

## Village Education in Croatia-Slavonia, 1900-1914

In this text the author presented the development of primary education in the village communities of central Croatia at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was a period of significant changes in the society that reflected in the villages as well. The author demonstrated that the situation in the villages was a very complex one. This was due to the fact that the effects of modernization processes, particularly of the educational reform promoted by Croatian ban Ivan Mažuranić, started to be felt only at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The article is based primarily on statistics, school memorial books and periodicals of that time.

The village school in Croatia-Slavonia in the years before World War I was an outpost of the modern state and the nation in a world of traditional peasants.<sup>1</sup> What occurred within its walls was a clash between two cultures. In traditional peasant culture authority rested with the older males of the family and village. Village schools introduced children to new facts, theories and skills, which often clashed with the inherited wisdom of their fathers and grandfathers. Peasant culture was based on oral tradition, modern culture on the printed and written word. Peasants spoke a variety of dialects and sub-dialects, modern culture emphasized the use of a standard literary language. Peasants identified with their village and region, modern culture sought to extend this identity to the nation. Peasants lived in cyclical time, measured by cycles of the agricultural year, phases of the moon, saints' days. Birth and death, generation following generation. Modern culture was rooted in linear time, measured by number – day, month and year, hour, minute and second. Peasants lived in a pre-Copernican universe where the sun circled the earth and the earth stood still. In their world fairies still gathered on the meadows, witches cast spells, and ghosts roamed the countryside. In the eyes of the modernizing national elite, the peasant world was one of superstition and ignorance which would have to be transformed by education.

In 1900 the vast majority, eighty-two percent, of the population of Croatia-Slavonia were peasants.<sup>2</sup> Most lived in small villages or hamlets of up to 500

<sup>1</sup> The basic studies on the history of education in Croatia-Slavonia are: CUVAJ 1910–1913/XI, and FRANKOVIĆ 1958. For historical background look in: GROSS 1985, and SZABO 1992. There are two recent masters' theses which add color, depth and new perspectives: ŽUPAN 2002a, and JAGIĆ 2008. See also: ŽUPAN 2002b, 277-292. For local studies on the history of one school or school district see: JAGIĆ 2008, footnotes 2-4, and Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> SG 1905, 89.

inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> Peasant farms were small, due to partible inheritance laws and the rapid decline of the traditional extended family *zadruga*. In 1895 seventy-one per cent of all farms were five hectares or fewer in size.<sup>4</sup> The population was young – almost half were under the age of 20.<sup>5</sup> The rural population was growing rapidly, taxes were rising, and a long agricultural depression which began in 1872 forced many peasant families into debt. There were few jobs outside of agriculture. This triggered a massive emigration.<sup>6</sup>

Towns in Croatia-Slavonia were relatively small and few. Zagreb, the capital had 58,000 inhabitants, Osijek the next largest had 23,000, four towns were between 10,000 and 15,000 in size, and almost all of the others were under 5,000.<sup>7</sup> There was a very thin layer of educated people. They included civil servants, elected officials, lawyers, priests, doctors, veterinarians, agronomists, engineers, journalists, writers and artists, university and secondary school professors, and primary school teachers. In 1900 this group made up only 2% of the population, and most of them lived in Zagreb or in the smaller towns.<sup>8</sup> The teachers who lived and worked in villages (*pučki učitelji*) formed a bridge between the educated few and the peasantry.

The School Law of 1874 which was passed during the government of ban Ivan Mažuranić laid the foundations for a modern public school system in Croatia-Slavonia.<sup>9</sup> The elementary schools were free, secular, compulsorily and controlled by the state. They were open to all children of school age regardless of sex, nationality or wealth. The law was revised in 1888, but the basic tenets remained. The basic school had four grades, and students who had completed these were supposed to come back for review classes two times a week for two years. The subjects studied were the mother tongue, arithmetic, geography, history, physics, natural history, calligraphy, geometry, religion, singing and gymnastics. These were the subjects in all elementary schools, rural or urban.

Education was one of the functions allotted to the Croatian Government in the Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868, and by 1900 education took up 18.6% of the state budget.<sup>10</sup> The largest amount went to secondary schools, the next largest to elementary schools. According to the education law of 1888<sup>11</sup> elemen-

<sup>3</sup> SG 1905, 11.

