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## STRATEGIES FOR DISCIPLINING STUDENTS IN THE “OLD SCHOOL” PRACTICE IN CROATIA

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The paper examines disciplining students in the conditions of the so-called old school practice. It is based on the analysis of primary and secondary sources, as well as available pedagogical documentation and literature of the subjected era: school laws and regulations, teaching and disciplinary levels, regulations, orders and instructions. The old school was temporally determined by relevant factors and characteristics. The connection between the social environment has been established: state-political organisation, economic status and orientation, social value systems, school system and circumstances with student discipline strategies. In school practice of the old schools *repressive and incentive disciplinary strategies* are identified and analysed. The following forms have been identified in the area of repressive educational strategy: emotional inconveniences, deprivation of mental pleasures, social isolation and various forms of corporal punishment. According to the school regulations of the time, the following corporal punishment was granted: standing behind or next to the desk, kneeling, flogging with a prescribed stick on the palms. However, the following unlawful corporal punishments were also recorded in school practice: standing on one leg, kneeling on bare knees on grains of food or sand, hitting with a club, ruler, book; slapping, hear or ear pulling, kicking with a leg, throwing to the ground. Incentive educational strategy was based on evoking emotional comfort and was realised through praise, recognition and awards. Praises were oral and written, and recognitions were awarded in the form of diplomas or different types of medals. The awards

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were also material: money, clothes and footwear, items of use value, books and school supplies.

Also, the results of the research show that in imposing repressive and incentive measures, the following general educational principles were recommended: gradualness, appropriateness, consistency, impartiality, justification and openness (if a repressive measure yields results, it should be annulated). The identified and described strategies of school disciplining should be viewed within the described social, political, economic framework, as well as the then school opportunities and school system. However, it is significant that the recommended educational principles in imposing disciplinary measures also have elements of modernity.

**Keywords:** disciplining strategies; old school; repressive strategies (corporal punishment); incentive strategies; history of pedagogy

## Introduction

The General School Ordinances of 1774 (*Allgemeine Schulordnung*) and 1777 (*Ratio educationis*) are considered the fundamental documents introduced to the system of education in Croatian lands. These were the result of ten-year efforts of enlightenment ideas and the development of pre-modern state systems during the 18th century, marked by the strengthening of the activities of state institutions and the development of proto-national and national consciousness. Education thus became an important political issue, transitioning from being primarily private domain.<sup>1</sup> It was necessary to create certain preconditions for the necessary reform of education at a time when around 95 % of the population was illiterate. Two key prerequisites were ensuring the fiscal foundation needed to finance the state’s public engagement and the formation of a school administration network.<sup>2</sup> Particularly valuable is the contribution of the Viennese teacher Joseph Messmer (1731-1804), who was among the first to propose the professionalization of the teaching profession, the abolition of memorizing, an individualized approach to the student, the distribution of schools by classes according to the students’ abilities, and the continuous collection of data on their progress in learning and behaviour.<sup>3</sup> The emphasis on behaviour, or disciplining students, was one of the fundamental functions of early public schools. The practice continued deep into the 19th century when students were accustomed to obedience, so the school

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<sup>1</sup> Ivana Horbec, Maja Matasović and Vlasta Švoger, *Od protomodernizacije do modernizacije školstva u Hrvatskoj: Zakonodavni okvir*, Vol. I. (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Horbec, *Od protomodernizacije*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

at that time was like a small penalty microsystem.<sup>4</sup> Social and political conditions matured in the 1870s, during the governance of Ban Ivan Mažuranić, when the modern school law was passed in 1874, which introduced compulsory schooling and at the same time abolished corporal punishment as a disciplinary tool.<sup>5</sup> The focus of the school was moved from an emphasis on physical discipline to emphasizing the value of the law and the preservation of moral order among all students.<sup>6</sup> When using school punishments, their gradation was considered important so that a warning does not immediately lead to a more severe punishment.<sup>7</sup> Penalties did not apply only to students, parents who do not send their children to school or who are negligent in their school duties, as well as teachers, could be punished.

The term “old school” is flexible. From a modern point of view, “old school” refers to all previous educational approaches. As a technical term, the history of pedagogy temporally defines the old school as the one that operated until the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The term “old school” refers to Herbart school of the 19th century characterized by emphasis on intellectualism, didactic materialism, receptive and passive student position, rigid curricula and the dominance of verbal teaching methods.<sup>8</sup> The old school can be defined even more precisely as the system that operated from the introduction of state public education until the end of the First World War.<sup>9</sup>

The influence of the new school movement in Croatia<sup>10</sup> was evident at the theoretical level since the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. At that time, several pedagogical journals in Croatian also dis-

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<sup>4</sup> Dinko Župan, *Mentalni korzet. Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (1868-1918)* (Osijek; Slavonski Brod: Učiteljski fakultet u Osijeku; Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2013), 126.

<sup>5</sup> Dinko Župan, “Odnos prema tijelu unutar hrvatskog školskog sustava druge polovine 19. st.,” *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 40 (2008), no. 1: 203; Dinko Župan, “The Reform of Elementary Education in Croatia in the 2nd Half of the 19th Century and Ivan Filipović,” *Review of Croatian History*, 19, no. 1 (2023): 159. <https://doi.org/10.22586/rch.v19i1.28479>.

<sup>6</sup> Horbec, *Od protomodernizacije*, 237.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 237-239.

<sup>8</sup> Ladislav Bognar and Milan Matijević, *Didaktika* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2005), 408.

<sup>9</sup> Before the introduction of state public schools, there were variety of private schools with extremely different organizations, so it is not possible to determine their common characteristics.

<sup>10</sup> The new school in Croatian never took on a mass character. In addition to the state schools, there were some experimental schools organized on the principles of the new school.

cussed education from the standpoint of the new school.<sup>11</sup> The practical implementation of the new school approach in Croatia emerged between the two world wars.<sup>12</sup> The experimental introduction of schools according to the new school model does not imply that the state public education no longer adhered to some principles of the old school.

In the history of pedagogy, the old school is usually designated as: *school of learning, memorizing, regurgitating, listening, literal reproduction: verbal school, school of words, bookish, authoritative*. In the old school, *the activity is up to the teacher, and the students are extremely passive*, it is up to them to sit quietly and listen with their hands in front or behind them. In the old school, there is an active teacher who *knows, interprets and explains, questions evaluate and assesses*. The more accurately students reproduced the teacher’s “presentation or the text from the textbook, the better [were] the individual achievement of students and the class”. The old school is extremely “antisocial, students in benches at each other’s backs. This way of sitting allows only frontal teaching which is the same for all students and which is directed at the imaginary average student”.<sup>13</sup> In the old school, there was “excessive strictness and the beating was a miraculous tool against all evil, wickedness, laziness and ignorance”.<sup>14</sup> It is possible to overview the described characteristics of the old school somewhat differently than described.<sup>15</sup> If we accept this depiction as the prevailing perspective, an additional question arises: for what reasons was the old school like that, what conditioned and determined it?

