

## The Ladies Society and Ladies Club: Two Examples of Women’s Associations in Zagreb\*

Membership in the Territorial Ladies Society for Women’s Education and Enrichment in Croatia and Slavonia (1900) and the Ladies Club in Zagreb (1901) was restricted to women, who, in fact, mostly belonged to the social elite. The Society and the Club were linked organizations exclusively saw to the needs of women and were particularly dedicated to the education of young schoolgirls. While the Society was dedicated to women’s philanthropy, the Club dedicated special care to the sociability of its members. The beneficiaries of philanthropic work, as well as the women who managed it, greatly benefited from the work of these associations. By helping schoolgirls from lower social classes, the female members of the elite were helping themselves as well. They participated in public life and were able to gain management and decision-making experience. In the broadest sense, they actively involved in political issues, i.e., social policies.

### 1. Introduction

“Sie haben Ihr ganzes Leben der Jugend gewidmet. Es ist ein erhebendes Gefühl am Abend seines Lebens zu wissen dass man nicht umsonst gelebt hat. Vaša vjerna prijateljica. Margit Khuen-Héderváry.”<sup>1</sup> These were the words of the very first message written by the wife of Croatia’s *ban* (the viceroy or royal governor), Dragutin (Károly) Khuen-Héderváry (1849–1918) in the Scrapbook. The members of the Ladies Club dedicated this Scrapbook to Marija Jambrišak (1847–1937) on November 7, 1917, most likely in honour of her seventieth birthday. Concern for women, their improved status in society and the availability of education is what Marija Jambrišak, a patriot,<sup>2</sup> a Croatian pedagogue particularly engaged in the education of women, had in common with Margit Khuen-Héderváry, a Hungarian and the *ban*’s wife. Support from someone who was in many ways the

\* The article is based on the graduate thesis by PIŠKOR, Martina. 2018. *Gospojinski klubovi kao izraz društvenosti žena na početku 20. stoljeća u gradu Zagrebu*. Graduate thesis, Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište.

<sup>1</sup> “You have dedicated your entire life to youth. It is a sublime feeling on the eve of your life to know that you have not lived in vain. Your faithful friend.” HR-HŠM-1032, Marija Jambrišak, 2, Biobibliografski prilozi, Spomenar Gospojinskog kluba, 1917, knj. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Virtually every entry in the Scrapbook describes Jambrišak as a patriot.

country's 'first lady' proved invaluable to each project's success. Both women were associated with the Territorial Ladies Society for Women's Education and Enrichment in Croatia and Slavonia [*Zemaljska gospojinska udruga za naobrazbu i zaradu ženskinja u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*] (1900) and the Ladies Club in Zagreb [*Gospojinski klub u Zagrebu*] (1901), the first modern women's organizations, both established during Khuen-Héderváry's reign (1883–1903).

Khuen-Héderváry is one of the best well-known *bans* in Croatian history during the era of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867–1918). He arrived in 1883 in order to pacify the country after a major Croatian revolt. Bilingual Croatian-Hungarian signs and Hungarian flags posted on public buildings instead of exclusively Croatian ones were perceived as additional proof of Magyarization. Khuen-Héderváry left his post after another Croatian revolt over Hungarian flags and coats of arms hung at railway stations. During his reign, the Croatian political rights and statehood guaranteed by the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise (*Nagodba*) (1868) were undermined by Magyarization. Furthermore, integration of Croatia and Slavonia, which were under Hungarian rule, and Dalmatia, under Austrian rule, into the Triune Kingdom was not feasible. Khuen-Héderváry's tenure was marked by major political unrest and tensions which endured even after his departure, until the beginning of the First World War.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, modernization trends were sufficiently potent and, with time, Zagreb assumed the character and functions of Croatia's political, economic, and cultural capital.<sup>4</sup> The city expanded, most notably in the Lower Town (*Donji Grad*) and the area of its so-called 'Green Horseshoe' (*Zelena potkova*) area. This is where some of the most prestigious cultural institutions of the bourgeoisie were built, such as theatres or museums. A rich cultural and social life began to develop through civil society institutions. In 1905, there were 114 associations in Zagreb with 85,170 members.<sup>5</sup> In 1900, the city had a population of only 61,002, which testifies to the importance of the development of such social activities.

Such associations, as areas of free civic engagement, separate from government structures and devoid of the desire for profit, primarily developed in European cities among members of the urban and educated milieu.<sup>6</sup> In general, the development of sociability can be interpreted as the human affinity for social behaviour. From a historiographic standpoint, it enables study of the functioning and role of formal organizations, such as various associations, or informal forms of socializing, i.e., in cafés. They provided a framework and platform to promote values and attain the aims of individual interest groups.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> ŠVOGER, TURKALJ 2016; MACAN 2004; ŠIŠIĆ 2004: 476-486.

<sup>4</sup> MARUŠEVSKI 1997: 197-228; GROSS, SZABO 1992; VRANJEŠ-ŠOLJAN 2009: 103-114; VUKIČEVIĆ 2020: 17-23; BUNTAK 1996: 755-782.

<sup>5</sup> *Statistički godišnjak Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije I.*, 1913: 775.

<sup>6</sup> MORTON, VRIES, MORRIS 2006; CLARK 2000; HOFFMANN 2006; GIOMI 2021.

<sup>7</sup> SABOTIČ 2007: 12.

Besides large cultural organizations such as Matica hrvatska (1842) or the St. Hieronymus Society (*Društvo sv. Jeronima*) (1868), many other humanitarian and philanthropic associations were active in Zagreb.<sup>8</sup> At the time, the institutionalized solution of social problems at the national or local level had yet to develop. The Catholic Church and various humanitarian organizations took care of widows and orphans, the poor and sick.<sup>9</sup> Some of those organizations were women's associations that brought together women from higher social classes and teachers to care for the most vulnerable members of society and organize various philanthropic gatherings.<sup>10</sup> That was the case in Croatia as well. The first among them was the Ladies Society (Frauen-Verein) from Zagreb, which was established in 1855.<sup>11</sup> Other associations were subsequently established, some of them with explicit religious or national identities (Israelite, Serb or Roman Catholic).<sup>12</sup> Their female members were prepared to dedicate their free time, money, and reputation to the common good. This practice was widespread in the West, particularly during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Women's philanthropy of the time is often described as maternalism,<sup>13</sup> or relational feminism.<sup>14</sup>

"The woman question" was gaining more and more prominence throughout 19<sup>th</sup>-century Western Europe. Certain positive changes regarding the role of women in society took place, although girls were still being raised to embody traditional, non-material values such as devotion, innocence, modesty and chastity, and dedication to the roles of wives, daughters, and mothers.<sup>15</sup> The new era not only meant helping those in need, but also encouraging women to assume a new role, to become educated and enter the public sphere.

The first wave of feminism (during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century), i.e., the emancipation of women, was embodied by equality before the law in education, at work and within marriage, and then by women's suffrage and the suffragettes who seeking political rights.<sup>16</sup> Education was particularly important because of the possibilities that arose from it. In Croatia, elementary school education for girls became mandatory with the enactment of a modern school law in 1874 thanks to *Ban* Ivan Mažuranić (1873–1880). The next vital step was taken with

---

<sup>8</sup> HERMAN KAURIĆ 2009: 427-463.

<sup>9</sup> PARNICA 2000: 101-122.

<sup>10</sup> PRLENDA 2005: 321-322.

<sup>11</sup> BENYOVSKY 1998: 78-81.

<sup>12</sup> ŠVOB 1998 270-273.

<sup>13</sup> KOVEN, MICHEL 1993.

<sup>14</sup> OFFEN 2000: 21-23.

