WOMEN’S TEACHERS COLLEGES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language of instruction</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy with Practical Exercises</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural History</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic and Geometry</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History and State Legislation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Handicrafts</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total hours</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 “Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer”, (477-482); “Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrerinnen”, (482-487).
Table 2: The number of weekly hours of elective subjects at men’s and women’s teachers colleges in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary\textsuperscript{25}

| SUBJECTS | | MEN’S TEACHERS COLLEGES | | WOMEN’S TEACHERS COLLEGES |
|----------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Elective | | Years | | Years |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Second regional language | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| English | - | - | - | - | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Piano and Organ | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Methods of Teaching the Deaf, Blind and the Mentally Handicapped | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - |
| Total hours | 4 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

The third Austrian state law for primary education (1869) directly affected the establishment of the state four-year teachers colleges in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, and indirectly also the development of teachers colleges in the Hungarian half and within it, the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. On 29 December 1872, with the agreement of the Dalmatian regional assembly, Emperor Franz Joseph approved the regional school law for the Kingdom of Dalmatia, which adapted a number of the provisions of the state law of 1869 and determined that the length of education for future teachers should be three years.\textsuperscript{26} The Dalmatian teachers colleges did not become four-year colleges until 1904, when the regional school law was harmonised with the state law.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{25} “Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrer”, (477-482); “Lehrplan der Bildungsanstalten für Lehrerinnen”, (482-487).

\textsuperscript{26} Law of 29 December 1871, "wirksam für das Königreich Dalmatien, womit auf Grund des Reichsgesetzes vom 14. Mai 1869 die Absätze ... des bezogenen Gesetzes abgeändert werden”, Landes-Gesetz- und Verordnungsblatt für Dalmatien, 1872 (Zadar: Druckerei des Nazionale, no. 11, 1872), 20, Article 3.

The influence of legislation on teacher education in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary

The Habsburg rulers adopted and confirmed laws in Vienna. Primarily, these applied to the Habsburg lands in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, while in the Hungarian half the path was longer since the legislation had to be adapted to the Hungarian legal order and political conditions. The first Austrian primary school law (1774) was amended for the Hungarian half of the empire (Ratio educationis, 1777), and the provisions were adapted to the diverse linguistic, religious and other conditions in Hungary. In the Hungarian half the development of schools, which at the beginning of the construction of a centrally led state school system was reflected particularly in the expansion of the school network and in the training of teachers, from the very start lagged behind the Austrian half. In the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, which after the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868) was granted autonomy in education, the legal provisions pertaining to the lengthening of teacher education followed the Austrian system with preparatory courses until the 1860s, and after the Liberal school law of 14 May 1869, with the founding of men’s and women’s three- or four-year state teachers colleges.

By confirming the Political School Constitution in the early 19th century, in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary Emperor Francis II had left the methodical-didactic supervision of primary school at the lower and middle levels to the Church. Schools in the Hungarian half were influenced by this legislation only indirectly, but it did apply to the school system in the Military Frontier, where Austrian laws were in force until its annexation to the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (1881) and the adoption of a new school law (1888). The provisions of the third state people’s school law (1869) was in 1871 adapted for the Military Frontier with the Regulation About the Teaching in People’s Schools in the Military Frontier, but there is no mention of teacher education.

In the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary, following the German example in the Austrian half, there was an attempt to establish Hungarian as the language of instruction at all levels. Even before 1848, there were constant

29 Politische Verfassung der deutschen Schulen in den k., auch k. k. deutschen Erbstaaten (Wien: Verlag der k. k. Schulbucher, 1806), 10 editions that between 1806 and 1869 determined the Austrian primary education.
30 Horbec et al., Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj, pp. 39-40, 335-351.
political conflicts regarding the use of the official language. On the basis of the decree on school reform passed by the Hungarian parliament and the ruler’s confirmation of the proposal, a new school law “Systema scholarum elementarium” was introduced in 1845 for the Hungarian half, which showed strong Church influence. It focused on religious education and priests had direct supervision over schools. The language of instruction was the mother tongue, but special importance was given to Hungarian. A two-year preparatory course was prescribed for teachers and the candidates acquired a job upon the submission of suitable certificates. In the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia the law was not implemented before 1848, and during the period of Neo-Absolutism (1851-1859), it did not have full legal validity. It came fully into force only after 1861 and applied until the Croatian school law of 1874.