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<sup>11</sup> According to Jakopović, articles from the positions of the new school are brought by *Napredak* 1859; *Preporod* (1905 – 1914), *Savremena škola* (1927 - 1940), *Nova škola* (1924 -1925, 1927 -1928), *Škola* (1890), *Tumač* (1884). Stjepan Jakopović, *Pokret radne škole u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: NIRO Školske novine), 89.

<sup>12</sup> The experimental forest school in Zagreb began its work in 1923, the experimental school in Zagreb in 1937 and the experimental school in Borovo in 1938. Jakopović, *Pokret*, 89.

<sup>13</sup> Ljudevit Modec, “Stara i nova škola“, XXXIII, 1 (1892): 3-7.; More about old school system practices in: Dragutin Franković, Pregrad Zlatko and Pero Šimleša, eds., *Enciklopedijski rječnik pedagogije* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1963); In the following text, the abbreviation ERP will be used for *Enciklopedijski rječnik pedagogije*; Nikola Potkonjak and Petar Šimleša, eds., *Pedaškoška enciklopedija I – 2* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1989); Jakopović, *Pokret*, 17; Mate Zaničević, *Opća povijest pedagogije* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1988); Leon Žlebnik, *Opšta historija školstva i pedagoških ideja* (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1970).

<sup>14</sup> Josipa Tauš and Emerik Munjiza, “Represivne i permisivne odgojne mjere u odgoju djece mlađe školske dobi,” *Život i škola* 52, no. 15-16 (2006): 69.

<sup>15</sup> Emerik Munjiza, “Problem kontinuiteta i diskontinuiteta između stare i nove škole,” *Anali za povijest odgoja*, no. 4 (2005): 7-24; Ladislav Bognar and Snježana Dubovicki, “Emotions in teaching process,” *Croatian Journal of Education* 14, no. 1 (2012): 135-153. <https://doi.org/10.15516/cje.v14i1.157>.

School is socially conditioned and determined. When necessary and needed conditions are created, the state assumes the role of the founder, but at the same time determines its character. School is a product of society and overall social relations. For the above reasons, it is necessary to analyse the old school within the overall social relations that determine it. Overall social conditions can be viewed as out-of-school and school influences.

The old school in Croatia was determined by the socio-political-economic conditions of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>16</sup> Considering its heterogeneity, the important political determinants were firm centralism with elements of minimal self-government, bureaucracy with a touch of militarism. By the middle of the 19th century it had a feudal social order, from when the process of transformation into a civil society began. It was a pre-industrial society in which initiative and entrepreneurship were not highly valued. Croatia, as one of the less developed countries, also suffered from the fact that half of its territory was consisted of the Military Frontier which was completely exempt from civic jurisdiction. As an example, in the Military Frontier due to the false testimony in a court procedure, both participants were physically punished, both the one who committed the offense and the one who testified falsely in his favour.<sup>17</sup>

Since school and education are products of a given society and social relations, it was difficult to expect a more open and enterprising schooling. In the analysed period, four-year general public school was compulsory. After general public school, remedial classes were also mandatory. Schooling was organized according to the model of one-to-four-grade schools.<sup>18</sup> The school laws of the time stipulated a maximum number of 80 students per class. Two classes could be formed if the number of students exceeded 80. If it exceeded 160, three classes could be established for three consecutive years (School Acts 1871 and 1874).<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Between 1527 and 1918, Croatia was part of the Habsburg Monarchy, that is, from 1867, after its reform, part of the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy.

<sup>17</sup> For the mentioned offense, the participants were punished by whipping through the gallows. The punished had to run several times between two rows of soldiers who were whipping them. Ivan Martinović, *Crtice o povijesti školstva Brodske pukovnije i brodske okruga* (Zagreb: Piščeva naklada, 1912), 50.

<sup>18</sup> In a one-grade school, all students go to the same classroom and one teacher works with them, in a two-grade school they go to two classrooms and two teachers work with them, and so on, according to the same analogy. Emerik Munjiza, *Povijest hrvatskog školstva i pedagogije* (Osijek: Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera; Filozofski fakultet and Hrvatski pedagoško književni zbor - podružnica SlavonSKI Brod, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> *Zbirka zakonah i naredbah za Vojnu krajinu. Propis o nastavi u pučkim učionah Vojne krajine* (Buda: Državna tiskara, 1871): 50-54; *Zakon od 14. listopada 1874. ob ustrojstvu pučkih*

The school architecture of that time was adapted to the described school conditions. The school building consisted of two spacious classrooms and, if possible, a teacher’s apartment.<sup>20</sup> The teacher’s desk was on a raised podium (about thirty centimetres higher than the classroom), so the teacher had a good enough view of all the students. The school desks were usually stationary with four seats. The students sat quietly one behind the other. Any activity among students was strictly prohibited and sanctioned. The stated conditions enabled only face-to-face teaching, ex-cathedra teaching that was equal for all students. School and teaching organized in this way also required theoretical support, explanation and confirmation.<sup>21</sup> The creator of old school pedagogy is undoubtedly the German pedagogue J. F. Herbart (1776-1851), whose influence was significant throughout Europe, and especially in Croatia.

In 1806, Herbart published the book *Allgemeine Pädagogik, aus dem Zweck der Erziehung abgeleitet*, which established pedagogy as a special scientific discipline. After ten years, the mentioned work became the official textbook of pedagogy with a huge influence in Europe and therefore also in Croatia.<sup>22</sup>

Herbart starts from the thesis that education is a process in which the educator leads the student *from anomie through heteronomy to autonomy*. Herbart interprets anomie as children’s natural *disobedience, defiance, spite*. The educator’s task is to break the child’s disobedience with all available educational means and bring them to the level of heteronomy or obedience. Herbart calls this path *management or external disciplining*. In external disciplining, he proposes the following as educational tools: *agenda, learning, movement, play, employment and work, supervision, command, threat and punishment (corporal punishment is also possible)*. The wild mischievousness of children must be suppressed, subdued, and the use of physical force is also allowed. Physical force must be frequent and strong enough to achieve the goal. Management suppresses children’s mischief and maintains external order.<sup>23</sup>

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škola i preparandijah za pučko učiteljstvo u Kraljevini Hrvatske i Slavonije. Službeno izdanje (Zagreb: Narodna tiskara dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1874).

<sup>20</sup> It was desirable for the teacher’s apartment to be located in the same building as the classrooms, because of the practice of the disciplinary measure of the school prison, which will be covered in more detail in the following text.

<sup>21</sup> Dubovicki and Munjiza, “Školska,” 127-152.

<sup>22</sup> Munjiza, *Povijest*, 186.