<sup>15</sup> IVELJIĆ 2007: 278-281.

<sup>16</sup> On the history of women and feminism, see DUBY, PERROT 1991; FELDMAN 2004; GOOD, GRANDNER, MAYNES 1996; OFFEN: 2000; OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK: 2022.

the opening of Women's Lyceum in Zagreb in 1892.<sup>17</sup> More opportunities became available to girls: to obtain a level of education previously reserved exclusively for young men and achieve financial independence through employment.<sup>18</sup> As early as 1895, some women were allowed to enrol in the Faculty of Philosophy (today's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences), and in 1901 they obtained the right to regular enrolment.<sup>19</sup>

The emancipation of women in European countries in that period was generally in the hands of women who participated in public life in different ways, either vehemently through suffragette protests or more peacefully through women's magazines or women's associations. Soon some women's associations were dedicated exclusively to women.<sup>20</sup> Women's philanthropy began shifting its focus from maternalism, i.e., caring for mothers, children, the sick, the poor, etc., to supporting women's education and employment.<sup>21</sup> This form of activism, called "philanthropic feminism," is based on philanthropy and education.<sup>22</sup> It aims to open the door to the "experience of organized action and the acquisition of knowledge as an opportunity to participate in social power".<sup>23</sup> The intention was not only to solve the social problems of women, but also to facilitate their education in order to ensure their better status and greater role in society. By organizing philanthropic events and encouraging education, women were facilitating the development of the society to which they belonged, i.e., civil society, as well as benefiting themselves as well.

Croatia was not exempt from these changes.<sup>24</sup> The first women's magazine *Na domaćem ognjištu* [On the Household Hearth] was launched in Zagreb in 1900.<sup>25</sup> The first two associations which moved away from traditional women's charity work and placed their focus on education were established: the Territorial Ladies Society for Women's Education and Enrichment in Croatia and Slavonia (1900) and the Zagreb Women Teachers Club (*Klub zagrebačkih učiteljica*) (1902).<sup>26</sup> The names of these associations speak for themselves: the former was focused

<sup>17</sup> OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK 2006: 164.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 148-149.

<sup>19</sup> LUETIĆ 2002: 167.

<sup>20</sup> BENYOVSKY 1998: 73-74; PRLENDA 2005: 319-320.

<sup>21</sup> COHEN 2010; BATTAGLIOLA 2003: 123-140; BATTAGLIOLA 2009: 135-154; BELLIARD 2009; MCCARTY 1996.

<sup>22</sup> CORRADO POPE, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisured and Charitable Women in Nineteenth Century England and France," cited in SKLEVICKY 2016: 415.

<sup>23</sup> SKLEVICKY 2016: 415.

<sup>24</sup> OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK 2022: 169-173.

<sup>25</sup> ŠILOVIĆ-KARIĆ 2004: 181-190.

<sup>26</sup> IVELJIĆ 2007: 283.

on the education of women and working women, while the latter was dedicated to a specific (teaching) profession, whose primary task was education itself. Women's philanthropy and women's associations were generally initiated and established by members of the political elite, such as Margit Khuen-Héderváry, or the educational elite, such as teachers like Marija Jambrišak.

A newspaper article published in 1901 in the magazine *Svjetlo* [Light] to mark the establishment of the Ladies Society claimed that there was no real modern women's movement in Croatia.<sup>27</sup> In 1914, another article in *Obzor* [Horizon] acknowledged the contribution of Croatian women's associations and called for the establishment of a federation of such associations.<sup>28</sup> The author even listed 14 women's associations active in Zagreb, which had at their disposal total capital of 750,000 Kronen.

The period from 1901 to 1914 exactly covers the activity of the Territorial Ladies Society for Women's Education and Enrichment in Croatia and Slavonia and the Ladies Club in Zagreb. We shall proceed by introducing both associations, the circumstances surrounding their establishment, their organisational structure, and the women who led them. This will be followed by information on their activities and their actual beneficial impact on the women whose lives they sought to improve. The leadership of both associations had clearly defined goals and various means and opportunities to achieve them. Representing these women's associations not only meant discussing the problems women faced at the time, but also to discuss the possibilities of public involvement by women of the high bourgeoisie. It is also a contribution to the women's history.

## 2. General Information on the Territorial Ladies Society and the Ladies Club in Zagreb

The Territorial Ladies Society for Women's Education and Enrichment in Croatia and Slavonia was established at the initiative of Countess Margit Khuen-Héderváry, the reigning *ban's* wife, in honour of the Empress and Queen Elizabeth of Austria, after the latter's assassination in 1898. Its charter was confirmed by the Internal Affairs Department of the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Territorial Government on 23 May 1900.<sup>29</sup> The stated purpose of the Society was to "support women in higher education, the improvement of households and efforts pertaining to the economic ability of women."<sup>30</sup> The Society adhered to traditional values by

---

<sup>27</sup> 1901. "Žensko pitanje u Hrvatskoj," *Svjetlo* (Karlovac), 20 October 1901.

<sup>28</sup> 1914. "Javni rad hrvatske žene," *Obzor* (Zagreb), 12 April 1914.

<sup>29</sup> HR-HDA-79-UOZV, tapuscrit 4, "Društvo zemaljske gospojinske udruge za naobrazbu i zaradu žena," 1137/1900, 7. PLEŠE 2000: 10.

<sup>30</sup> BENYOVSKY 1998: 89.

educating women about running a household. However, it also encouraged them to emancipate themselves by helping them acquire higher education and become competitive on the job market. To achieve this goal, only women could become full members of the Society. Men could only be benefactor members. The Society did not limit itself to Zagreb. Instead, it planned to establish branches in every major city and operate at the level of Croatia and Slavonia.

Under its motto, "Forward" (*Naprijed*), the Society's first assembly was held in the Zagreb City Hall on 29 March 1901.<sup>31</sup> Its leaders were: Margit Khuen-Héderváry, president; Sofija Spevec, first vice president; Countess Elvira Kulmer, second vice president; and Marija Jambrišak, secretary.<sup>32</sup> The only man was the treasurer, Nestor Halagić, who was involved in the Society's work probably due to his expertise in finance, a field that was still unattainable for women, regardless of all of the previous progress in women's rights.<sup>33</sup> At the time of its establishment, the Society already boasted of "9 founders, 7 benefactors, 145 full-time members, 155 part-time, 9 supporting permanent members and 433 one-time contributors."<sup>34</sup> The Society secured its income through registration fees (for example, the City Council paid 200 Kronen as a founding member)<sup>35</sup> and bequests (Klotilda Buratti, born Vranyczany-Dobrinović, bequeathed 3,000 Kronen to the Society in 1912).<sup>36</sup> By 1914, the Society had raised its equity to 210,000 Kronen.<sup>37</sup>

The Territorial Ladies Society was a closed membership women-only association and an example of women helping other women achieve their educational and economic potential. However, the Society also dealt with the social needs of its members. It would soon establish the Ladies Club in Zagreb. The two organizations operated in conjunction.

The Club's charter was approved on January 20, 1901.<sup>38</sup> Its first president was Jutta Mošinski, while its vice presidents were Jetika Cuculić and Alma Grahor. Marija Jambrišak assumed the role of secretary, and Draginja Savić became its treasurer.<sup>39</sup> The organisations of the Society and the Club were slightly different.

<sup>31</sup> 1901. "Zem. gospojinska udruga," *Na domaćem ognjištu* (Zagreb), May 1, 1901.

<sup>32</sup> 1900. "Zemalj. gospojinska udruga," *Na domaćem ognjištu* (Zagreb), November 1, 1900.