After the establishment of the Dualist Monarchy and the adoption of a series of Liberal laws, the Hungarian Diet adopted the Law on Primary School, which entered into force in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary on 8 December 1868. This Hungarian law did not directly influence schools in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, since after the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement (1868), education fell under the independent responsibilities of the Croatian Diet. On the basis of these two state laws, the subsequent secularisation and modernisation of primary schools in the Kingdom was established by the Law of 14 October 1874, which was adopted by the Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Diet, led by Ban Ivan Mažuranić, and confirmed by King Franz Joseph.

This law had a great influence on the development of teachers colleges in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia with the provision about the three-year education of teacher interns at men’s and women’s colleges. The previous preparatory courses became teachers colleges. The men’s preparatory course in Zagreb became a three-year men’s state teachers college, and in place of the convent women’s teachers school, state women’s teachers college appeared. With the second Croatian Law of 31 October 1888, all the teacher colleges became four-year colleges. The Organisational Statute of 17 July 1889 changed

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31 Horbec et al., Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj, pp. 28, 143-161.
32 Horbec et al., Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj, p. 36.
33 Horbec et al., Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj, p. 41-42, 353-386.
the organisation of the colleges and determined in more detail the syllabus, shown in Table 3.36

Table 3: The syllabus for teachers colleges in Croatian regions in 1889

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>1st year</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>3rd year</th>
<th>4th year</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedagogy and Practical Exercises</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian or Serbian Language</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Language</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography, History and the Teaching of the Constitution</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Geographic Drawing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical Operations in Workshops</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calligraphy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freehand Drawing and Modelling</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music and Singing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piano</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organ</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gusle-playing (elective)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnastics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>128</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The obligatory and elective subjects with the prescribed hours for each year are given in the same table for both men’s and women’s teachers colleges. Among the subjects in the table, only Gusle-playing was elective. The subjects Economics, Piano and Organ did not exist in women’s colleges, where Housekeeping (2 hours a week) and Women’s Handicrafts (11 hours a week) were taught. It is interesting that the subjects Mechanical Operations in Workshops was introduced in 1894/95 at the college in Zagreb (5 hours a week), and in Petrinja and Osijek (3 hours a week).37 A practice classroom where students could practice teaching, was not introduced until the 1888 law, which prescribed the final ‘maturity’ examination.

36 “Учителjske škole”, Školstvo u Hrvatskoj, p. 356; cf.: Ustrojni štatut za učiteljske škole u kraljevinah Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji (Zagreb, 1889), p. 27 and p. 41.
37 “Учителjske škole”, Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, pp. 356-357.
A comparison between the teacher education syllabuses

The syllabus for men’s and women’s teachers colleges, which on the basis of the third Austrian state law (1869) prescribed a detailed curriculum (1870) for the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, can first be compared to the syllabus of teachers colleges in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (1889), which was created for the Croatian part of the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary on the basis of the Croatian law on primary schools and teacher education of 1888, and introduced four-year teachers colleges in the Kingdom. Meanwhile, teachers colleges in Dalmatia, i.e. in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, still lasted three years on the basis of the Dalmatian regional law, valid until 1904.

The differences in the syllabuses around Austria-Hungary thus reflected the differences in legislation. Throughout, the Austrian half was ahead of the Hungarian (Croatian) one with regard to the introduction of new steps forward. In the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, regional special features were retained and the Austrian laws were implemented later. Although the Austrian syllabus for teachers colleges appeared considerably before the one in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, it was much more detailed and better adapted for different cases.

The Austrian syllabus for the four-year teachers colleges consistently separated colleges for men and for women. Among the 14 obligatory subjects, only 5 were the same for everyone, all the others were separated by gender. In addition to 14 obligatory subjects, there were 3 elective subjects at men’s colleges and 2 at women’s. The subjects in the same fields had different names in men’s and women’s colleges. The Austrian syllabus did not specify among the obligatory subjects which was the language of instruction, leaving this decision to the regional authorities. The syllabus for the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, on the other hand, specified Croatian or Serbian as the obligatory language of instruction, plus German. The differences between the obligatory and elective subjects relating to gender were also very notable. For women’s colleges, 15 obligatory subjects and one elective subject were specified, and for men’s colleges 16 obligatory subjects and one elective subject.