<sup>23</sup> More about the topic of upbringing in: Emerik Munjiza and Snježana Dubovicki, *Ivan Filipović organizator hrvatskoga učiteljstva i reformator hrvatskoga školstva (povodom dvjestote godišnjice rođenja 1823. - 2023.)* (Osijek: Faculty of Education, University of Osijek, 2023), 37, 104; Zaninović, *Opća*, 23; Zvonimir Komar “Svrhovitost odgoja, obrazovanja i njezino jedinstvo s idejom čovjeka kao ono utemeljujuće pedagoškijske znanosti,” *Radovi Zavoda za*

An immature child must be guided morally, external educational influence breaks the will of the child, without reaching the heart, without emotionality and indulgence. The educational measures should not be explained to the child. Children's stubbornness should be suppressed even with corporal punishment, and he recommends fasting for several hours and school prison.<sup>24</sup>

The influence of Herbart and his supporters in Croatian pedagogy and school practice is extremely strong.<sup>25</sup> The most significant Herbart's supporter in Croatia was Stjepan Basariček (1848-1918), the founder of scientific pedagogy in Croatia.<sup>26</sup> In 1876, Basariček published *Teorija pedagogije ili nauk ob uzgoju* [*Pedagogy Theory of the Science of Education*].<sup>27</sup> Between 1880 and 1884, he published four works in the field of pedagogy: *Uzgojoslovje-pedagogija I*,<sup>28</sup> *Obće obukoslovje* [Didactics], *Posebna obukoslovja* (all teaching methodologies at the time) and *Povijest pedagogije* [*The history of pedagogy*], which rounded of the entire pedagogical science. The mentioned works were the official textbooks of pedagogy until the First World War. Some of the mentioned textbooks were translated and used in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria. Among other things, Basariček was the editor-in-chief in *Napredak* between 1895 and 1918, which strengthened his pedagogical influence.

Basariček declares the pinnacle of education as virtue (moral purity, a system of desirable moral values), and virtue is achieved through educational management. In the process of management, educational tools are used: *habituation, supervision, requests, orders and orders without explanation*. As a last resort, it is possible to use corporal punishment, deprivation of liberty (school prison) and temporary starvation.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Žlebnik, *Opšta*, 16-18.

<sup>25</sup> *Napredak* publishes articles written from the standpoint of Herbart's pedagogy, and the Croatian Pedagogical Literary Association also publishes Herbart's pedagogy, translated from English.

<sup>26</sup> Prior to Basariček, theologians Stjepan Ilijašević (*Obuka malenih ili katehetika*, 1850), and Stjepan Novotny (*Gojtba i obća učba*, 1867) wrote pedagogical publications.

<sup>27</sup> Stjepan Basariček, *Teorija pedagogike ili nauk ob uzgoju* (Zagreb: Knjižara Lav. Hartmana, 1876).

<sup>28</sup> Stjepan Basariček, *Pedagogija I-Uzgojoslovje* (Zagreb: Hrvatski pedagoško-književni zbor, 1882).

<sup>29</sup> Basariček, *Pedagogija*.

## **Methodological Framework**

### **Research field and subject**

This is research in the field of national history of education, and its subject is: research, analysis, description, interpretation of external strategies for disciplining students in the conditions of the old school. This research is focused on dealing with the observed phenomenon in period between 1774 and the end of the First World War, which sums up a timespan of almost century and a half. The starting points in this research are:

1. The “old school” is a product of the overall social relations, the then school system and school organization.
2. Repressive and encouraging forms are used in external forms of discipline.
3. Educative procedures are used within both repressive and encouraging forms, addressing emotional, social physical and mental areas.
4. The application of general pedagogic principles is considered when selecting educational resources.

### **Sources, methods, procedures**

This research is based on the analysis of primary and secondary sources, as well as available pedagogical documentation and literature of the subjected era, which mainly has the character of primary sources in this research. Within the analysed pedagogical documentation, the following groups are mentioned: school acts of the time (1871, 1874, 1888); the then school and teaching rules, decisions, regulations, orders, decrees, statistical data, instructions, solutions (published in *Dodatku Napretka* 1875-1882 and in *Službenom glasniku* 1883– 1918); official letters, decisions, statistics published in *Grada za povijest školstva...* (Cuvaj, 1910–1913) and *Crtice za povijest školstva...* (Martinić, 1912); pedagogy textbooks of the time (Ilijašević 1850, Novotny 1867, Basariček 1880 - 1884) and articles by school practitioners published in the magazine *Napredak* 1859-1918. The collected data were analysed, classified into categories, explained and brought into possible interrelationships.

### **Strategies for disciplining students in old school conditions**

Strategy can be defined as a series of forms (measures), procedures (means) and principles that can achieve a new state and as one that leads to the set goal. In disciplining students, it refers to a series of form, procedures, principles

that lead to the educational goal: *moral purity and virtue*. Two strategies have been identified in educational theory and school practice: repressive and motivational. Both strategies have followed the school since its foundation.

### Repressive strategy

Discipline is the main condition for the development and survival of any society. Social life and development cannot be imagined without *order, respect for the law and elders*.<sup>30</sup> There are three main educational factors in disciplining students: family, school and the environment. Is it even possible to imagine a school without discipline? In the old school, discipline is defined as “order, work, listening and obedience”. God himself uses rewards for the submissive and obedient and punishments for the disobedient and assertive.<sup>31</sup>

Within the repressive strategy, various forms and means of punishment have been identified. Punishments are tools of coercion whose goal is to make the student correct their behaviour. Punishments have a determining and regulating effect.<sup>32</sup> They aim to change behaviour, but they must not be used as revenge. The well-intentioned do not punish to take revenge, but to correct behaviour. Punishment should be done without *anger and revenge and without mocking and cursing*. Punishment must always open the perspective of *change and improvement*, because without it is pointless, unnecessary and superfluous. It is possible that the punishment also serves to strengthen the will, and a strong will is a basic prerequisite for overcoming life’s obstacles.<sup>33</sup>

Punishment is a tool that causes discomfort and can be *physical (hitting, hunger), humiliating (kneeling), deprivation of comfort and freedom (detention)*. Punishment must instil fear and thereby protect against bad deeds. Punishments should be used to prove the mischief of the act.<sup>34</sup>

Education is impossible without punishment. „If health cannot be restored with mild medicines, the doctor uses stronger means, and the educa-

<sup>30</sup> More about repressive strategies see in: Mato Lisac, “Glavni faktori odgoja i školska disciplina,” *Napredak* XLII, no. 31 (1901): 497-499; *Napredak* XLII, no. 32 (1901): 9-520, 51; *Napredak* XLII, no. 33 (1901): 531-531.

<sup>31</sup> More about obedient and punishments see in: Mato Lisac, “Glavni faktori odgoja i školska disciplina,” *Napredak* XLII, no. 31 (1901): 497-499; *Napredak* XLII, no. 32 (1901): 519-520; *Napredak* XLII, no. 33 (1901): 531-531.