<sup>33</sup> Nestor Halagić was a Croatian soldier and royal adviser. He was also controller and head of the Territorial Royal Treasury. He retired in 1901 and died several years later, in 1905. See *Banovac*, 28. September 1905.

<sup>34</sup> 1901. "Zem. gospojinska udruga," *Na domaćem ognjištu* (Zagreb), May 1, 1901.

<sup>35</sup> HR-DAZG-10-GPZ, 58260/1901.

<sup>36</sup> HR-DAZG-84, 1308/1912.

<sup>37</sup> 1914. "Javni rad Hrvatske žene," *Obzor* (Zagreb), April 12, 1914.

<sup>38</sup> HR- HDA- 79- UOZV, 1165/1901., Pravila Gospojinskog kluba, 11. See also the digitised charter, <https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=i&id=18571>.

<sup>39</sup> 1901. "Gospojinski klub u Zagrebu," *Na domaćem ognjištu* (Zagreb), 1 March 1901.

The post of Club president was considered above all honorary<sup>40</sup> and it was intended for the most distinguished members of the Society. The Board, consisting of the president and twenty members, was authorized to make the most important decisions.<sup>41</sup> It supervised the Club's membership as well. It was not enough to be an "educated" lady. A prospective member had to be over 18 years of age and receive two recommendations, one of which had to come from a Board member. Although its name suggested that its membership was open only to citizens of Zagreb, the Club was in fact open to women who lived outside the city, i.e., foreign women during their stay in the Croatian capital.<sup>42</sup> Due to its membership requirements, the Club became a closed-membership elite type of society, in accordance with the very choice of the term "club," which was probably inspired by English men's clubs.

The Club's primary mission, as defined in the first article of its charter, was to "provide an opportunity for the educated class of women, to socialize, have fun, exchange views and promote generally beneficial objectives." The Club's fundamental mission was providing moral and material support to the achievement of various national and cultural aims.<sup>43</sup> This was specified as its main purpose in the Club's new charter, which was adopted in 1903.<sup>44</sup> After ratifying its new charter, the Club's stated goals were more closely aligned with those of the Society: 20% of its budget was allocated for charitable purposes, another 20% was allocated to support the daughters of Zagreb clerks in the Jelisava Foundation boarding school, and another 20% to a maximum amount of two hundred Kronen was allocated for the dowries of poor girls in the city of Zagreb. Girls could compete for the dowry regardless of religious affiliation. They had to obtain a certificate of virtuous conduct from the municipal authorities and their parish office. After the amended charter combined cultural and social life with humanitarian work, Club members were able to contribute to the city's cultural life.

### *3. Renowned members of the Ladies Society and the Ladies' Club*

Not much is known about the members of the Ladies Society and Ladies Club. Some of their names can be found in the Ladies Club 1917 and 1918 Scrapbook, which the members of the Club presented as a gift to Marija Jambrišak. The scrapbook can be described as a student's notebook of specific format given to dear colleagues to write their name in it, along with a text, in order to preserve

---

<sup>40</sup> HR- HDA- 79- UOZV, 1165/1901, 7.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 8-10.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 2, HR-HŠM-1032-2-1. See Spomenar Gospojinskog kluba, 1917.

<sup>43</sup> HR- HDA- 79- UOZV, 1165/1901, 1.

<sup>44</sup> HERMAN KAURIĆ 2009: 456.

memories.<sup>45</sup> Such texts were often accompanied by pictures and/or drawings. However, this scrapbook contains only texts. A total of 42 women, former or current members of the Club at the time, signed the scrapbook in German and/or Croatian. Despite the festive and celebratory character of the occasion, the women took the opportunity to express their gratitude to Jambrišak for her many years of dedicated work and to praise her tireless advocacy of women's education. The Club's members were aware of the importance of women's education, especially their own, for which they were grateful to their teacher, Marija Jambrišak.

Some of the Club members who signed the book are well known. Others can be linked to famous men of the time with the same surname, probably their husbands. It is a simple matter to identify women from families belonging to national and local cultural circles, such as Danica and Zdenka Zajc, Marija Babić Kukuljević and Dragica Sova Kukuljević, and Marija Lenuci. The renowned singer Draga Stern and the celebrated Milka Trnina are also among the signatories. We can furthermore see members of the economic elite, such as Josipa Arko, Alma Grahor, Ema Alexander and Zora Pongratz, while the surnames of Darinka Bazala, Franjka Bojničić and Emili Penkala point to their connections to members of the intellectual elite. One of the signatories, Ženka Frangeš, belonged to all of the aforementioned elite circles. She was a member of the intellectual and cultural elite and was herself an artist. There are also foreign surnames such as Kirin-Höppler, Blesky, Kratschmer, Goglia and Stepmizka.<sup>46</sup> However, some names are particularly noteworthy, specifically those of women who mostly held important posts in these associations and served as either presidents or secretaries but did not necessarily sign the Scrapbook.

Countess Margit Khuen-Héderváry initiated the establishment of the Society and became its first president, thereby creating a prerequisite for the establishment of the Club. Countess Margit was born Margit Teleki de Szék in Budapest on 2 December 1860.<sup>47</sup> As a member of a noble family and the wife of the Croatian *ban*, she performed her public role very conscientiously, accompanying her husband on all occasions and supporting many charitable initiatives.<sup>48</sup> Privately, she also had a reputation as an exemplary housewife who excelled in managing her household.<sup>49</sup> She left the Society after her husband stepped down from his post in 1903. She died in Budapest in 1922.

A cousin of the Countess, Elisabeth Lilla Pejačević, succeeded her as the Society's president in 1903. Countess Lilla was born Elizabeth Vay de Vaja in

<sup>45</sup> DURAN 2004: 535.

<sup>46</sup> HR-HŠM-1032-2-1, Spomenar Gospojinskog kluba, 1917.

<sup>47</sup> ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ 2021: 115.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 137-138.

<sup>49</sup> IVELJIĆ 2007: 290.



Borsod, Hungary in 1860.<sup>50</sup> She married Teodor Pejačević, who succeeded Khuen Héderváry as Croatian ban in 1903 and remained in office until 1907. The couple had five children, one of whom became the first Croatian female composer, Teodora 'Dora' Pejačević. Elisabeth Lilla Pejačević served as president until 1911. She died in 1941.

One of the Society's most important presidents was Sofija Spevec, who served as president from 1911 until after the end of First World War. She was born to the Ivanuš family in 1856 and was the wife of Franjo Spevec, an attorney and politician, who was elected to the Croatian territorial diet (*Sabor*) as a member of the Unionist party.<sup>51</sup> She was a member of the Ladies Red Cross Society (*Gospojinsko društvo crvenog križa*),<sup>52</sup> in which Margit Khuen-Héderváry also served as president, and was herself the president of the Society for School Children's Nutrition (*Društvo za prehranu školske djece*).<sup>53</sup> Spevec played a vital role in the Zagreb Ladies War Relief Committee (*Odbor zagrebačkih gospođa za ratnu pripomoć*) during the First World War, and was considered its '*generalissimus*' due to her organizational skills and dedication.<sup>54</sup> She died in 1930.

The post of president played an equally important role in both the Society and the Club. The first president of the Club was Justina Jutta Mošinski, the wife of Zagreb Mayor Adolf Mošinski, who modernized the city during his term in office (1892–1904). There is not much information available about her, except that she belonged to a noble family. As such, she took part in the work of many associations in Zagreb. She held the post until 1906, when she was replaced by Maja Turković.<sup>55</sup>

Maja Marina Turković was born into the Tulić family in 1855. She was married to Petar Dragan Turković, a Croatian businessman, who held the office of grand county prefect (*župan*) of Zagreb from 1906 and received a baronetcy in 1911.<sup>56</sup> They were both active in various associations, and they also held positions in the Kolo choir. She served as the president of the Club from 1906 to 1914. She died in 1943.