Development and organisation of teachers colleges in Slovenian and Croatian regions

From the start of the centralised state school system, the school authorities were well aware that in addition to good organisation and material conditions, good teachers were necessary for the development of primary schools. Their education had to be provided in line with the educational conditions of the time. Since gradually the complexity of their knowledge and the skills
necessary increased, the period of their education also increased. Demands for the better education of teachers corresponded with demands for better pay and an improvement in their social status. Particularly in the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary, these demands were increasingly present at least from 1848 onward, while their realisation was brought by the third primary school law in 1869, which completely separated the work of teachers from that of Church employees (parish clerks and organ players) and transferred the supervision of the pedagogical work from priests to laymen and school councils.

The expansion of the network of teachers colleges in Slovenian and Croatian regions was largely dependent on the competent school ministries that formulated school policy. In spite of the legal provisions in place, the transition to four-year teachers colleges was not unified in the Austrian half since, in addition to Dalmatia, even in some Slovenian regions the teachers colleges initially lasted only three years. The legal requirements were in practice adapted to the conditions in individual lands.

The development of teachers colleges in Slovenian regions

The introduction of the curriculum for teachers colleges (1869), which prescribed four-year education, differed from region to region and one college to another. The transition to four years did not happen at all colleges at the same time.

In Styria, the state men’s college in Maribor was founded in 1869, but the four-year programme was introduced in 1872/73. After 1892, there was also a private women’s teachers college, opened by the School Sisters of Notre Dame. It acquired public accreditation in 1896. In 1902, a state women’s four-year teachers college was also established.

The men’s and women’s state teachers colleges in Klagenfurt in Carinthia were also founded in 1869, but did not implement the four-year programme until 1872/73. Due to financial cuts, the women’s college there was abolished

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in 1881.\textsuperscript{42} In 1899, a private convent women’s teachers college was opened by the Ursuline nuns.\textsuperscript{43}

\textit{In Carniola}, the first state three-year men’s teachers college in Ljubljana was founded in 1870/71. The introduction of the fourth year took place only in 1874/75.\textsuperscript{44} Vlado Schmidt ascribed the reason for the delay to the lack of teachers and the insufficient number of students.\textsuperscript{45} On 25 August 1871, following a decree by the Ministry of Worship and Education, a four-year teachers college for women was opened.\textsuperscript{46} In Carniola there were also two private women’s teachers colleges, run by the Ursuline sisters: in Ljubljana (1869), acquiring public accreditation in 1902 and in Škofja Loka (1909), with public accreditation in 1910.\textsuperscript{47}

\textit{Gorizia and Gradisca} had a private Ursuline convent women’s teachers college in the town of Gorizia from 1862 onward.\textsuperscript{48} The state teachers college in Gorizia was founded in 1871 as a three-year men’s college with a Slovenian and an Italian section. In 1874/75, it became a four-year women’s teachers college. The existing male students, who were legally not allowed to continue their education in a women’s college, had to move to the college in Koper.\textsuperscript{49} With a decree on 10 July 1875 the men’s teacher colleges in Trieste and Gorizia were moved to Koper, where there was the only male teachers college for the whole of the Austrian coastal area.\textsuperscript{50}

\textit{In Trieste}, there was first a private Benedictine convent women’s teachers college, which in 1854 had 8 students. The Benedictine nuns held two-year courses. The future teacher candidates took examinations before a state committee.\textsuperscript{51} In 1872, there was a state male teachers college with 17 students and a state women’s college with 33 students, the language of instruction was Ita-