<sup>4</sup> TOMASEVICH 1955, 389.

<sup>5</sup> SG 1905, 87.

<sup>6</sup> Between 1880 and 1914, approximately one fifth of the population emigrated abroad, primarily men between the ages of 14 and 44 (HOLJEVAC 1967, 31).

<sup>7</sup> SG 1905, 7.

<sup>8</sup> SG 1905, 89.

<sup>9</sup> ŽUPAN 2001a, 52-88.

<sup>10</sup> SG 1905, 916.

<sup>11</sup> CUVAJ 1901.

tary schools were divided into two groups: lower elementary schools containing four grades plus review classes, and upper elementary schools. Attendance was compulsory only for the lower school, and began at the age of seven. Elementary schools could be public, parochial or private. In 1900, ninety-five percent of the lower elementary schools were public.<sup>12</sup> The teachers were to be of the same religion as their students. The language of instruction was “Croatian or Serbian” (the official title for the standard language) in all but 5% of the schools.<sup>13</sup> School expenses were divided between the Ministry of Religion and Education and the local *općina* (administrative commune), the lowest cell of government. Above the *općina* was the *kotar* (district), then the *županija* (county), and finally the educational authorities in Zagreb. Each level of government had particular supervisory functions over the schools and teachers. Locally, the village school was supervised by the School Committee which included the head of the *općina*, the local priest, or priests if it was a mixed confessional village, the teacher, the school patron if there was one, and two to five people elected by the *općina*.<sup>14</sup>

The rural teacher was a civil servant. He or she was a professional trained at a recognized teachers college. The teacher’s salary and retirement pay was determined by the government of Croatia-Slavonia but paid by the local *općina*. If the *općina* was unable to meet these expenses, it received some help from the government. Male and female teachers received the same salary, but after 1888, women who married had to withdraw from the teaching profession. The salary of the elementary school teacher (*pučki učitelj*) was low compared to other civil servants in Croatia-Slavonia as well as teachers in other European countries.<sup>15</sup> While some teachers remained in the same school for years,<sup>16</sup> others were moved every few years. The teacher’s living quarters were often part of the school building and if not the teacher received an allotment for housing. Wood for heating the school and the teacher’s living quarters was also included in the salary. Some schools, especially in thinly populated mountain areas were one teacher/one-room schools which served a number of small villages, while a large village might have a four grade lower elementary school with four teachers, and an upper elementary school. The number of teachers required depended upon the number of children attending school, and each teacher was expected to have a separate classroom. Overcrowding was a constant problem, since *općina*’s in poorer regions had difficulty coming up with money for additional rooms or new buildings, as well as for basic repairs to the existing structures.

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<sup>12</sup> SG 1905, 681.

<sup>13</sup> Almost all of these schools taught in German or Hungarian (SG 1905, 681).

<sup>14</sup> CUVAJ 1901, 783.

<sup>15</sup> BINIČKI 1910, 46, 64.

<sup>16</sup> The Cerje schoolteacher died after 42 years of service (A-HŠM, *Spomenica Pučke učione u Cerju*, A 4658, 1903–1904).

Although they were civil servants, the village schoolteachers were paid by the *općina* from taxes collected from the peasants. Therefore peasants sometimes saw the teachers as their own “servants”. Jagić writes of several incidents in 1903 when peasants demanded that the local schoolteachers join in the anti-Hungarian demonstrations because the teachers were paid by the “people” and therefore must be on their side.<sup>17</sup>

Every school was ordered to keep a *Spomenica* (Memorial) which recorded enrollment, student attendance, new laws affecting schools, changes in teaching staff, conditions of the buildings and garden, illness among students, major events during the school year which ranged from natural disasters (earthquakes and fires) to visits by local dignitaries, musical performances by school children, drives to raise money for clothing for poor students, meetings of the School Committee, and visits by the local School Inspector. These are excellent sources<sup>18</sup> for understanding how the schools actually functioned within their communities, the tasks of the village schoolteachers, their hopes, their achievements and their concerns.<sup>19</sup> The *Spomenice* serve as a useful balance to official statistics.<sup>20</sup>