During the war, Malvina Holjac was to the Club what Sofija Spevec was to the Society. She was the wife of the Zagreb architect Janko Holjac, who served as Zagreb's mayor from 1910 to 1917.<sup>57</sup> She was the Club's wartime president (as

---

<sup>50</sup> KRMPOTIĆ 1976: 110-111.

<sup>51</sup> *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, s. v. "Spevec, Franjo Josip".

<sup>52</sup> 1914. "Javni rad hrvatske žene," *Obzor* (Zagreb), 12 May 1914.

<sup>53</sup> 1888. "Trojedna kraljevina," *Narodne novine*, (Zagreb), 9 April 1888.

<sup>54</sup> 1914. "Zagreb u ratno doba," *Obzor* (Zagreb), September 29, 1914.

<sup>55</sup> HR-DAZG-1006 Obitelj Turković.

<sup>56</sup> KOLAR DIMITRIJEVIĆ 1992: 258.

<sup>57</sup> *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. "Holjac, Janko".

of 1914). In addition to devoting herself to that position, she was also president of the Children's League (*Liga za djecu*). She died in 1921.

Until Sofija Spevec became the Society's president in 1911, it was led by two Hungarian noblewomen from the highest political circles, who were connected by marriage and family ties to *Ban Khuen-Héderváry*. They were succeeded by Spevec, a Croatian noblewoman and the wife of a member of the diet belonging to the People's Party (*Narodna stranka*), close to the *ban*, which confirms that the leading post in the Society was continuously held by members of the pro-Hungarian nobility. The Club was, on the other hand, led by members of the high bourgeoisie, who also belonged to the local political elite: Jutta Mošinski, Malvina Holjac and Maja Turković (who assumed the post of president as a member of the bourgeoisie, and left it as a baroness).

The Society's secretaries also played an important role in its work, notably Klotilda Cvetišić-Kreneis, whose role in the society was as important as Marija Jambrišak's. She became secretary in 1911, and, like president Spevec, remained at that post even after the First World War. This Croatian pedagogue was born in Zagreb in 1853, where she graduated from the Teacher Training College. She also graduated from the Viennese Pädagogium and worked as a teacher and principal in various girls schools throughout Croatia and abroad. In addition to being the first female museum associate,<sup>58</sup> she was also the first female professor in Croatia, working at the Men's Teacher Training College in Osijek, where she died in 1947.<sup>59</sup>

Marija Jambrišak particularly stands out among members and officials of both the Club and Society. She was born in Karlovac in 1847 and was educated in Zagreb.<sup>60</sup> In 1871, at the first teachers assembly, her speech impressed the director of the Viennese Pädagogium, from which she eventually graduated.<sup>61</sup> She was also one of the first women to study at the University of Zagreb. She taught at the Women's Lyceum and was the headmistress of several higher public schools in Croatia and Slavonia.<sup>62</sup> It was precisely because of her role as secretary in various organizations, including the Society and Club, that she was able to influence the education of women which she so tirelessly advocated. She was the author of several books, some of which are: *Znamenite žene iz priče i poviesti* [Notable Women from Fiction and History], 1885; *O ženskom uzgoju* [On Women's Upbringing], 1892; and *O dobrom vladanju u svim životnim prilikama. Rukovođ za vladanje u obitelji, u društvu i u javnom prostoru* [On Good Manners in All Life Situations: A Guide for Behaviour at Home, with Company and in Public], 1896. She also

<sup>58</sup> PEIĆ ČALDAROVIĆ 2001: 13.

<sup>59</sup> *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. "Cvetišić, Klotilda".

<sup>60</sup> BATINIĆ 2008: 201.

<sup>61</sup> IVELJIĆ 2007: 280.

<sup>62</sup> ŽUPAN 2013: 145.

published articles in many magazines, and, together with Jagoda Truhelka, edited the magazine *Na domaćem ognjištu*. In her work, she was guided by the saying: "From heart to heart, the only way to achieve absolute contact between student and teacher, which is the foundation of true pedagogy."<sup>63</sup> This became, and to this day remains, an inspiration to women. She died in Zagreb in 1937, leaving an indelible mark on Croatian history.

The presidents of the Society and the Club held positions parallel to the political posts of their spouses. The husbands of the Society's presidents were office-holders at the national level (*ban*, members of the diet), while the spouses of Club presidents were local office-holders (mayor and Zagreb grand county prefect). Precisely because of these political connections with the ruling political party, anti-regime newspapers at the time believed that the Club, because it lacked a democratic spirit, social character and platform, could never become a significant social factor for the broader population, despite the considerable financial resources at its disposal.<sup>64</sup>

The activities of the Society and the Club were closely intertwined. Even though their leadership structures and *modi operandi* differed, their goals were essentially quite similar. Also, their charters and their structure, along with their activities in the context of Zagreb's social life, were typical of similar contemporary European associations. The Society and the Club testified to Zagreb's social and cultural status in contemporary Europe at the time, following the example of European societies, such as the Ladies Club in Vienna (*Wiener Frauenklub*) established on 15 November 1900,<sup>65</sup> just few months before the Ladies Club in Zagreb. Thanks to the press, Croatian women were well-informed about the development of women's organisations and more generally the status of women in society.<sup>66</sup> One may conclude that the citizens of Zagreb were very eager to follow Western trends, especially those coming from Paris, Vienna and London. It was precisely the British associations that inspired the establishment of the clubs, which were mainly closed-membership associations intended for the high bourgeoisie's entertainment and socializing. Most clubs had a policy of exclusively male membership, but in due course women established their own clubs as well. The women of Zagreb were among the first to set such examples.

---

<sup>63</sup> 1936. "Devedesetgodišnjica Marije Jambrišak," *Ženski list* (Zagreb), 1 December 1936.

<sup>64</sup> 1901. "Žensko pitanje u Hrvatskoj," *Svjetlo* (Karlovac), 20 October 1901.

<sup>65</sup> See <https://fraueninbewegung.onb.ac.at/index.php/node/434>

<sup>66</sup> OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK 2004: 96-97.

#### 4. *Activities of the Society and Club*

With ratified charters and a clear internal structure and recognizable leadership, the women of the Society and the Club were able to function effectively. At the same time, we can see how women's associations achieved their goals, and discern the specific characteristics of each of these organizations.

##### 4.1. *The philanthropic 'Then and Now' ball*

Parties and dances were a common and favourite form of social life in Europe at the time. Zagreb was no exception. Such events, besides the opportunities for entertainment and mingling they presented, mostly had a charitable character. Funds were raised through the sale of tickets, food and beverages, raffles, etc.<sup>67</sup> Carnival costume balls were especially popular. In February 1914, the Club, which was known for its successful organization of entertainment for the high bourgeoisie,<sup>68</sup> organized a ball called "Then and Now." It was a charity costume ball held to raise money for the construction of the Home for National and Municipal Clerks and Widows and Orphans of Teachers [*Doma za zemaljske i komunalne činovničke i učiteljske udovice i njihovu siročad*]. The ball was attended mostly by the nobility and distinguished citizens. The crème of Zagreb's entire artistic, political, academic, and military milieu gathered, led by *Ban* Ivan Skerletz. It was a success and lasted until the morning hours.<sup>69</sup> The significant sum of 3,200 Kronen was raised<sup>70</sup> and added to the previously raised 10,500 Kronen.<sup>71</sup> However, the total funds were insufficient for the construction of the Home.