\textsuperscript{43} Tatjana Hojan, Žensko šolstvo in delovanje učiteljic na Slovenskem (Ljubljana: Slovenski šolski muzej, 1970), p. 35.
\textsuperscript{44} Venceslav Čopič, \textit{Sto let ljubljanskega učitelišča} (Ljubljana: Gimnazija pedagoške smeri v Ljubljani, 1973), p. 11.
\textsuperscript{45} Schmidt, \textit{Zgodovina šolstva in pedagogike na Slovenskem}, p. 236.
\textsuperscript{46} Čopič, \textit{Sto let ljubljanskega učitelišča}, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{47} Tatjana Hojan, “Žensko šolstvo in učiteljstvo na Slovenskem v preteklih stoletjih”, \textit{Zbornik za historiju školstva i prosvjete} (1968) vol. 4: 69-70.
\textsuperscript{48} Hojan, Žensko šolstvo in delovanje učiteljic na Slovenskem, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{49} Johann Markelj, \textit{Bericht der k.k. Lehrerbildungs - Anstalt in Capodistria am Schlusse des Schuljahres 1899/1900}, (Koper: Lehrerbildungs – Anstalt, 1900), p. 22.
\textsuperscript{51} Hojan, “Žensko šolstvo in učiteljstvo na Slovenskem v preteklih stoletjih”, 69.
ian.\(^{52}\) In 1874/75, there were only 16 students at the Trieste teachers colleges.\(^{53}\) Due to the lack of new students and high costs connected to the introduction of a four-year programme, both the colleges were abolished in 1875.\(^ {54}\) The students were able to continue their education at the Koper teachers college.

The three-year state men's teachers college in Koper in **Istria** was founded in 1872 by ministerial ordinance, which at the same time abolished the teachers college in Rovinj.\(^ {55}\) In 1875 it became a four-year college. It had three sections: Italian, Slovenian and Illyrian (Croatian), while the official language was German.\(^ {56}\) The instruction was in all four languages. In the late 19th century, the Slovenians demanded that the college be moved to Gorizia. The Slovenian section of the Koper college soon became unwelcome. Slovenians were discriminated against and had no opportunity to accelerate national development.\(^ {57}\) Moving the teachers college to Gorizia was also supported by the Slovenian teachers newspaper *Učiteljski tovariš*, which raised these issues with the Slovenian deputies in the Vienna parliament.\(^ {58}\) The school authorities took note and in 1909, the Slovenian section of the Koper college was moved to Gorizia, where an independent men's four-year college appeared, with Slovenian as the language of instruction.\(^ {59}\)

The establishment of teachers colleges and a four-year curriculum in the Slovenian lands was decided by the Ministry of Worship and Education; only exceptionally were these decisions influenced by the initiatives of individuals or local factors, such as the example in Koper and Gorizia. Following demands for a more unified organisation of teachers colleges, curricula and syllabuses, the Ministry formed a special commission that was responsible for changes in and the improvement of teachers colleges. In 1874, the commission created an Organisational Statute for Men's and Women's Teachers Colleges, which came into force in 1874/75.\(^ {60}\) The statute introduced a new definition of


\(^ {53}\) Konteštabile-Rovis, *Učitelj naj bo*, p. 17.

\(^ {54}\) Markelj, *Bericht der k.k. Lehrerbildungs - Anstalt in Capodistria*, p. 22.

\(^ {55}\) Markelj, *Bericht der k.k. Lehrerbildungs - Anstalt in Capodistria*, p. 22.

\(^ {56}\) Konteštabile-Rovis, *Učitelj naj bo*, p. 18.

\(^ {57}\) Strmčnik, “Razvoj izobraževanja osnovnošolskega učiteljstva na Slovenskem”, p. 345.


teachers colleges, which were now obligated to train teachers to be capable of fulfilling the requirements specified by the state primary school law in terms of their professional and general knowledge and their character. The provisions pertaining to the duration of education, the public nature of colleges and the non-payment of fees, as well as to the language of instruction, remained the same. The accessibility of teacher education was improved through the introduction of preparatory classes that until 1873 could only be organised in teacher colleges, but after the implementation of the Statute, also in other schools. These classes enabled students to enrol at teacher colleges from different schools, thus helping to alleviate the lack of teachers.

The development of teachers colleges in Croatian regions

In the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia a women’s teachers school was opened in 1848 in the Sisters of Mercy convent in Zagreb, with public accreditation from 1852 onwards. After the law of 1874, it became a three-year school, and after the 1888 law, a four-year college. In 1849, a men’s teachers school was established in Zagreb, which became an independent institution for two-year teacher training. In 1857, a male teachers school was founded in Đakovo, which functioned until 1875. From 1864/65 and until 1874, there was also a women’s private convent two-year teachers school. In 1871, a four-year men’s college appeared in Petrinja. In 1872, a men’s Serbian teachers college was founded in Pakrac, which in 1894 introduced a four-year programme. In 1875, a state women’s teachers school appeared in Zagreb, but was abolished in 1884. In Zagreb, women could only attend the Sisters of Mercy convent teachers school. In 1875, a private women’s Serbian college was founded, which acquired public accreditation in 1911. In 1893, a state men’s college appeared in Osijek, which after 1909/10 women could also attend.