Village schoolteachers were called on for many tasks besides classroom teaching. It was hoped that education would indirectly lead to better farming, introduce new crops and farming methods. Each school was supposed to have a school garden where the children could learn useful skills such as grafting winestocks and fruit trees, bee keeping, silk farming. The quality of the garden depended on the time and skills of the teachers, most of whom came from non-farming backgrounds. There were short courses teachers could take to improve their work in the gardens, and even a periodical for teachers, edited by a village schoolteacher, about how to maintain and improve the school garden.<sup>21</sup> Teachers were expected to give seedlings, and grafts to families in the *općina*.<sup>22</sup> Many villages expected their teachers to play the church organ.<sup>23</sup> Teachers fought long and hard to have this task paid. In fact in 1911 there was a silent strike by teachers to underline their need to be paid for all of the non-classroom duties expected of them.<sup>24</sup> Salaries were soon raised.

<sup>17</sup> JAGIĆ 2008, 162-164.

<sup>18</sup> JAGIĆ 2008. The *Spomenice* proved to be one of the richest sources for her M. A. Thesis.

<sup>19</sup> See for example *Spomenica pučke škole u Vugrovcu* (A-HŠM, A 4658, 1905–1914).

<sup>20</sup> JAGIĆ 2008, 261-262.

<sup>21</sup> *Školski vrt*, 1 (1889) – 12 (1900).

<sup>22</sup> The number of seedling and grafts distributed to families were included in the official statistics (See: *SG* 1905, 701).

<sup>23</sup> BINIČKI 1910, 27.

<sup>24</sup> JAGIĆ 2008, 47; FRANKOVIĆ 1958, 258.

Village schoolteachers had other official responsibilities. They were regular members of *općina* committees. They were adjuncts to the public health system, trained to give first aid, and expected to alert health authorities on the spread of infectious disease.<sup>25</sup> They also gathered local data for population and agricultural censuses. The population census was made in the midst of winter, the agricultural one in the spring. The teacher in Gornja Stubica simply noted that the population census of 1910 took him ten days to do.<sup>26</sup> The teacher in Bednja suffered through three population censuses between 1891 and 1911, and found the work exhausting. He had to climb from hilltop to hilltop on poor and icy roads, working sometimes deep into the night.<sup>27</sup> It is not clear from the *Spomenice* whether the teachers were paid for this work. The census work must have given the teachers who participated in it a clearer picture of the economic circumstances in which the people in their communities lived.

Village school teachers were the representative of high culture in the village. Their personal libraries and the school library were the major source of books. They organized music groups, took the schoolchildren on excursions, wrote for professional journals and other periodicals. Village school teachers took their work seriously and continually campaigned through their teachers organizations for better teacher education, improvements in the curriculum, more autonomy within the classroom, higher wages, and pay for non-teaching duties.

How did teachers view the goals of public education? On August 8, 1900 the Federation of Teachers Organizations met, at the government's request, for a general discussion of public education and curriculum. The discussion was opened by Dr Djuro Turić, Professor of Education at Petrinja Teachers Institute and author of many books and articles on education. His speech was interrupted several times by cheers of "Živio", so he must have been speaking for many of the teachers there.

Turić identified the following as the major tasks of public elementary education in Croatia-Slavonia.<sup>28</sup>

Every society can be divided into two groups, leaders and those who are led. Our elementary schools are designed for children of the second and largest group. These are the people who provide the material basis of society. We must teach their

<sup>25</sup> The major professional journal for schoolteachers was *Napredak* (1859 – present). In the years before World War I, it regularly carried articles on health matters, for example: GUDRUM 1911, 15-25.

<sup>26</sup> This teacher gathered material for the population census at the beginning of January 1911, and for the agricultural census in April of the same year. During each census taking he had to close the school (A-HŠM, *Spomenica pučke škole u Gornjoj Stubici*, A 4606, 1910–1911).

<sup>27</sup> JAGIĆ 2008, 161.