<sup>32</sup> Franković, Zlatko and Petar Šimleša, *Enciklopedijski*.

<sup>33</sup> *Znanost odhranjivanja za porabu učiteljskih sēmeništah* (Buda: Štamparija Kraljevskog sveučilišta, 1849).

<sup>34</sup> Jure Turić, *Nauka o gojencu i odgoji* (Petrinja: Knjigotisak Dragutina Benka, 1906).

tor a stricter punishment.<sup>35</sup> Punishments break defiance and make them accustomed to obedience. However, it should be taken into account that school punishments should be adjusted according to: *gender, disability, age and personality*.<sup>36</sup>

School punishments were in the domain of *practical pedagogy and school practice*. Punishment was the consequence of an action, but it was directed towards the future. Punishment was also justified by religious teaching. "If you beat him with a whip, you save his soul from eternal death".<sup>37</sup> Punishment was an extraordinary educational tool and therefore it should be implemented carefully. The worst school is the one that punishes and rewards the most. Punishment was absolutely necessary and justified, and in many cases recommended, irrevocable and irreplaceable. Given the above, we can see that punishments as part of a repressive strategy were absolutely necessary and that without them the schools and education of that time could not function, nor could the necessary school and teaching be maintained.

Practical pedagogy, school laws, disciplinary regulations, rules and decrees prescribe and determine pedagogical punishments, and school practice applies and often modifies them. Pedagogical punishments were diverse. Sometimes they were listed individually, and sometimes they were grouped according to common characteristics. According to the severity of the imposed punishments, they were classified from extremely mild to extremely severe. According to the basis and purpose there were *natural punishments, corporal punishments and frightening punishments*.<sup>38</sup>

The classification criteria are not entirely unambiguous, some punishments can be classified into categories, and the school practice was extremely imaginative when introducing new punishments. Respecting both of these criteria, in the paper all types of punishments are analysed within the following categories: *causing emotional discomfort, deprivation of mental pleasures, deprivation of freedom – social isolation, physical punishments*.

In the category of punishments that cause emotional discomfort, "the shameful desk" and "the shameful book" are worth mentioning. The shameful desk was placed in the last row. In terms of appearance, it was usually more unsightly than the others. It had a bad reputation due to its position. Students

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<sup>35</sup> Iso Vlasisavljević, "O školskim kaznama," *Napredak* XLII, no. 13 (1901): 201.

<sup>36</sup> More about punishments see in: Iso Vlasisavljević, "O školskim kaznama," *Napredak* XLII, no. 13 (1901): 201-204; *Napredak* XLII, no. 14 (1901): 217-220; *Napredak* XLII, no. 15 (1901): 233-236; *Napredak* XLII, no. 16 (1901): 249-252; *Napredak* XLII, no. 17 (1901): 265-278.

<sup>37</sup> Vlasisavljević, "O školskim kaznama," *Napredak* XLII, no. 16 (1901): 249.

<sup>38</sup> Franković, Pregrad and Šimleša, *Enciklopedijski*.

who sat at it were there because of certain deficiencies, disciplinary measures or poor success in learning and progress.<sup>39</sup> The shameful desk was introduced into Croatian school practice in 1845.<sup>40</sup> At the end of the school year, after the annual exams,<sup>41</sup> the worst students in terms of discipline and success were listed in the so-called “black book”. That was a notebook with a hard black cover in which students were listed by school year according to the specified criteria. Since it was an integral part of the school documentation with long-term storage, it subsequently caused extremely strong emotional discomfort, and because of this, it ceased to be used over time.<sup>42</sup>

Emotional discomfort was also caused by mocking words that were extremely frequent. Although they were legally prohibited, school practice records them, and we list some of them: *stupid, lazy, donkey, thief; never anything from you.*<sup>43</sup>

The so-called moral sermons, individual or collective, were extremely unpopular. Despite their unpopularity, they were prevalent in school practice. Moral sermons were often lengthy monologues in which only bad and negative actions were highlighted (sometimes even when there are none or they are emphasized too much). Everything in these was bad and negative, the teacher saw nothing good or positive. Moral sermons often included inappropriate words: “You were a bully, you are a bully, and you will remain a bully”, “oxen, rams, bastards, bums, donkeys”, “no use from you,” etc.<sup>44</sup> Moral sermons usually have the opposite effect than expected. Instead of moralizing, young people need understanding, trust and open perspective.

The then applied punishment of temporary transfer to a lower class or temporary exclusion from school caused a distinct emotional discomfort. After significant transgressions, students were called to the teacher’s conference (assembly) where they were held accountable for their actions, which was certainly not pleasant.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> During the primary education of one of the authors (1951-1959), it was still partially in use and was called the donkey bench and had a mocking meaning; you are sitting at the donkey’s desk.

<sup>40</sup> Antun Cuvaj, *Grada za povijest školstva kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih dana do danas. Book 2* (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada kr. hrv.-slav.-dal. zem. Vlade Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910), 512-513.

<sup>41</sup> According to the school laws of the time, at the end of the school year, final annual exams were taken in front of the teacher, principal, school supervisor and the representative of the municipal authorities.

<sup>42</sup> Cuvaj, *Grada 2*, 512-513.

<sup>43</sup> Martin Štiglić, *Pedagogika ili uzgojoslovlje* (Zagreb: Tiskara Schulz i Kralj, 1889).

<sup>44</sup> Davorin Trstenjak, “Moralne prodike u školi,” *Napredak* L, no. 3 (1909): 118.

<sup>45</sup> “Školski i nastavni red,” 184-188.

Deprivation of mental comforts is also mentioned as a form of punishment. Due to certain disciplinary measures, as a form of punishment in school practice, measures in the field of deprivation of mental pleasures were also used, such as deprivation of some activities that students liked. Examples of deprivation of mental comforts included: loss of honorary position, loss of honorary service, temporary removal from the honour book; participation in group games, trips and excursions. More drastic measures within this category included: food deprivation and partial deprivation of freedom (school detention).<sup>46</sup>

The punishment arsenal also includes forms of deprivation of freedom (social isolation). A shameful desk and even a shameful book have elements of social isolation. The most widespread form of deprivation of freedom (social isolation) in school practice was the school detention (*rešta*). Although it was forbidden, this punishment was also imposed for poor performance, unlearned lessons or unwritten homework. At that time, classes were in two shifts<sup>47</sup> Students who were punished by school detention could not go home. They stayed in school and were usually given extra work, such as rewriting a text several times. As the teacher's apartment was part of the school building, the teacher could keep an eye on them from the apartment. A more difficult form of school detention was the ban on eating during it. There was a lively debate among school practitioners about this punishment. However, most of them considered it to be inhumane and extremely harmful to the students' health. This punishment in practice also caused extreme emotional discomfort, because the students who were returning home for rest called out the students who remained in the school detention.<sup>48</sup> Martinović<sup>49</sup> also mentions “detention in iron”. He states that it was used for extremely serious disciplinary offences but does not describe it. Grubašić<sup>50</sup> also states this punishment as extremely inhumane, but he also does not describe it. The detention punishment could also be served on a non-school day.<sup>51</sup> It was somewhat more

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<sup>46</sup> Vlaisavljević, “O školskim kaznama,” *Napredak* XLII (1901), no. 13: 201-204; *Napredak* XLII, no. 14 (1901): 217–220; *Napredak* XLII, no. 15 (1901): 233–234.