The Club continued its activities. On 11 July, the Club requested the Territorial Royal Government's permission to raise additional funds in Croatia and Slavonia, since the sum of approximately 14,300 Kronen was insufficient to cover construction of the Home. The Club's request was granted, with the caveat that the permit was valid until 12 May of the following year. Club president Malvina Holjac, secretary Marija Jambrišak and treasurer Draginja Savić were authorized to raise contributions.<sup>72</sup> However, the activities tied to construction of the Home soon ceased, because a few days later the largest and bloodiest military conflict in recorded history up to that point began.

<sup>67</sup> MURAJ 2013: 217.

<sup>68</sup> 1914. "Zabava gospojinskog kluba," *Narodne novine* (Zagreb), 30 January 1914.

<sup>69</sup> 1914. "Nekad i sada," *Obzor* (Zagreb), 10 February 1914.

<sup>70</sup> 1914. "Gospojinski klub za dom činovničkih udovica i njihovu siročad," *Obzor* (Zagreb), 28 February 1914.

<sup>71</sup> 1914. "Zabava Gospojinskog kluba," *Narodne novine* (Zagreb), 21 January 1914.

<sup>72</sup> 1914. "P.n. gospodjam gg. opć. činovnika na uvaženj," *Općinski upravnik* (Zagreb), 11 July 1914.

The importance of sociability was set into the Club's very foundations. Before the Club itself was officially established, a group of women began to gather and spend time together.<sup>73</sup> Since they needed a space for their gatherings, they began by booking three rooms in the Imperial Hotel for weekly gatherings, which took place on Fridays from 5 to 8 p.m. There they "would sing, play music, and several lectures were held as well." Soon enough, the People's Casino (*Narodni casino*) let them use two of its rooms to meet, until they finally acquired a space of their own. Only then was the establishment of the Club initiated. They met regularly, and sometimes took the form of organized concerts or lectures, such as those held by theatre manager Stjepan Miletić or pianist Olga Šulz. An article published in *Na domaćem ognjištu* in 1901 described one of the gatherings: "The ladies like to meet in the club, not to extricate themselves from their home and their families, but to take a break from everyday work and refresh themselves mentally and physically. However, the club's task is not only to socialize and have fun, but also to provide financial and moral support to national cultural and charitable aims, within the scope of its resources,"<sup>74</sup> A few years later, in 1912, an editorial in Zagreb's *Jutarnji list* [Morning News] emphasized another dimension of the Club. It was described as a "concentration of salon life," without much interest in "modern feminist aspirations."<sup>75</sup> Due to the lack of source, this exclusively feminine sociability remains to be noted, on the contrary of salons which welcome men and women.

Women's philanthropy was mainly manifested through the Society's work, which had two important projects aimed at contributing to the education of girls: a home economics school and a boarding school.

#### 4.2. *The Home Economics School*

In 1910, 4,475 people were employed as servants and domestic staff, of whom 4,173 were women in Zagreb.<sup>76</sup> This activity grew due to the increased demand for domestic staff among the bourgeoisie, who had adopted the social practices of the nobility.<sup>77</sup> From the employer's standpoint, finding trained and/or reliable servants was far from easy. Aware of that, at the end of 1904, the Society's members, led by president Lilla Pejačević and secretary Marija Jambrišak, informed the municipal authorities of their intention to open a school for servants. They believed that the issue of training good servants was important to the social life

---

<sup>73</sup> 1901. "Gospojinski klub u Zagrebu," *Na domaćem ognjištu* (Zagreb), 1 March 1901.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> 1912. "Zagrebačka kronika," *Jutarnji list* (Zagreb), 22 September 1912.

<sup>76</sup> IVELJIĆ 2007: 285.

<sup>77</sup> HORVAT 2021.

of the people, and that the establishment of such a school would also resolve the issues of rampant moral disarray and immorality, which were harmful to public life. Young girls from the lower classes of the time, due to the lack of honourable employment possibilities, were often compelled to engage in dishonourable work.<sup>78</sup>

Having received no response, the Society wrote to the city authorities once more in the summer of 1905, emphasising the problems that unqualified servants caused for their mistresses.<sup>79</sup> The main task of the school was to train girls in all household chores. They requested the right to use the old military barracks in the Domobranska street (today's Ante Kovačić street). By donating this old and dilapidated building, which was an eyesore to visitors of the city, the city would have the problem of its neglect taken off its hands, to the benefit of its residents. It would also contribute to the city's modernisation, since many larger and better developed cities already had institutions of this type. The Society's request was approved under the following conditions: the opening of the home economics school and the boarding of its attendees were to take place no later than 1 July 1906, the building would be renovated at the Society's expense, and an institute and residence hall for maids would be opened at the same location no later than 1908. The right of use was granted by the end of 1905, when, due to the urbanization process, there were plans to widen Marulić street. New Year's Eve of 1905 was the deadline for making the donation official and the signing of the contract. All expenses were to be met by the municipal authorities.

The Society attached the charter of the Home Economics School to its request. It underscored that the task of the school was to provide its girls with thorough and comprehensive training for household work, but also to raise and train servants, which would make the school an educational institution. The School would be administered by the Society, and financed by the Society, the Territorial Royal Government, the City Council and public donations. It would also operate on the principle of self-sustainability by running a restaurant where its students could engage in practical work. It would admit both internal and external students, classified as full-time and part-time. External students would only take certain courses and would not reside at on site. According to the charter, female students were to be admitted after reaching the age of fifteen, and the institute's housekeeper would take care of them and see to their education. Since the school and institute were rather expensive, scholarships were made available.

However, due to various obstacles, the proposal to establish the school was removed from the City Council's agenda. Such an institution was eventually opened in the building of *Narodne novine* [National Newspaper] in Ilica 39. It had no connections to the Society.

<sup>78</sup> HR-DAZG-10-GPZ, 49417/1904.

<sup>79</sup> On the Home Economics School, see HR-DAZG-10-GPZ, 24086/1905.

### 4.3. *Jelisava Boarding School*

When the Women's Lyceum, which adopted the gymnasium curriculum, was opened in 1892, it was mostly attended by daughters of merchants, artisans, or clerks.<sup>80</sup> This project, which was solely the vision of Iso Kršnjavi, the then head of the Department of Worship and Education, and Marija Jambrišak, was a significant step forward for the education of women. The Jelisava Foundation tried to provide it with support to the best of its capability, with the cooperation of the Ladies Society and the Ladies Club.

Margit Khuen-Héderváry initiated the establishment of the Jelisava Foundation, which was established in 1899 on the occasion of the death of Empress and Queen Elisabeth of Austria. Its aim was to help the poor and support the education of women.<sup>81</sup> The Jelisava Boarding School was established for girls attending the women's lyceum and women's vocational schools who did not have adequate lodgings. As early as 1 September 1900, the boarding school accepted 20 dependents, 8 of whom were dependents of the Jelisava Foundation (one from each county in Croatia). The Foundation was supported by the Society, which organized and supervised the boarding school. The Society and Club were also committed to providing scholarships for students. This cooperation was assured because Margit Khuen-Héderváry oversaw both the Foundation and the Society. Otherwise, in case of dissolution of either the Club or Society, it was stipulated that their assets were to be bequeathed to the Foundation.

In 1911, in order to facilitate the administration of such an institution and reduce long-term costs, the Society requested the donation of a plot of land for construction of a boarding school from the City Council. This was a vital factor for the operations of educational institutions of the time. The boarding school would house the dependents of the Jelisava Foundation. The City Council denied the request for free land, but donated a sum of 5,000 Kronen,<sup>82</sup> and approved a 500 Kronen donation from the 1910 budget surplus, which was to be disbursed at the time of the construction.<sup>83</sup>

The project was put on hold until 1913, when the presidency of the Territorial Royal Government submitted a report to the Society's board comparing the feasibility of new construction and the purchase of an existing building for a boarding school, which was, at the time, led by its president Sofija Spevec and secretary Marija Jambrišak. It was estimated that, if the number of dependents increased

---

<sup>80</sup> OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK 2006: 147-176.