<sup>28</sup> TURIĆ, in CUVAJ 1913/XI, 257-265. I have summarized the major points of this address. For a brief biography of Turić, see CUVAJ 1913/XI, 372.

children to be positive and obedient members of society, people who can listen and carry out orders, and follow the leadership of the “educated and distinguished members of the nation”.<sup>29</sup>

We do not seek to create self-conscious autonomous individuals, but people who realize themselves as part of a larger community.

We must teach our students how to produce effectively in a highly competitive money economy. Our people must learn that good work requires more than physical strength. They must learn to be open to new skills and approaches to their work. In Croatia-Slavonia where most of the land is divided into small subsistence farms, the economy will fail unless the peasants are educated.

Public education must turn a class of people who “a generation ago had been *slaves*”<sup>30</sup> (serfs) into productive and conscious members of their society, their nation and their religion.

It must introduce the young to their own national literature and history, and spread national culture to “all classes and all corners of the nation so that we can protect and save our nation in the competition now taking place”.<sup>31</sup>

We must always be aware that the children to us come from a very different world. Unlike children in Germany or France, they come to school unwillingly and unprepared. “With their mothers milk they have absorbed all kinds of superstitions, belief in witches, vampires, etc”.<sup>32</sup> It is the task of the school to remove these false beliefs and help the children understand that every natural phenomenon is rooted in the eternal and unchanging laws of nature.

Those who teach in the elementary schools are much like priests. They work with their heart and their souls, and they work under difficult conditions.

While it is relatively easy to find out from laws and textbooks and speeches what the government and teachers organizations expected of the village schools, what did the peasants think? What did they want out of public education? My richest sources here are village studies made at the time for *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena* in Zagreb. The studies are based on a long questionnaire,<sup>33</sup> and each study was written by a member of the local community. Some of the village studies are published in whole or in part in *Zbornik*, but most remain in manuscript in the *Stara zbirka* collection of the Archives of *Odbor za narodni život i običaji* (ONŽO) of the Croatian Academy in Zagreb.

Many peasants, especially at first, resented sending their children to school. The children were needed at home to work. They pastured the family animals,

<sup>29</sup> CUVAJ 1913/XI, 257.

<sup>30</sup> CUVAJ 1913/XI, 259.

<sup>31</sup> CUVAJ 1913/XI, 261.

<sup>32</sup> CUVAJ 1913/XI, 262.

<sup>33</sup> RADIĆ 1897, 1-88.

helped with farm and home tasks, and watched the younger children. This was especially true in the small family farms where every hand was useful and labor was a major way of paying debts and bartering services.<sup>34</sup> What use would more than the most basic education be to peasant children unless they became priests or scholars or moved into the ranks of the “gentlemen” (officials, educated people).<sup>35</sup> The state, on the other hand, needed an educated citizenry who would work more efficiently, and literate young men for its army. Compulsory education brought with it fines for those who did not send their children. However *općina* authorities had the right to exempt certain children from attending school if 1) the family was poor, 2) the child was a girl, 3) there was no school in the village, 4) there was no room in the village school, 5) the child was the major support of parents, or 6) the child was sick, or handicapped.<sup>36</sup> This helps explain why in 1903-04, thirty years after the establishment of compulsory elementary school education, only 65% of children of elementary school age actually attended school.<sup>37</sup>

Peasants were more willing to send boys than girls. It was important for boys to know how to read and write, for later they would have to be away from home for several years while they served in the army, and some might even emigrate to America.<sup>38</sup> If the younger generation knew how to read and write, the military recruits and emigrants could keep in touch with their families. Girls, on the other hand, needed only one or two years of school at most.<sup>39</sup> With that they could read religious books and sign their names.

Literacy, then, was what peasants wanted most from education. One peasant author of a village study described his own father’s anger at being non-literate. The old man would often say of himself “I am blind, but I have healthy eyes”.<sup>40</sup> Illiteracy made you dependent, cut off from the world of print information, forced to trust others in matters that required documents and signatures.<sup>41</sup> It was much easier to be cheated if you could not read or write.

Peasants believed that literacy and necessary skills in writing and arithmetic for boys could be gotten in three or four years of school. If we look at the numbers of children attending the lower elementary schools in Croatia-Slavonia by age and grade, we see the largest number in the first two years and then a steady decline.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See: LEČEK 2003.