<sup>47</sup> Classes were attended in the morning and in the afternoon. There was a midday break in the student dormitories between the two shifts. Educational classes were usually held in the morning, and educational subjects in the afternoon.

<sup>48</sup> Nikola Kopsa, “Opet o zatvoru učenika preko podne,” *Napredak* XVI, no. 10 (1875): 155-157.

<sup>49</sup> Martinović, *Crtice*.

<sup>50</sup> Marija Grubašić, “Kako treba da stega i obuka utječu na razvitak značajnosti,” *Napredak* XXXIII, no. 7 (1892): 113-116.

<sup>51</sup> Thursday was a non-school day. On Thursdays, classes were organized only before noon, and in the afternoon the teacher worked with students who failed classes.

tolerable, because after completing it they could go home, they did not have to stay for the afternoon shift. The problems with the school detention were complicated when a larger number of students stayed in the school prison at the same time. It was an extremely favourable opportunity for new mischief.<sup>52</sup>

*Threatening punishments* were a specific form of punishment. They were oriented towards the future and aimed to prevent undesirable behaviour. Milder forms of threatening behaviour included verbal or non-verbal messages. They functioned as immediate implementation of teaching discipline. They were expressed with words or facial expression and finger movements, a sign to direct attention to the teacher and the lesson. All other types of punishment had a threatening character and warned about the consequences of disciplinary offenses.<sup>53</sup>

The most widespread form of punishment was *corporal punishment*, both in terms of type and intensity and frequency. Corporal punishment in schools sparked a lively and often contradictory debate involving theorists of practical pedagogy, authors of school laws and regulations, and school practitioners. Theorists of practical pedagogy discussed the reasons for and against corporal punishment. Legislators translated these into legal norms, sometimes prescribed them, but also abolished them. School practice accepted, applied, supplemented and expanded them, but also participated in the debate about the application of corporal punishment.

Corporal punishment has accompanied the school since its foundation and was continuously present in them. Corporal punishment in Croatian state public schools was transferred from the society of that time. Corporal punishment as a means of discipline was also widely used in the army. If a soldier did not improve through other means, corporal punishment was allowed.<sup>54</sup> If corporal punishment could be applied in the army, then it was certainly necessary and justified in school. Cuvaj in the volume 2 of his work, discussing the period from 1780 to 1835, stated that corporal punishment could be applied at school for disobedience to the teacher, theft and similar serious disciplinary offenses.<sup>55</sup>

Štiglić<sup>56</sup> in addition to other types of punishment justified the use of corporal punishment: “standing separately off the desk, kneeling and whipping”.

<sup>52</sup> P. O., “O zatvoru đaka preko podne spojeno s gladovanjem,” *Napredak*, XVI, no. 6 (1875): 90-92.

<sup>53</sup> Štiglić, *Pedagogika*.

<sup>54</sup> Cuvaj, *Građa 2*, 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>56</sup> Štiglić, *Pedagogika*.

In justifying the use of corporal punishment, he took a middle path. "Sad is the school where the whip has to serve, but it is even worse if it is not allowed to be used as an educational tool."<sup>57</sup> The same position was held by Turić,<sup>58</sup> who also recommended standing, kneeling and whipping as educational tools in school.

When corporal punishment was carried out, there was also excessive aggression. Borojević<sup>59</sup> states the execution of corporal punishment with the recitation of cases: nominative = lie down, genitive = stretch out, dative = over the desk, accusative = no longer, vocative = ouch, ablative = it is over. It is evident from the above that corporal punishment was not only done by whipping the palms, but also over the desk on the buttocks, sometimes with a club.<sup>60</sup> Punishment with a club is referred to as *increased corporal punishment*.<sup>61</sup>

Due to the misuse of corporal punishment in schools, theoreticians and legislators issued further instructions on prohibited types of corporal punishment. In *Znanost odhranjivanja* [Science of Education] it is stated that it is not allowed to beat "with a club, a piece of wood, hit the back of the head, cheek or back".<sup>62</sup>

Štiglić stated that corporal punishment can only be carried out by *whipping*, and the following should not be allowed: *kicking, punching, slapping, hitting with a stick and ruler, throwing on the floor, pulling hair and ears*.<sup>63</sup>

Vlaisavljević<sup>64</sup> points out that it is not allowed to apply the following corporal punishments: standing on one leg, kneeling on bare knees and kneeling on small objects (sand, grains). The illegal punishments were still practiced in school: the same author cited the statistics of corporal punishment carried out by one teacher: whipping, hitting with a club, ruler, book, fist; splashing, pulling hair and ears.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>58</sup> Turić, *Nauka*.

<sup>59</sup> More about corporal punishment in: Miloš Borojević, "Tjelesna kazna," *Napredak* XLII, no. 27 (1901): 435-438; *Napredak* XLII, no. 28 (1901): 451-453; *Napredak* XLII, no. 30 (1901): 486-489; *Napredak* XLII, no. 31 (1901): 502-504.

<sup>60</sup> A club is a piece of wood, or a wooden stick used to beat cattle.

<sup>61</sup> Miloš Borojević, "Tjelesna kazna," *Napredak* XLII, no. 44 (1901): 709.

<sup>62</sup> *Znanost odhranjivanja za porabu učiteljskih sēmeništah*, 88.

<sup>63</sup> Štiglić, *Pedagogika*, 47.

<sup>64</sup> More about school punishments in: Iso Vlaisavljević, "O školskim kaznama," *Napredak* XLII, no. 13 (1901): 201-204; *Napredak* XLII, no. 14 (1901): 217-220; *Napredak*, XLII, no. 15 (1901): 233-234; *Napredak*, XLII, no. 16 (1901): 249-252; *Napredak*, XLII, no. 17 (1901): 265-278.

<sup>65</sup> Iso Vlaisavljević, "O školskim kaznama," *Napredak* XLII, no. 16 (1901): 251.