<sup>81</sup> 1901. "Zem. gospojinska udruga," *Na domačem ognjištu* (Zagreb), 1 May 1901; 1901. "Zemalj. gospojinska udruga," *Na domačem ognjištu* (Zagreb), 1 November 1901.

<sup>82</sup> HR-DAZG-10-GPZ-33677/ 1911.

<sup>83</sup> HR-DAZG-10-GPZ-43905/1911.

from thirty to fifty-four, the purchase of an existing building would be much less expensive than the construction of a new building, which would require 281,620 Kronen.<sup>84</sup> The Society eventually decided to purchase a building at Opatička street 14 for 161,000 Kronen. The Territorial Royal Government contributed 50,000 Kronen toward the purchase, which was to be disbursed within ten years. Furthermore, the city had already paid 5,000 Kronen to the Society, and 7,800 Kronen had been raised from various donations. This sum was still insufficient for the purpose: the Society still needed nearly 100,000 Kronen to purchase the building. A loan in that amount was granted to the Society by the Territorial Royal Government in the same year, which was to be repaid over thirty years.<sup>85</sup>

The building at Opatička 14 was co-owned by Baroness Alice Steeb, Marija Jelachich and Baroness Ivana Aichelburg-Labia, and eventually the Society acquired title to it.<sup>86</sup> After the Society was granted a construction permit in 1914, the Architectural Department's City Construction Office drafted the designs for the pending construction works.<sup>87</sup> The construction permit was then obtained.<sup>88</sup> The draft specified the extension of the street and courtyard wing and the adaptation of the two-story building facing Duga street (now Pavle Radić street); the Territorial Royal Government's Construction Department served as contractor.<sup>89</sup>

Finally, in 1916, when construction of the building at Opatička 14 was completed, an occupancy permit was requested, which was necessary to obtain a tax exemption.<sup>90</sup> Although only construction was complete while remodelling was not, in February of the same year the Jelisava Boarding School at Opatička 14 was granted a lodging permit. It was a fairly modern building, with electricity, gas, plumbing and a sewage connection, and there was a staff that included maids, others servants and cooks.

In 1921, the boarding school was renamed the Croatian Girls Boarding School,<sup>91</sup> and today it operates under the name Marija Jambrišak Dormitory [*Učenički dom Marije Jambrišak*], in memory of the woman who exerted a great influence on the secondary education of women in Croatia, as well as administration of the lyceum, and ultimately renovation of the building where the boarding school still exists.

---

<sup>84</sup> HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD-3467/1913.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD-33677/1914.

<sup>88</sup> HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD-40030/1914.

<sup>89</sup> HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD-33677/1914.

<sup>90</sup> HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD-11488/1916.

<sup>91</sup> HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD-19455/1921.



## 5. Conclusion

The Territorial Ladies Society for Women's Education and Enrichment in Croatia and Slavonia and the Ladies Club in Zagreb were women's associations exclusively dedicated to women. Keenly aware of the importance of women's education to improve their social status, they placed high hopes on their education. Both the Club and Society granted scholarships to schoolgirls so that they could complete their education. In the Scrapbook, the Club's members emphasized the importance of education, and the Society's very name testifies to this. The Society devoted itself particularly to philanthropic activities and implemented concrete and ambitious projects more or less successfully: the Home Economics School was taken over by others, and the Jelisava Boarding School was a demanding financial project that encountered greater difficulties. Although the Ladies Club grew out of the Society, it had other priorities and was primarily devoted to its members, organizing tea parties, lectures, concerts, and providing them with high-quality social gatherings.

The activities of the Society and Club should be considered in a broader context, since both organisations followed European trends in the development of women's civil society, which was oriented toward "philanthropic feminism," in terms of improving the status of women in society, guided by the female elite and concerned with women exclusively. The Society primarily dealt with philanthropy, i.e., it aided the education of young women, while the Club's focus was social activities for women who were often involved in various philanthropic projects. Like men's clubs of the time, the Club was exclusive and provided its members with opportunities to spend time together, in a closed and protected, perhaps even freer space, without the presence and intervention of men. They would have fun, debate and plan activities for various projects. The Club's focus was not so much on the beneficiaries of philanthropic work, but rather on their benefactresses.

The members of the Society and Club belonged to the national and local elite, and their presidents belonged to their respective political circles. Since the Territorial Ladies Society operated at the national level, and the Ladies Club in Zagreb at the local level, the presidents of the Society were the wives of *bans*, while the presidents of the Club were the wives of Zagreb's leading officials. The political background was not present through their activities, although some opposition journalists expressed doubts about them. They never became involved in specific political issues such as women's suffrage, possibly due to the political posts of their husbands.

Indirectly, the Society and Club provided their members with a parallel space where they could connect and network, use their social capital and enter the public sphere and take action to achieve their goals. These goals could be personal, i.e., gaining some power in society and developing careers, and/or focused on the

common good, i.e., dealing with women's problems. By helping women from lower social ranks and improving their social circumstances, female elites helped themselves as well. They were able to step into the public sphere independently of their renowned husbands, gain experience in project management and decision-making and participate, in the broadest sense of the term, in resolving certain political issues, i.e., social policy. Thanks to their names and resources, free time and knowledge, they could influence society and the community and improve the education of girls and the status of women in general. Their contributions would become even greater during the First World War, when, along with their regular charitable work in women's associations, they had to assume the burden of activities previously reserved for men, who were serving in the army far from home and were unable to fulfil their roles as fathers, sons and workers.

Although politics were absent from the sources on the Society and Club, political change and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS) gave these women's organisations a new direction. In 1918, a new generation of women denounced the Club as "Hungarian" and questioned the traditional foundations defined by Countess Khuen-Héderváry. Soon the Club changed its name to the Circle of SHS Women (*Kolo SHS žena*) and took on a Yugoslav orientation.<sup>92</sup> A new chapter then began, toward a feminism marked by activism, political action and condemnation of the patriarchy, which was not the case with the Club and Society.

<sup>92</sup> See Kveder, Zofka. "U Gospojinskom klubu (Zadnja mađarska kula se ruši)", *Jugoslavenska žena: prije "Ženski svijet": mjesečnik za kulturne, socijalne i političke interese jugoslavenskih žena*, 12 (1918): 513-514, mentioned by BENYOVSKY 1998: 89-90.

### Archival sources

- HR-DAZG-10-GPZ: Hrvatska, Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, Zagreb, Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb.
- HR-DAZG-1122-ZGD: Hrvatska, Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, Zagreb, Zbirka građevne dokumentacije.
- HR-DAZG-84: Hrvatska, Državni arhiv u Zagrebu, Zagreb, Sudbeni stol u Zagrebu.
- HR-HDA-79-UOZV: Hrvatska, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zagreb, Zemaljska vlada. Odjel za unutarnje poslove.
- HR-HŠM-1032: Hrvatska, Hrvatski školski muzej, Biobibliografski prilozi.

### *Published sources and press*

- Banovac* (Petrinja), 1905.
- Jutarnji list* (Zagreb), 1912, 1913.
- Na domaćem ognjištu* (Zagreb), 1901.
- Narodne novine*, (Zagreb), 1888, 1914.
- Nezavisnost* (Bjelovar), 1914.
- Obzor* (Zagreb), 1914.
- Općinski upravnik* (Zagreb), 1914.
- Svjetlo* (Karlovac), 1901, 1902.
- Ženski list* (Zagreb), 1936.
- Statistički godišnjak Kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije I.*, Zagreb, Tisak Kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, 1913.