<sup>35</sup> KRČMARIĆ, *Smiljan*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 98, p. 101.

<sup>36</sup> CUVAJ 1901, 221-234.

<sup>37</sup> FRANKOVIĆ 1958, 251.

<sup>38</sup> This is reported in all of the village studies, I have seen in *Zbornik* and in the Archives of ONŽO that include the section on education.

<sup>39</sup> BRAKUS, *Trpinja*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 70, p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> TOMEĆ, *Virje*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 18, p. 253.

<sup>41</sup> MILAKOVIĆ, *Gradja iz Letovanaca*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 76, p. 31.

<sup>42</sup> SG 1905, 699.

The numbers are even lower for girls. There were variations by season as well. One schoolteacher reported that her school was full in the winter, but empty once the animals went out to pasture.<sup>43</sup> Many children lived in villages some distance from their school and had to miss school during periods where the roads were impassable. Others lacked adequate footwear for bad weather.

There was a steady growth of literacy in Croatia-Slavonia in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1869, 74.0% of the males and 84% of the females were non-literate, and by 1900 these figures had dropped to 64% for males and 61% percent for females.<sup>44</sup> Yet there were still tremendous differences between counties (*županije*), and between rural and urban populations. In 1900<sup>45</sup> the percentage of rural non-literate males ranged from 37.30% in the county of Srijem to 66.18% in Lika-Krbava county, and the number of non-literate females ranged from 45.31% in Srijem to 92.71 % in Lika-Krbava county. In urban areas the percentage of non-literate males was only 18.67% and non-literate females 26.32%.

Once children in a village were literate, they could read for the other village members. They could read aloud from newspapers, and read letters from those in the army or abroad. They could read folk poems and stories to their families as they sat around the fire on long winter nights. At the same time we should not exaggerate the effectiveness of two or even five years of education. Unless reading, writing and arithmetic skills are kept alive, it is easy to forget most of what you learned in school. For example, some of the older peasants in Varoš, a village near Slavonski Brod, remembered the prayers they had memorized, how to do sums and how to read simple texts, but what was most easily lost was the ability to write.<sup>46</sup> Writing was a serious enterprise, especially when you had to write with ink. In Varoš, as in many villages, the peasants usually wrote with a pencil on small piece of paper. A pencil does not blot or dry out.

People who lived in traditional peasant culture had a fund of knowledge that rested on observation and experience and myth. They knew much about the earth, the sky, the forest, and the creatures around them. They had names for each hill, field, wood, pasture and spring, and stories explaining the names.<sup>47</sup> They could tell approximate time by looking at the sun, they knew names for the stars, and knew how to treat illness with herbal and root medicines. They knew something about different religions and were familiar with at least the names of neighboring countries and peoples.<sup>48</sup> They could count, some to a thousand or more, and make

<sup>43</sup> SAJVERT-POKUPSKA, *Hrnetić*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 29, p. 134.

<sup>44</sup> CUVAJ 1913/XI, 145.

<sup>45</sup> All figures are from the Table "Analfabetizam po županijama u postocima g. 1900." (FRANKOVIĆ 1958, 248).

<sup>46</sup> LUKIĆ 1924, 174-175.

<sup>47</sup> See answers to part I of *Osnova* "Priroda (narav) oko čovjeka".

<sup>48</sup> See answers to part XII "Iskustvo, znanje i mudrovanje".

simple calculations in their heads. They had an almost endless store of songs and tales, proverbs and riddles. They had their own customary law. They had a rich cosmology made up of Christian and pre-Christian elements.

Children learned things in school that differed from what their parents and grandparents knew. They were taught about the Empire in which they lived, and its Emperor Franz Josef. They learned about the nation to which they belonged and something of its history. They did their calculations with numbers on a slate or on paper. They were taught to read and write in the standard literary language, not the local dialect. They learned a different way of measuring time (hours, minutes and seconds) and the passing of a year. Peasants in the village of Gaga, for example, counted 8 days to a week, thus 32 days to a month, and 386 to a year.<sup>49</sup> The difference with the official number of days in a year didn't cause any real problems since they started each year with Christmas anyway, and measured the progress of the year from one saint's day or holy day to the next.