In Međimurje, which was under the administration of the Hungarian Zala County and the Hungarian school ministry in Budapest, there appeared

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64 Batinić, Radeka, “The development and prospects of teacher education in Croatia”, p. 47.
65 “Učiteljske škole”, Školstvo u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, p. 353.
in 1879 a state men’s Hungarian teachers college in Čakovec, which followed the Hungarian school legislation.68

Between 1870 and 1873, in Istria there was a three-year men’s teachers college in Rovinj, where the language of instruction was Croatian and Italian. In 1872/73, only 4 students completed it: two Italians and two Croatians, and the latter became the first Croatian teachers in Istria.69 Due to the insufficient number of students, the school was moved to Koper.70 In 1906, the Croatian section of the Koper teachers college was moved to Kastav, to the new men’s teachers college. The female teachers from Istria attended the teachers colleges in Gorizia or Dubrovnik. The first Croatian private women’s college in Istria was founded in 1912 in Pazin.71

The first teachers school in Dalmatia was established in 1866 in Arbanasi (near Zadar), where the language of instruction was Croatian. Prior to this, in 1852, future teachers were educated on a two-year course in Zagreb, which was held in Italian and constituted the first teachers school in Dalmatia. In 1870, the training of teachers was combined into a single bilingual educational institution, the Imperial-Royal Men’s Normal School in Arbanasi. From 1879 onward, the language of instruction was Croatian, German was an obligatory subject and Italian an elective subject.72 In 1875, a state women’s teachers college was founded in Dubrovnik, which was bilingual – Croatian and Italian. In 1904/05, the teachers colleges in Dalmatia became four-year colleges.73

**An analysis of the development, number and organisation of teachers colleges in Slovenian and Croatian regions 1869-1914**

The table below takes the data above and shows comparably and chronologically the teachers colleges in the two regions within the period in question (Table 4). The development and number of teacher colleges and their organisation in terms of the type (state or private) and gender (men’s or women’s) are analysed. Due to the changes in legislation and the number of colleges, the period in question is divided into the period prior to 1875 and the period after 1909. This division facilitates a better comparison between the regions.