The legislator attempted to limit the arbitrariness and abuse of corporal punishment, so they prescribed the conditions and methods of applying corporal punishment. According to the initial legal regulations, the teacher was not independent when imposing corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was imposed by the teachers' council (if there is one) at the suggestion of the teacher, in accordance with the law. The decision of the teachers' council had to be additionally approved by the higher school authority, the school superintendent or the school commission. In the territory of the Military Frontier, approval had to be sought from the military administration.<sup>66</sup>

The recommendation was that the corporal punishment should not be carried out by the teacher, but preferably by the school janitor, without the presence of the students. An official record was kept of each corporal punishment carried out (*Strafprotokoll*). The following information was entered into the punishment records: student's name and surname, place of residence and house number, reason and method of punishment. The punishment record was co-signed by the teacher and the administration officer in whose presence the punishment was carried out.<sup>67</sup> Corporal punishment was carried out exclusively with a birch whip of the prescribed thickness and length. There is an interesting fact about the so-called holiday of whips. In the spring, the students would go to a nearby forest and pluck whips, which they would tie into small bundles. Upon returning to school, they would sing appropriate songs about whipping and whips. These whips were stored in the school, and it was forbidden for the students to bring their own whips.<sup>68</sup> The method of corporal punishment described was not applicable, and the teachers complained about this.

On the other hand, teachers complained that according to the mentioned regulations and instructions, they were losing "a powerful educational tool because corporal punishment is not applicable". Corporal punishment should still be used at the right time, because it is not possible to establish and maintain school and teaching discipline without this means.<sup>69</sup> In order to bring corporal punishment under control, the school authorities prescribed disciplinary measures against teachers who abused it to the extreme. Thus, in the school and curriculum from 1889, information about teachers is provided: teacher K. hit a girl so hard on the head that she died as a result, the teacher was prosecuted. Teacher B. lost his teaching position due to inappropriate corporal punishment. Teacher N. punched the girl hard in the head, death occurred, criminal prosecution was initiated.

<sup>66</sup> Martinović, *Crtice*, 53.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 54 - 55.

<sup>68</sup> "Školski i nastavni red," 184 - 188.

<sup>69</sup> Martinović, *Crtice*, 53.

In order to avoid too much improvisation and arbitrariness in the practical application of corporal punishment, school authorities and pedagogues prescribed general principles that had to be followed when imposing corporal punishment. When punishing, one should definitely take into account *the principle of gradualness*. Punishments had to be imposed from mild to severe, with the exception of major violations. The imposed punishment had to have the characteristics of *openness*. If the punishment has achieved its goal, it had to be reduced or deleted. This gave the punishment a pedagogical value. If one improves, it will be noticed, and the punishment will be annulled.<sup>70</sup> The punishment had to be *separated from the person* – not the person but the action deserved a punishment.<sup>71</sup>

In punishment, the principle of *appropriateness* had to be respected and applied, the imposed punishment had to correspond to the offense committed, but it also served as an example to other students. “Small deeds should not be praised too much, and small mistakes should not be punished too severely.”<sup>72</sup> The imposed punishment had characteristics of *impartiality*. The same punishment was imposed for same transgressions, regardless of the student. For this reason, the punishment could not be pronounced in anger and emotional excitement. Punishment had to be imposed without anger and revenge, without mocking and cursing.<sup>73</sup> The punishing was public, publicly communicated in an appropriate manner and the parents had to be informed about the imposed punishment.<sup>74</sup>

One had to be *consistent* in punishing. A punishment imposed once could not be given up on, because it could be taken lightly and expected to be omitted on every other occasion<sup>75</sup>. Within the repressive educational strategy, there was a special interest in physical forms of punishment. There was considerable agreement between pedagogical theory, school legislation and school practice regarding its *justification*. Differences occurred in terms of its implementation, methods of implementation and means of implementation. In the following text, arguments for and against corporal punishment of students are presented.

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<sup>70</sup> “Školski i nastavni red,” 184-188.

<sup>71</sup> Turić, *Nauka*.

<sup>72</sup> Štiglić, *Pedagogika*, 33-50.

<sup>73</sup> *Znanost odhranjivanja za porabu učiteljskih sēmeništah*, 85-89.

<sup>74</sup> P. O., “O zatvoru đaka preko podne spojeno s gladovanjem,” 90-92.

<sup>75</sup> *Znanost odhranjivanja za porabu učiteljskih sēmeništah*, 87.

In 1901, Vlaisavljević Iso published an article on corporal punishment at school in five parts in *Napredak*. In the mentioned article, he referred to a number of domestic and foreign authors (authorities in the field) who supported corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was allowed and necessary because they contribute to forming of a will.<sup>76</sup> The child was regarded to be governed by disciplinary measures, praise and punishment, and even corporal punishment, which had a strong effect on children's emotions. Rewards and punishments were based on God's and man's law "he who forgives the whip, hates his son". If the child defied the educator, he had to apply punishment, even corporal, in order to suppress the disobedience, otherwise he could not be his educator. The educator had to seek "unconditional obedience and punish the child until he brings him to the level of obedience."<sup>77</sup>

In support of corporal punishment, we also cite several examples of school practice, through articles presented by teachers. As long as there is heaven and hell, corporal punishment could be used in schools.<sup>78</sup> Teachers became so friendly with corporal punishment that they thought schools could not function without it.<sup>79</sup> It was regarded that "madness lies deep in the child's heart, but the whip drives it out".<sup>80</sup> The whip was regarded as the most natural punishment, the extended hand of the teacher, the means that ensured his power.<sup>81</sup>

The *School and Curriculum for Public Schools* [Školski i nastavni red za pučke škole]<sup>82</sup> on July 14, 1875, abolished the use of corporal punishment. The pressure of school practice realized through sub-county teachers' assemblies was so strong that the school authorities made a decision to return corporal punishment to school practice. The order was published in the *Dodatak Napretka* in 1879. In the same order, the conditions for the application of corporal punishment were prescribed:

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 85-89; Basariček, *Pedagogija*.

<sup>77</sup> Štiglić, *Pedagogika*, 35-36.

<sup>78</sup> Ćuturilo according to Vlaisavljević, "O školskim kaznama," *Napredak* XLII, no. 17 (1901): 266.

<sup>79</sup> Martinović, *Crtice*, 34.

<sup>80</sup> Vlaisavljević, "O školskim kaznama," *Napredak* XLII, no. 16 (1901): 249.

<sup>81</sup> Borojević, "Tjelesna kazna," 486.

<sup>82</sup> This is the so-called Mažuranić Act. At that time, it was known as a more liberal school act. As a result, teaching acquired a secular character and was separated from religious education.

1. Major moral transgressions, obstinate lying, impudent persistence, major misconduct and if other educational means have not produced results.
2. Corporal punishment must be done in a way that is not harmful to the child's health.
3. Corporal punishment should be carried out by a school employee, where the teacher himself is not present, and never the student.
4. If more than one teacher works in the school, the teachers' council decides on corporal punishment, and if there is one teacher in the school he makes the decision in cooperation with the local school superintendent.