In school the children studied modern science and were told that the earth revolved around the sun. This puzzled the older villagers because "The sun is in the sky as are the moon and stars, all of these are in the heaven and they move and keep shifting, as you can see every day, but the earth stands still (Klakarje)".<sup>50</sup> "If the earth moved around as the gentlemen say, then we would all fall to God knows where when it turns to the other side, and the rivers and seas would empty out (Orovice)".<sup>51</sup> We don't know whether children confronted their elders with the new ideas, or kept them to themselves.

Many peasants feared that education would alienate their children, turn them into "gentlemen". Antun Radić, a peasant son himself, warned that the kind of education offered by the "gentlemen" tried to draw the peasant into a foreign culture and taught him to be ashamed of what he was.<sup>52</sup> It was, however a two way street. One young man from a poor village in the Croatian Zagorje where hunger threatened every year received a scholarship to attend secondary school in Zagreb. The first time he came back on holiday, all he wanted to do was to see his old friends. They seemed somehow stiff with him, and his mother "a simple peasant woman" told him to stay away from them.<sup>53</sup> She believed that he was now a "gentleman", or would soon be one, and that he should not have contact with such common people. As a result he felt rootless, cut adrift from home, a stranger in both worlds.

Who were the teachers? Sixty-five percent of the teachers in the lower elementary schools were male.<sup>54</sup> Female teachers usually taught the younger children. I

<sup>49</sup> BOSNIĆ, *Gaga*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 127c, 21-22.

<sup>50</sup> LUKIĆ, *Opis sela Klakarja*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 128 c, arak 1.

<sup>51</sup> VOČINKIĆ, *Sabrana gradje iz Orahvice i Duzluke*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 51, XI, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> RADIĆ 1908, in: RADIĆ 1937, pp. 74-86.

<sup>53</sup> ŠPILJAK, *Pavlovec*, A-ONŽO, SZ, 77, p. 108.

<sup>54</sup> CUVAJ 1913/XI, 136.

have not found definitive information on the social origins of the teachers. It is too simple to assume that most were from peasant families simply because most people were peasants. Education for teachers took a relatively long time and was expensive, unless the student got some financial help. Probably most village teachers at the time came from artisan and lower middle class families or the free professions. There were even teachers of noble origin.<sup>55</sup>

What was the social position of the teacher in the village? There is a section in the village study questionnaire about contact between the peasants and the local “gentlemen” (or ladies).<sup>56</sup> The “gentlemen” they mention usually include the *općina* officials, the local judges, the doctor, the priest and local estate owners. The schoolteacher is sometimes included in this group and sometimes not. This was in a way a compliment since the “gentlemen”, especially those in the bureaucracy, were seen by peasants as lazy men who dressed up, sat all day at their desks and shuffled papers around, while peasants did “real” work.<sup>57</sup> Almost all the village studies report that the “gentlemen” had little direct contact with peasants, and were rarely asked into their homes. On the other hand, village schoolteachers lived simply, and worked hard. They were, of course, outsiders because of their education and way of life. Yet, village schoolteachers had many informal contacts with the families of the schoolchildren, and some became very familiar with the village and wider community in which they worked. Village schoolteachers contributed many manuscripts to the *Stara Zbirka* of the ONŽO collection, village studies, collections of folksongs, poetry, beliefs, and other aspects of traditional culture. They were the authors of some of the most complete village studies based on *Osnova* before World War I, for they had the time, curiosity, and training in writing, organization and analysis which peasants often lacked.<sup>58</sup> It is perhaps ironic that these teachers recorded traditional village culture at the time that it was beginning to disappear, for they were the representatives of the system that sought to destroy it.

<sup>55</sup> *Spomenica*, Gornja Stubica, 38-42. Baltazar pl. Ožegović was the teacher in Gornja Stubica from 1909 through World War I. His entries in the *Spomenica* are quite different in tone than the other I have seen. He writes with all the requisite flourishes of language about special masses attended by the children honoring members of dynasty. But when writing of the need for a school well he can be quite direct.

<sup>56</sup> *Osnova*, IV/B dodatak, 2. and VI/5 i.