### *Bibliography*

- BATTAGLIOLA, Françoise. 2003. Philanthrope et féministe. Itinéraire d'une bourgeoise picarde et vision de la famille ouvrière. *Sociétés contemporaines* 52: 123-140.
- BATTAGLIOLA, Françoise. 2009. Philanthropes et féministes dans le monde réformateur (1890-1910). *Travail, genre et sociétés* 22: 135-154.
- BATINIĆ, Ana. 2008. Plemkinje duha: Marija Jambrišak – Jagoda Truhelka – Zdenka Marković. *Nova Croatica: časopis za hrvatsku književnost i kulturu* 2: 197-215.
- BELLIARD, Corinne. 2009. *L'émancipation des femmes à l'épreuve de la philanthropie*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- BENYOVSKY, Lucija. 1998. Dobrotvorna gospojinska (ženska) društva u Hrvatskoj od osnivanja do Prvog svjetskog rata. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 30: 73-92.
- BUNTAK, Franjo. 1996. *Povijest Zagreba*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske.
- CLARK, Peter. 2000. *British Clubs and Societies 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- COHEN, Yolande. 2010. *Femmes philanthropes. Catholiques, protestantes et juives dans les organisations caritatives au Québec (1880–1945)*. Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

- DUBY, Georges, PERROT, Michelle (eds.). 1990–1991. *Histoire des femmes en Occident*. Paris: Plon, 5 vol.
- DURAN, Mirjana. 2004. Spomenar – tradicijski žanr spontane kulture djece i mladih. *Društvena istraživanja: časopis za opća društvena pitanja* 71: 529-554.
- FELDMAN, Andrea. 2004. *Žene u Hrvatskoj. Ženska i kulturna povijest*. Zagreb: Institut Vlado Gotovac, Ženska infoteka.
- GIOMI, Fabio. 2021. *Making Muslim Women European: Voluntary Associations, Gender and Islam in Post-Ottoman Bosnia and Yugoslavia (1878-1941)*. Budimpešta; New York: Central European University Press.
- GOOD, David F.; GRANDNER, Margarete; MAYNES, Mary Jo (eds). 1996. *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Cross-disciplinary Perspectives*. Providence; Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- GROSS, Mirjana; SZABO Agneza. 1992. *Prema hrvatskome građanskom društvu: društveni razvoj u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća*. Zagreb: Globus.
- HERMAN KAURIĆ, Vijoleta. 2009. Koliko je društava djelovalo u Zagrebu za vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata?. *Historijski zbornik* 62: 427-463.
- HOFFMANN, Stefan-Ludwig. 2006. *Civil Society 1750–1914*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- HORVAT, Katarina. 2021. *Kućna služinčad u Zagrebu 1880. – 1914*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.
- IVELJIĆ, Iskra. 2007. *Očevi i sinovi. Privredna elita Zagreba u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća*. Zagreb: Leykam international.
- JURIĆ, Zlatko. 2020. Građevni radovi i regulatorno planiranje Zagreba od 1900. do 1918. godine. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 52: 35-51.
- KOLAR – DIMITRIJEVIĆ, Mira. 1992. Hrvatsko – slavonsko gospodarsko društvo kao središnja zadruga (1907. – 1925.). *Historical contributions = Historische Beiträge* 11: 255-286.
- KOVEN, Seth; MICHEL, 1993. Sonya, ur. *Mothers of a New World. Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*. New York; London: Routledge.
- KRMPOTIĆ, Branko. 1976. Grofica Lila Pejačević. *Sacred Cecilia: a sacral music magazine* 45: 110-111.
- LUETIĆ, Tihana. 2002. Prve studentice Mudroslovnog fakulteta kr. Sveučilišta Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu. *Povijesni prilozi* 21: 167-207.
- MACAN, Trpimir. 2004. *Hrvatska povijest: pregled*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- MARUŠEVSKI, Olga. 1997. Arhitektonsko-urbanističke veze Zagreba i Beča na prijelomu stoljeća. In: *Fin de siècle Zagreb – Beč*, ed. Damir Barbarić, 197-228. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- MCCARTY, Kathleen D. 1996. Women and Philanthropy. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organisations* 7: 331-335.

- MORTON, Graeme; VRIES, Boudien de; MORRIS, Robert J. (eds.). 2006. *Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places: Class, Nation and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- MURAJ, Aleksandra. 2013. *Zagrebačka blagdanska ozračja: slavlja, priredbe, zabave na početku 20. stoljeća*. Zagreb: AGM; Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku; Muzej grada Zagreb.
- OFFEN, Karen. 2000. *European Feminisms, 1700–1950: A Political History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK, Ida. 2022. Ženska povijest na valovima feminizam. *Radovi: Radovi zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 54: 165-200.
- OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK, Ida. 2006. Otvaranje Ženskog liceja u Zagrebu. *Povijest u nastavi* 8: 147-176.
- OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK, Ida. 2004. Zastupljenost ženskog pitanja u hrvatskim glasilima na kraju 19. stoljeća. *Radovi: Radovi zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 34-35-36: 89-100.
- PARNICA, Robert. 2000. Filantropija u Hrvatskoj u drugoj polovini XIX. i početkom XX. stoljeća (Zaklade u javnom i pravnom životu). *Historijski zbornik* 53: 101-122.
- PEIĆ ČALDAROVIĆ, Dubravka. 2001. Glavni aspekti feminizacije profesije kustosa. *Informatica museologica* 32: 12-17.
- PLEŠE, Slavica (ed.). 2000. *Pravila društava 1845. – 1945. Tematski vodič*. Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv.
- PRENDA, Sandra. 2005. Žene i prvi organizirani oblici praktičnog socijalnog rada u Hrvatskoj. *Revija za socijalnu politiku* 12: 319-332.
- SABOTIČ, Ines. 2007. *Stare zagrebačke kavane i krčme: s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća*. Zagreb: AGM; Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar.
- SKLEVICKY, Lydia. 2016. Karakteristike organiziranog djelovanja žena u Jugoslaviji u razdoblju do Drugog svjetskog rata. *Polja: časopis za kulturu, umetnost i društvena pitanja* 30: 415–417.
- ŠILOVIĆ-KARIĆ, Danja. 2004. Domaće ognjište – prvi ženski list u Hrvatskoj. In. *Žene u Hrvatskoj. Ženska i kulturna povijest*, ed. Andrea Feldman, 181-190. Zagreb: Institut Vlado Gotovac i Ženska infoteka.
- ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ, Filip. 2021. *Vlast, politika i kultura u Banskoj Hrvatskoj od 1883. do 1903*. Ph.D. thesis. Sveučilište u Zadru.
- ŠIŠIĆ, Ferdo. 2004. *Povijest Hrvata: pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda 1526. – 1918. Drugi dio*. Split: Marjan tisak.
- ŠVOB, Melita. 1998. Razvoj ženskih općih i židovskih dobrotvornih organizacija. KRAUS, Ognjen (ed.), *Dva stoljeća povijesti i kulture u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Židovska općina Zagreb.
- ŠVOGER, Vlasta; TURKALJ, Jasna (eds.). 2016. *Temelji moderne Hrvatske: hrvatske zemlje u „dugom” 19. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

- VRANJEŠ-ŠOLJAN, Božena. 2009. Modernizacijski uspon krajem XIX. i početkom XX. stoljeća. In *Moderna hrvatska kultura od preporoda do moderne (XIX. stoljeće)*, ed. Mislav Ježić, 103-114. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- VUKIČEVIĆ, Marko. 2020. *Zagreb 1914. – 1918.: Grad i stanovnici u Velikome ratu*. Zagreb: Despot Infinitus.
- ŽUPAN, Dinko. 2013. *Mentalni korzet: spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (1869. - 1918.)*. Osijek; Slavonski brod: Učiteljski fakultet u Osijeku; Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje.
- Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. "Holjac, Janko".
- Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. „Cvetišić, Klotilda“.
- Hrvatska enciklopedija*, s.v. "Spevec, Franjo Josip“.