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69 Franković et al., *Povijest školstva i pedagogije u Hrvatskoj*, p. 148.
70 Batinić, Radeka, “The development and prospects of teacher education in Croatia”, p. 47.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slovenian regions (Austrian half of Austria-Hungary)</th>
<th>Teacher colleges 1869-1914</th>
<th>Number of colleges until 1875</th>
<th>Number of colleges after 1909</th>
<th>Number of all colleges 1869-1914</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Styria</td>
<td>Maribor, men’s state college (3-year) (1869) – from 1872/73, 4-year Maribor, School Sisters women’s private college (1892) – public accreditation 1896 Maribor, women’s state college (4-year) (1902)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carinthia</td>
<td>Klagenfurt, men’s state college (3-year) (1869) - from 1872/73 4-year Klagenfurt, women’s state college (3-year) (1869 – 1881) – from 1872/73, 4-year Klagenfurt, Ursuline women’s private college (1899)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carniola</td>
<td>Ljubljana, Ursuline women’s private college (1869) - public accreditation in 1902 Ljubljana, men’s state college (3-year) (1870) – from 1874/75, 4-year Ljubljana, women’s state college (4-year) (1871) Škofja Loka, Ursuline women’s private college (1909) – public accreditation in 1910</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorizia and Gradisca</td>
<td>Gorizia, Ursuline women’s private college (1862) Gorizia, men’s state college (3-year) (1871) – from 1874/75 women’s state college (4-year) Gorizia, men’s state college (4-year) (1909)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trieste</td>
<td>Trieste, Benedictine women’s private college (1854) Trieste, men’s and women’s state college (3-year) (1872 – 1875)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istria</td>
<td>Koper, men’s state college (3-year) (1872) – from 1875, 4-year</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian regions</td>
<td>Teacher schools and colleges 1869 - 1914</td>
<td>Number of colleges before 1875</td>
<td>Number of colleges after 1909</td>
<td>Number of all colleges and schools 1869-1914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia</strong> (Hungarian half)</td>
<td>Zagreb, Sisters of Mercy women’s private college (1848) – public accreditation in 1851 – from 1888, 4-year Zagreb, men’s state school (2-year) (1849) – from 1874, 3-year Đakovo, men’s college (1857 – 1875) Đakovo, women’s private college (1864 – 1874) Petrinja, men’s state college (4-year) (1871) Pakrac, men’s state college (1872) – 1894 (4-year) Zagreb, women’s state school (2-year) (1875 – 1884) Karlovac, Serbian women’s private college (1875) – public accreditation from 1911 Osijek, men’s state college (1893)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medimurje</strong> (Hungarian half)</td>
<td>Čakovec, Hungarian men’s state college (1879)</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Istria</strong> (Austrian half)</td>
<td>Rovinj, men’s state college (3-year) (1870 – 1873) Kastav, men’s state college (1906) Pazin, women’s private college (1912)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dalmatia</strong> (Austrian half)</td>
<td>Zadar, men’s state school (2-year) (1852- 1870) Arbanasi, men’s state school (2-year) (1866 - 1870) Arbanasi men’s state college (3-year) (1870) (from 1904/05, 4-year) Dubrovnik, women’s state college (3-year) (1875) (from 1904/05, 4-year)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows that between 1869 and 1914 there were 16 teachers colleges in Slovenian regions and 17 in Croatian regions. In Slovenian regions, the
largest number were in Carniola (3), and fewer in Carinthia (2), Gorizia (2), Trieste (2), Styria (1) and Istria (1). In Croatian regions, the most were in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (8), and fewer in Dalmatia (4) and Istria (1). Altogether, between 1869 and 1875, there were 13 teachers colleges in Croatian regions and 11 in Slovenian regions. A comparison of the Slovenian and Croatian regions after 1909 shows that in the Slovenian regions the highest number of colleges was in Carniola (4), followed by Styria (3), Gorizia (3) Carinthia (2), Trieste (1) and Istria (1). In Croatian regions, the highest number of colleges was in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia (6), followed by Istria (2), Dalmatia (2) and Međimurje (1). In the early 20th century, in Slovenian regions there were 14 teachers colleges and in Croatian regions 11.

Between 1869 and 1914, teachers colleges were founded on the basis of school legislation, including the transformation of three-year colleges into four-year ones. The third school law of 14 May 1869, which applied to the Austrian half of Austria-Hungary (the Slovenian regions and the Croatian regions of Istria and Dalmatia), prescribed a four-year education period. The implementation of the law was gradual since most of the teachers colleges initially lasted three years and then in the mid-1870s four years. The last to introduce the four-year programme was Dalmatia in 1904/05.

In the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary, the school law of 14 October 1874 decreed for the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia that the then teacher-education courses should be abolished and turned into three-year teachers colleges. Four-year programmes were introduced with the law of 31 October 1888. In Slovenian regions, most teachers colleges were four-year colleges in the 1870s, while in Croatian regions this happened in the 1890s.

A comparison with regard to the founder (state or private) shows that in Slovenian regions until 1875 there were eight state schools and three private, convent schools. In Croatian regions there were ten state schools and three private convent schools. After 1909, this changed due to the closing down of colleges or a transfer to another place. In Slovenian regions, the number of private convent schools with public accreditation increased by three, and in Croatian regions the number of state teachers colleges fell by two. In both regions, between 1869 and 1914 there were more state than private teachers colleges. In Slovenian regions there were eight state colleges both before 1875 and after 1909. Meanwhile, in Croatian regions, the number of state colleges fell from ten to eight. After 1909, the number of private colleges in Slovenian regions grew from three to six and in Croatian regions the number remained the same (3).

A comparison of teachers colleges by gender shows that until 1875 in Slovenian regions there were six men’s and five women’s teachers colleges, while
in Croatian regions there were eight men’s and five women’s teachers schools. After 1909, there were five men’s and nine women’s colleges in Slovenian regions and seven men’s and four women’s in Croatian regions. Before 1875, there were fewer men’s and the same number of women’s colleges in Slovenian regions. After 1909, in Croatian regions, compared to Slovenian regions, there were still more men’s colleges and in Slovenian regions more women’s colleges. Between 1875 and 1909, the number of men’s teachers colleges fell in both regions, while the number of women’s colleges in Slovenian regions increased. It can be justifiably assumed that in Slovenian regions more women decided to become teachers and they were trained mainly at private teachers colleges. Among nine women’s colleges, only three were state owned.