<sup>57</sup> See for example: TOMEĆ, A-ONŽO, SZ, 18, p. 322.

<sup>58</sup> See for example Rade Bosnić’s detailed studies of *Rujevac*, where he was a teacher, and of nearby villages (A-ONŽO, SZ, 113a, 124, 127a, 127a, b, c, d).

### Shortcut

*A-HŠM* – Arhiv Hrvatskog školskog muzeja (Archives of the Croatian School Museum);  
*A-ONŽO* – Arhiv Odbora za narodni život i običaje Odsjeka za etnologiju u Zavodu za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (Archives of the *Odbor za narodni život i običaje ...* of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Art);  
*SG* – Statistički godišnjak kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije (Statistical yearbook of the Kingdom Croatia-Slavonia); *SZ* – Stara zbirka (Old collection).

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S. BRAKUS, *Trpinja*.

Bogdan KRČMARIĆ, *Smiljan*.

Luka LUKIĆ, *Opis sela Klakarja*.

Jura MILAKOVIĆ, *Gradja iz Letovanaca*.

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## Obrazovanje na selu u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1900–1914.

U članku se govori o obrazovanju na selu u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji u zadnjim desetljećima postojanja Austro-Ugarske, države koja je postavila temelje opismenjavanju hrvatskoga stanovništva i stvaranju modernoga obrazovnog sustava. Premda se na temelju Hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe iz godišnjega proračuna na obrazovanje izdvajalo čak 18,6% novčanih sredstava, statistički podatci o broju pismenih, odnosno nepismenih u banskoj Hrvatskoj uistinu su bili poražavajući. Početkom 20. stoljeća čak je 82% stanovništva banske Hrvatske živjelo na selu, a od gradskog je stanovništva bilo samo 2% onih koji su bili akademski građani. Na selu je 1869. godine bilo nepismeno 74% muškaraca i čak 84% žena, a u 20. se

stoljeće zakoračilo s brojkom od 64% muškaraca i 61% nepismenih žena. Unatoč zapanjujućoj spoznaji o nepismenosti ljudi Trojedne Kraljevine u doba Monarhije, ipak je u intervalu posljednjih triju desetljeća 19. stoljeća bio vidljiv pomak na bolje. Zaslugu tomu ponajprije valja pripisati učiteljstvu koje je uspješno brodilo po neizmjernom moru nepismenosti u svim hrvatskim krajevima, ali i Zakonu o školstvu iz 1874. godine kojim je konačno etablirana javna nižerazredna škola i koji je propisao sve zakonske okvire ponašanja u svezi s učiteljstvom. Učitelj, važna obrazovna karika lokalne zajednice, po ondašnjoj je definiciji državni službenik, najčešće podrijetlom iz niže srednje klase. Ugledan je član lokalne zajednice koji sudjeluje u mnogim sferama njezina života: surađuje sa znanstvenim, crkvenim, političkim i kulturnim institucijama, piše u znanstvenim, stručnim i književnim časopisima, vodi školsku spomenicu u kojoj se evidentiraju svi događaji mjesta i škole itd. Iako je društveno angažiran na korist zajednice, najčešće nije adekvatno plaćen, ponajprije od lokalne vlasti koja ga je po državnom ugovoru morala materijalno potpomagati. Bez obzira na spol, učitelji su primali istu plaću. Ipak, vidljivo je da su učiteljice obično podučavale u nižim razredima, a revidiranim su Zakonom o školstvu iz 1888. godine u potpunosti diskriminirane jer im je, nakon udaje, bilo zabranjeno raditi. Sustavno obrazovanje na selu u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji u zadnjim desetljećima postojanja Austro-Ugarske utjecalo je na promjene seoskog života, narušilo patrijarhalnu konzistentnost obiteljske zajednice, dalo nadu za ravnopravnost spolova te utrlo put ka suvremenosti u kojoj je refleksija obrazovanog sustava svugdje u Hrvatskoj podjednaka.

*Ključne riječi:* Kraljevina Hrvatska i Slavonija, Zakon o školstvu 1874, reforma školstva, selo.

*Keywords:* Kingdom Croatia-Slavonia, the Law on Schools in 1874, school reform, village.

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