## Zemaljska gospojinska udruga za naobrazbu i zaradu ženskinja u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji i Gospojinski klub: dva primjera ženskih udruženja u Zagrebu

Zemaljska gospojinska udruga za naobrazbu i zaradu ženskinja u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji (1900) te Gospojinski klub (1901) bile su udruge žena svjesnih važnosti obrazovanja za poboljšanje položaja žena u društvu. Trebamo promatrati njihove aktivnosti u širem kontekstu, jer su obje slijedile europske trendove u razvoju građanskog društva žena. Osim činjenice da su članstvo strogo dopuštale samo ženama, ove su udruge također isključivo surađivale sa ženama. I Udruga i Klub uglavnom su pomagali djevojkama iz skromnijih slojeva putem stipendijskog sustava. Udruga se posvetila ženskoj filantropiji: pokrenula je osnivanje škole za gospodarstvo domaćinstva i bila uključena u rad Jelisavinog internata. Klub, koji je bio ekskluzivan, brinuo se o organiziranju raznih kulturnih događanja i pružanju prostora za društvena okupljanja svojim članicama. Članice Udruge i Kluba bile su članice elite i, više ili manje, iste žene, poput grofice Margite Khuen-Héderváry i pedagoginje Marije Jambrišak. Stoga su ove dvije udruge bile povezane i nadopunjavale jedna drugu. Budući da je Udruga djelovala na nacionalnoj razini, a Klub na lokalnoj razini, predsjednice Udruge bile su supruge banova, dok su predsjednice Kluba bile supruge gradonačelnika Zagreba. Zahvaljujući ovim udrugama žena, postojala je međusobna korist za korisnice i dobročiniteljice filantropskog rada. Potonje su mogle ostvariti veze, koristiti svoj društveni kapital, djelovati u javnoj sferi i ostvariti svoje ciljeve. Ti ciljevi su mogli biti osobni, tj. stjecanje određene moći u društvu i razvoj karijere, i/ili zajednički, tj. rješavanje trenutnih problema žena. Pomažući ženama iz nižih društvenih slojeva i poboljšavajući njihove okolnosti, žene iz elite su si same pomogle djelujući neovisno od svojih poznatih supružnika, stekavši iskustvo u vođenju projekata i donošenju odluka te

sudjelujući, u najširem smislu, u kreiranju socijalne politike. Zahvaljujući svom imenu i novcu, slobodnom vremenu i znanju, mogle su ostvariti utjecaj na društvo i zajednicu te pomoći u obrazovanju djevojaka i općenito poboljšati položaj žena. Povijest ženskih društava osvjetljava zanimljivo poglavlje u povijesti žena u Hrvatskoj.

*Key words:* History of women, philanthropy, women's associations, women's issue, social elite, sociability, Marija Jambrišak

*Ključne riječi:* povijest žena, filantropija, ženske udruge, žensko pitanje, društvena elita društvenost, Marija Jambrišak

Martina Piškori  
Hrvatski državni arhiv  
Marulićev trg 21  
10000 Zagreb  
martina.piskori4@gmail.com

Ines Sabotič  
Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište  
Ilica 242  
10000 Zagreb  
ines.sabotic@unicath.hr

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

ZAVOD ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST  
INSTITUTE OF CROATIAN HISTORY  
INSTITUT FÜR KROATISCHE GESCHICHTE

**RADOVI**

**55**

**BROJ 1**

ZAVOD ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST  
FILOZOFSKOGA FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

**FF press**

ZAGREB 2023.



RADOVI ZAVODA ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST  
FILOZOFSKOGA FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

Knjiga 55, broj 1

*Izdavač / Publisher*

Zavod za hrvatsku povijest  
Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu  
FF-press

*Za izdavača / For Publisher*

Domagoj Tončinić

*Glavna urednica / Editor-in-Chief*

Inga Vilogorac Brčić

*Gosti urednici/Guest Editors*

Ida Ograjšek Gorenjak i Andrea Feldman

*Izvršna urednica / Executive Editor*

Kornelija Jurin Starčević

*Uredništvo / Editorial Board*

Jasmina Osterman (stara povijest/ancient history), Trpimir Vedriš (srednji vijek/medieval history), Hrvoje Petrić (rani novi vijek/early modern history), Željko Holjevac (moderna povijest/modern history), Tvrtko Jakovina (suvremena povijest/contemporary history), Silvija Pisk (mikrohistorija i zavičajna povijest/microhistory and local history), Zrinka Blažević (teorija i metodologija povijesti/theory and methodology of history)

*Međunarodno uredničko vijeće / International Editorial Council*

Denis Alimov (Sankt Peterburg), Marijan Premović (Nikšić), Csaba Békés (Budapest), Rajko Bratož (Ljubljana), Svetlozar Eldarov (Sofija), Toni Filiposki (Skopje), Aleksandar Fotić (Beograd), Vladan Gavrilović (Novi Sad), Alojz Ivanišević (Wien), Egidio Ivetić (Padova), Husnija Kamberović (Sarajevo), Irina Ognyanova (Sofija), Géza Pálffy (Budapest), Ioan-Aurel Pop (Cluj), Nade Proeva (Skopje), Alexios Savvides (Kalamata), Vlada Stanković (Beograd), Ludwig Steindorff (Kiel), Peter Štih (Ljubljana)

*Izvršni urednik za tuzemnu i inozemnu razmjenu /  
Executive Editor for Publications Exchange*

Martin Previšić

*Tajnik uredništva / Editorial Board Assistant*

Dejan Zadro

*Adresa uredništva/Editorial Board address*

Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet Zagreb,  
Ivana Lučića 3, HR-10 000, Zagreb  
Tel. ++385 (0)1 6120191

Časopis izlazi jedanput godišnje / The Journal is published once a year

Časopis je u digitalnom obliku dostupan na / The Journal in digital form is accessible at  
Portal znanstvenih časopisa Republike Hrvatske „Hrčak“  
<http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp>

Financijska potpora za tisak časopisa / The Journal is published with the support by  
Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i športa Republike Hrvatske

Časopis je indeksiran u sljedećim bazama / The Journal is indexed in the following databases:  
Directory of Open Access Journals, EBSCO, SCOPUS, ERIH PLUS, Emerging Sources Citation  
Index - Web of Science

*Naslovna stranica / Title page by*

Marko Maraković

*Grafičko oblikovanje i računalni slog / Graphic design and layout*

Marko Maraković

*Lektura / Language editors*

Samanta Paronić (hrvatski / Croatian)

Edward Bosnar (engleski / English)

*Tisak / Printed by*

Tiskara Zelina d.d.

*Naklada / Issued*

200 primjeraka / 200 copies

*Ilustracija na naslovnici*

Muza Klio (Alexander S. Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, London 1898)

*Časopis je u digitalnom obliku dostupan na Portalu znanstvenih časopisa  
Republike Hrvatske „Hrčak“ <http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp>*

*The Journal is accessible in digital form at the Hrčak - Portal of scientific  
journals of Croatia <http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp>*