The practice of corporal punishment had its *proponents*, but also its *opponents*. It is even possible that the same authors state reasons for and against corporal punishment of students. Opponents of corporal punishment are mainly philanthropists who emphasize its harmfulness. In their view, school success largely depended on the skill of the teacher in teaching – a good teaching did not require a whip. Careless attendance and poor school performance were evaluated through grades in individual subjects and behaviour.<sup>83</sup> There was also agreement that girls cannot be physically punished as a rule.

The order from 1879, which reintroduced corporal punishment in schools, also listed exceptions when it was not allowed:

1. Corporal punishment should never be used for poor progress and careless school attendance.
2. Girls should never be physically punished.
3. Apart from whipping, all other types of corporal punishment are prohibited: hair pulling, slapping, pushing, kneeling of all types and forms, hitting with a stick, ruler and other objects.

The analysis revealed a very wide spectrum of repressive forms. There is a noticeable big difference between prescribed and practiced repressive forms, both in terms of cause and execution. Synthesized and classified data from the field of repressive educational strategies are shown in Table 1.

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<sup>83</sup> Borojević, “Tjelesna kazna,” *Napredak* XLII, (1901): 564, 613.

**Table 1.** Forms, means and principles in repressive educational strategy

Forms	Means
1. Emotional discomfort	Shameful desk, shameful book, mocking words, moral profanity, temporary transfer to a lower class and another school, being incited to the teacher's conference.
2. Deprivation of mental comfort	Temporary loss of a place of honour, loss of an honorary service, temporary removal from the book of honour, denial of participation in joint games, trips, excursions and festivities.
3. Denied freedom and social isolation	School detention (rešt), school detention with starvation and school prison in iron.
4. Corporal punishments	
4. 1. permitted-prescribed	Standing at the desk, kneeling, whipping the palms.
4. 2. illegal-applied in school practice	Standing on one leg, standing with different unnatural hand positions: kneeling on bare knees, kneeling on small objects – grains, sand; hitting with a club (stick), ruler, book; slapping, pulling hair and ears; throwing to the ground and kicking.
Principles	Gradualness, appropriateness, consistency, openness, publicity, separation of the punishment from the person.
Other	Conditions for punishment, methods of punishment and means of punishment.

## Stimulating strategy

Within educational strategies, it is possible to present and analyse a *stimulating educational strategy*. Stimulating educational strategies are based on inducing *emotional comfort*. According to it, desirable behaviours and achieved successes are recognized and appropriate measures are imposed as a confirmation to those who deserve them and an example to others who can deserve them. According to the intensity and expected success in the area of stimulating educational strategy, it is possible to talk about *praise, recognition and awards*.

## Praise, recognition and awards

Milder forms of encouragement in education include praise, which can be expressed orally or in writing. Extremes are not desirable in this area either. It is not desirable to praise too much, nor to be too stingy with deserved praise. You should be careful and stay away from too frequent praise for every little thing because they lose their significance and pedagogical role. Praise must be earned by every individual: *by diligence, attention and achieved results*. It is not recommended to praise *physical virtues*, which are not the result

of individual effort. Praising and rewarding should be done publicly with the presence of other students and parents at school ceremonies.<sup>84</sup> If praise, recognition and awards are not well evaluated and explained, they can cause the opposite effect, selfishness in the praised student and envy in other students.

Praise, recognition and awards were introduced into the school system at the same time as repressive forms. In the rest of the text, several data from the field of stimulating educational resources are presented as an illustration. According to Cuvaj,<sup>85</sup> the first traces of awards could already be found in private schools from the 16th century through appropriate medallions and necklaces. They are later replaced by money or useful items. The same author cites an example of necklaces from 1841 that were distributed in a school in Požega. It is also reported that the private school Marko Grošl gave a certificate of appreciation to student Eduard Schmidt.<sup>86</sup>

The mildest form of encouragement is verbal praise. It is usually given immediately after a well-executed deed or achieved success. For long-term and significant successes, the following are awarded: *written praise, recognitions and diplomas*. Cuvaj references a letter of praise from 1855 that was issued in the Military Frontier area. This letter was signed by the head teacher (at the same time the school supervisor) and the administrative officer, a captain. These signatures confirm the importance of the praise issued.<sup>87</sup> Martinić cites an older letter of praise also issued in the Military Frontier area in Vinkovci to a certain Barbara Brosing.<sup>88</sup>

Just as shameful desks and books were used in the repressive educational strategy, *honourable desks and honourable books* were used in the stimulating strategy. Honourable desks were made more beautiful than the others and placed in front of the classroom. Only the best students sat at the honourable desks. If they failed in success, they could temporarily lose their place at the honourable desk. The honourable book was a beautifully bound notebook with a hard red cover. The most successful students of a particular school were entered in it after the annual exams. As stated earlier, certain negativity was also observed, especially in the case of shameful books. For this reason, honourable and shameful books were abolished, and school memorials were

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<sup>84</sup> Štiglić, *Pedagogika*, 36-39.

<sup>85</sup> Antun Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih dana do danas. Book 1* (Zagreb: Tisak i naklada kr. hrv.-slav.-dal. zem. Vlade Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910 – 1913): 199.

<sup>86</sup> Cuvaj, *Građa* 3, 104.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>88</sup> Martinović, *Crtice*, 224.

introduced instead.<sup>89</sup> *Honorary services* are also mentioned as a form of incentive.

The most diverse forms of material rewards are recorded. *Useful items* are also often used as initial rewards (often for social reasons as well). Martinović states that in the Brod Regiment, after the annual exams in 1875, the following were distributed: “three pairs of trousers, four half-silk handkerchiefs, a cubit and a half of ribbons for a pin”.<sup>90</sup> The same author states that after the annual exam in Sibenje, the following were distributed: “a coat, a handkerchief, six small catechisms and five tablets for calculation”.<sup>91</sup> It is evident from the mentioned record that useful items of *pedagogical character* (catechisms, tablets) were also introduced as a form of reward.

Pedagogical awards, especially books of educational value, are increasingly being used as a form of reward. When awarding books, it was stipulated that a maximum of three students could be awarded in each school, whereby one student could receive a maximum of one book. Later, this decision was changed so that the number of books for the award depended on the number of students in a particular school. The reward books were provided by the regimental command and the main state school command.<sup>92</sup> From time to time, the titles of books that were suitable for school were publicly announced. Among other things, in 1883, a list of books printed in Cyrillic was published.<sup>93</sup>

The school supplies awarded to students included: *tablets for calculation, school supplies and school tools*. Although rarely, paintings are mentioned as a form of reward (likely reproductions of paintings from Croatian history). Group prizes such as: *games, trips, excursions, walks*, road trips are listed as especially valuable rewards. Means that would harm students' health could not be used as rewards.<sup>94</sup> Probably for social reasons, the financial form of reward was also mentioned. Monetary prize, among other things, depended

<sup>89</sup> School memorials were introduced into school practice around 1872. If the school was older, a brief history of the school was written in the introduction. Since 1872, memorials have been seen as yearbooks and all important events related to school work are recorded in them, and as such they represent an important source of information about schools and education.