Conclusion

The analysis has shown that teacher education between 1867 and 1914 in Slovenian and Croatian regions differed even with regard to legislation, which greatly influenced the organisation of teacher education. In Slovenian regions, four-year teacher education colleges appeared much earlier than in Croatian regions. In the former, the law of 14 May 1869 prescribed that teacher colleges should last four years, which also applied to Istria, but not until 1904 for Dalmatia. In Croatian regions in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary, the law of 14 October 1874 first prescribed three-year teacher education programmes and then the law of 31 October 1888, four-year ones.

A comparison of syllabuses from 1869 and the amendment from 1870 for Slovenian regions, Istria and Dalmatia, and the syllabuses from 1889 for Croatian regions shows that different subjects were prescribed for men’s and female’s teachers education in both sets of regions. The syllabus for Slovenian regions (1870) did not specify among the obligatory subjects the language of instruction since the decision was left to the regional authorities, while in Croatian regions (1889) it prescribed Croatian or Serbian and German. The comparison of syllabuses for different regions also shows that they prescribed the same number of subjects for men (17) and for women (16). In both regions, women took the subjects Housekeeping and Women’s Handicrafts, but in Croatian regions French and Piano were not among their obligatory subjects, and English or the second regional language not among the elective subjects. Men in Slovenian regions did not have the subject Mechanical Operations in Workshops, while in Croatian regions the subjects History with State Legislation, Farming and Violin were missing. Among the elective subjects the differences occurred in the fact that men in Croatian regions could choose Gusle-playing, while in Slovenian regions there was the subject Piano and Or-
gan, the second regional language or the Methods of Teaching the Deaf, Blind and Mentally Handicapped. The syllabuses were adapted to the requirements of individual regions, but the separation between male and female subjects remained. Because of this consistent gender differentiation, it can be assumed that differences in knowledge occurred between the two sexes and consequently in teachers’ salaries and working methods.

Another difference between teachers colleges in the Slovenian and Croatian regions was in the founder (state or private). Private schools were convent schools for women in both Slovenian and Croatian regions. They mostly acquired public accreditation toward the end of the 19th century. Because of the abolition of certain colleges, the period in question (1869-1914) has in this study been divided into the period before 1875 and after 1909. Until 1875, in Slovenian regions there were 11 teachers colleges, 8 state ones and 3 private ones, 6 were for men and 5 for women. In the same period, there were in Croatian lands 13 teachers schools and colleges, of which 10 were state owned and 3 private, 8 for men and 5 for women. After 1909, the total number of colleges in Slovenian regions increased to 14: of these, 8 were state owned and 6 private, 5 were for men and 9 for women. In Croatian regions, the total number of colleges in comparison to the previous period fell to 11: 8 were state owned and 3 private, 7 for men and 4 for women.

Due to the different development of education in the transition periods, differences in teacher education between Slovenian and Croatian regions were sufficiently notable also during the mid-1870s, when in Slovenian regions there were fewer colleges in total (11), fewer state owned ones (6) and the same number of private ones (3) as in Croatian regions, where there were 13 schools in total, 10 state owned and 3 private. After 1909, the total number grew only in Slovenian regions (from 11 to 14), while in Croatian regions it fell (from 13 to 11). In Slovenian regions, there was a notable increase in women’s colleges, while in Croatian regions it remained the same. The number of men’s colleges fell everywhere (in Slovenian regions from 6 to 5 and in Croatian from 8 to 7). The comparison between Slovenian and Croatian regions justifies the claim that the increase of women’s teachers colleges indicates a feminisation trend in this profession.

The Austrian school legislation had a quantitative and qualitative influence on the development and organisation of teachers colleges and on the quality of teacher education. Four-year secondary level teachers colleges appeared, separated by gender, while teachers became state employees. Between 1867 and 1914, both in Slovenian and Croatian regions, teacher education became more standardised and professionalised, although in Croatian regions in the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary this happened later than in the Austrian half.
Lehrerausbildung in kroatischen und slowenischen Regionen zwischen 1867 und 1914

Zusammenfassung


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