<sup>90</sup> Martinović, *Crtice*, 224. According to the custom of the time, it was allowed to wear long hair tied in a ponytail, *perčin*.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 234-236.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 235-237.

<sup>93</sup> At that time, municipal Serbian school functioned as a form of private schools; Martinović, *Crtice*, 105-107.

<sup>94</sup> Štiglić, *Pedagogika*, 36-39; Turić, *Nauka*.

on the academic success, with amounts ranging between half and ten forints were given.<sup>95</sup>

Teachers could also be rewarded for exceptionally successful and continuous work. Martinović mentions two types of monetary rewards: 50 forints for many years of successful continuous work and 20 forints for exceptionally successful work in one year.<sup>96</sup> The synthetic form of pedagogical recognition is also provided by school grades, both individual teaching subjects and grades from behaviour. As an illustration, we present the school evaluation system according to the order from 1864:

1. *Start*: very industrious, hard-working, torn, rare;
2. *Moral behaviour*: excellent, commendable, blameless, reprehensible;
3. *Progress in subjects*: very good, good, mediocre, poor;
4. *Diligence*: tireless, steady, interrupted, none;
5. *General order (success)*: first order with distinction, first order, second order, third order.<sup>97</sup>

As with the imposition of educational repressive measures, general rules and principles that must be adhered to in order to be pedagogically justified were also prescribed when imposing stimulating educational measures. Awarding had to be *fair, impartial and consistent*. Obviously achieved success and behaviour were rewarded. The reward had to be *solidly explained, public and ceremoniously presented*. Rewards could only be made with *prescribed means*. Rewards had to be appropriate for *age, sex, sensitivity (temper), significance and temperament*.<sup>98</sup> When rewarding, the principle of *gradualness and consistency* had to be respected.<sup>99</sup> Appropriateness as an educational tool had to be a guide for other students, along with the described forms of neutralizing envy.<sup>100</sup>

According to the same methodology, data from the area of stimulating educational presented in Table 2.

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<sup>95</sup> The forint is a silver coin weighing 12.345 grams, fineness 900/1000. It was used in the Austrian Empire until 1892, it was divided into 100 *krajcara*.

<sup>96</sup> Martinović, *Crtice*, 235-237.

<sup>97</sup> Cuvaj, *Grada* 3, 140-150.

<sup>98</sup> Štiglić, *Pedagogika*, 33-50.

<sup>99</sup> Grubašić, “Kako treba da stega i obuka utječu na razvitak značajnosti,” 113-116.

<sup>100</sup> Lisac, “Glavni faktori odgoja i školska disciplina,” 519.

**Table 2.** Forms, means and principles in stimulating educational strategy

Forms	Means
Rewards that stimulate emotional pleasure	Verbal and written praise, honourably desk and honorary book, honorary service.
Symbolic awards	Recognitions, diplomas, medals; school grades for: passing, good behaviour, progress in school subjects, diligence, general success (order).
Material rewards	Useful items: clothes, children's toys, school tools and money; pedagogical: books, school supplies and reproductions of artistic paintings.
Collective awards	School games, trips, walks, travel, excursions.
Principles	Gradualness, appropriateness, justification, consistency, fairness, publicity.
Teacher awards	For many years of continuous successful work, for exceptionally successful annual work.

## Concluding considerations

In Croatian lands, the “old school” is defined as the period from the introduction of state public education in 1774 until the end of the First World War. Organizationally and content-wise, it is defined as a school of memory, regurgitation, listening, reproduction; a verbal, book-oriented school; the school of obedience and submission, authoritative and repressive; antisocial, passive and frontal oriented at the imaginary average student.

The school should be viewed as a socially necessary and socially determined institution. It is a product of social relations. Between 1527 and 1918, Croatia was part of the Austrian Empire, that is, since 1867, part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The important characteristics of the mentioned centralism with minimal freedoms of the associated states, branched bureaucracy with a touch of Prussian militarism. Feudal social order and initial capitalism did not show much interest in entrepreneurship and initiative.

Military discipline in society as a whole stood out especially in the area of the Military Frontier, where corporal punishment was also prescribed for adult men. In the society of that time, the influence of Christianity with its basic postulates of obedience and submission was extremely strong. Patriarchal household cooperatives were based on unconditioned obedience to the household elder.

Until the introduction of compulsory education in 1874, the school system was heterogeneous. In addition to state schools, there were municipal and private schools, separate schools for boys and girls. The 1874 School Act intro-

duced a comprehensive general public school, organized according to models from one to four classes. The number of students in the classes was extremely large. The laws of the time stipulated that the class should be divided if the number of students exceeded 80, 160 and 240 for three consecutive years. The classrooms were large. The teacher's podium was raised about thirty centimetres, so that the teacher could more easily supervise all the students and maintain teaching discipline. The school desks were immovable, usually four students sat in them, lined up behind the back of the head, which only allowed frontal teaching.

The described period of time was also the time of the establishment of pedagogy as an autonomous science, which is attributed to Johann Friedrich Herbart on a European scale. Herbart's pedagogy provided a theoretical basis for the old school. According to Herbart, education is the process of guiding students from anomie, through heteronomy to autonomy. The initial school system should lead the child from natural disobedience to absolute obedience. Herbart referred to this process management or external disciplining, in which all educational means are allowed, including corporal punishment. In Croatia, the most consistent Herbartian was Stjepan Basariček, whose pedagogy textbooks were official until the First World War.

In the conditions of the time, school discipline was defined as sitting, still passivity and obedience. Violations were followed by a series of repressive educational measures that, among other things, caused emotional discomfort, a sense of shame and shame towards oneself, teachers and parents. Punishments were extremely strong educational tools with the aim of making changes for the better. A wide spectrum of repressive means applied in school practice was recorded, of which corporal punishment aroused the special interest of professional circles and the wider public. The legislator prescribed and withdrew regulations of corporal punishment, and school practice continuously applied and imaginatively expanded them. The text details the types of corporal punishment prescribed or allowed by the legislator, as well as those that were applied in school practice.

To reduce the abuse of corporal punishments, the legislator prescribed the conditions under which they could be imposed, the ways and means by which they could be carried out. They also stated the basic principles that should be adhered to when imposing repressive measures, such as gradualness, appropriateness, consistency, justification, publicity, impartiality and openness.

To maintain external discipline and better school success, stimulating educational measures were prescribed and used. They cause emotional pleasure and as such have a stimulating effect on children. Stimulating educational measures were introduced in parallel with repressive educational measures