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## ŽIVOBAN

# A Journal (Magazine) of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals and its Educational Role in the Promotion of Animal Rights in the School Population at the Turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

### Abstract

The paper will present the journal/magazine of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals *Živobran* (1894–1904) and explore its contribution to the development of social awareness on natural, cultural and ethical values of animal species with special reference to their educational role in the promotion of animal rights among the Croatian school population at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Namely, by carrying out the cooperation with school institutions, the magazine of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals directly affected the formation of students' thinking, standpoints and relations toward the animal world. The research corpus encompasses texts published in the journal/magazine of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals *Živobran* in the period from 1894 to 1904. The paper is a contribution to the research of Croatian cultural zoology and literary ecology.

**Keywords:** *Živobran* magazine, cultural zoology, literary ecology

## Cultural zoology and literary ecology

*Cultural zoology* is a young scientific discipline which attempts to answer the following questions: what kind of a position does an animal take in the human culture and what is the influence of human culture to the existence of animal species and individuals?<sup>1</sup> The founder of cultural zoology in Croatia is Nikola Visković.<sup>2</sup>

Observing the relationship between man and animal from an aesthetic, literary viewpoint, as a contribution to the study of cultural zoology is the subject of literary ecology which, in the widest sense, observes the co-relationship between literature and the phenomenon of nature. Along with the term literary ecology, there is a term *green literature* or *literature of a green culture* dealing with biological and ecological topics in literary works by exploring the (co) relationship between man and nature.<sup>3</sup> Picture books, fables, stories and poems in which zoo characters appear are some of the most interesting and often read readings for children. Literary animalistic in early childhood strongly affects the child's sensitivity, sensibility, ethics, morality and relationship towards animals.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Cultural zoology deals with answering the questions: in what and which way is man's relationship towards an animal expressed, considering the following: economic viewpoint (animal as a usable thing to maintain human existence), symbolic viewpoint (animal as a sign of moral, political, magic, religious ideas), artistic viewpoint (animal seen symbolically, but focused on aesthetics), emotional viewpoint (man's emotional interest is shown only to a narrow circle of animals, not all of them), scientific viewpoint (animal as a subject of research) and ethical viewpoint (relating to the problems of a conflict of interest between man and animal). More on this in: Nikola Visković (1996) *Kulturna zoologija. Što je životinja čovjeku i što je čovjek životinji* (eng. Cultural zoology. What is animal to man and what is man to animal), Zagreb: Naklada Jesenski i Turk.

2 Nikola Visković is a retired professor of the Faculty of Law at the University of Split.

3 On the research of literary ecology with a special overview of the studying of literary animalistic, see: Suzana Marjanić, Antonija Zaradija Kiš (2012) *Zoo-uvod ili zašto čitati životinju* (eng. Zoo introduction or why read an animal). In: *Književna životinja. Kulturni bestijarij II. dio* edited by Suzana Marjanić and Antonija Zaradija Kiš. Zagreb: Biblioteka etnografija, Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku; Ana Batinić (2013) *U carstvu životinja. Animalističko čitanje hrvatskih dječjih časopisa* (eng. *In the empire of animals. An animalistic reading of Croatian children's magazines*). Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, Filozofski fakultet – Periodika Croatica.

4 On the animal world in literature textbooks for younger school age, see the following papers: Boris Bakota, Lidija Bakota, Valentina Majdenić (2017) *Književno-jezični sloj udžbenika kao mogućnost promicanja prava životinja* (eng. The literary-lingual layer of a textbook as the possibility of promoting animal rights). In: *Identitet i različitost u odgoju i obrazovanju* (eng. *Identity and diversity in education*), Collection of papers from a scientific conference with international participation, Zadar: University of Zadar, Department for the education of teachers and educators (the paper is being published); Lidija Bakota, Valentina Majdenić (2017) *Komparativna analiza udžbenika književnosti na hrvatskom i na srpskom jeziku iz*

## Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals and the *Živobran* publication at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

The publication of the animal protection society from Zagreb, *Živobran* (1894), joins the Croatian publications of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, recognizable by publishing many expert publications, papers, and magazines intended for the diverse reading audience of the time (*Vijenac* 1869, *Pravnik* 1853, *Književnik* 1864, *Branislav* 1878, *Iskra* 1884, *Pozor* 1885, and many others).

The Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals was founded in 1884 in Zagreb. Its founders and patrons were: "...empress and queen Jelisava, the princess widow, archduchess Stefanija, field-marshal archduke Albrecht, archduke Joseph, archduke Leopold Salvator, archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Este." (*Živobran*, 1895: 66) The motto of the association was: Čast je ljudem, Bogu drago, ne dat mučit niemo blago (eng. *The honour of men, God willing, is not to let His mute creatures be tormented.*)

The Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals notified citizens on its work with the publication of its magazine. From 1894 to 1896, the association published *Živobran – The work of the Zagreb Association for the Protection of Animals*. From 1896, *Živobran* is officially the Publication of the Zagreb Association for the Protection of Animals, and from 1903 it became the official publication for the protection and knowledge of animals of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals in Zagreb. In the beginning of its publication, *Živobran* is printed as a booklet (volume) (1894) and in 1899 it gained the form of a magazine. It kept that form to the end of its publication period in 1904. From 1894 to 1898, the chief editor of *Živobran* was Josip Medved, it was printed in Dionička printing house, and from 1899 until the last issue, the chief editor was Mirko Goranić (Tkalec), and A. Brusina in Zagreb signed the printing. From 1899, *Živobran* became a monthly issue and remained as such until the last issue was published in 1904.

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perspektive književne ekologije i zoolingvistike (eng. A comparative analysis of literature textbooks in Croatian and Serbian language from the perspective of literary ecology and zoo linguistics). In: *A magyar tannyelvű tanítóképző kar 2017-es tudományos konferenciáinak tanulmánygyűjteménye*, зборник радова научних конференција учитељског факултета на мађарском наставном језику, Tanulmánygyűjtemény зборник радова, a collection of papers, Subotica: University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Teaching in Hungarian in Subotica, p. 471–487; Rajka Polić (2007) *Ideološka uporaba životinja u udžbenicima*“ (eng. Ideological use of animals in textbooks). In: *Kulturni bestijarij* (eng. *Cultural bestiary*), editors Suzana Marjanić and Antonija Zaradija Kiš, Zagreb: Biblioteka etnografija, Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, p. 611–643.

It seems important to highlight that many other European associations for the protection of animals of the time printed their magazines, reports, billboards, articles and calendars. The contemporaries of *Živobran* were the following magazines: *Der Thierfreund* (Beč), *Der klaine Thirfreund* (München), *Zeitschrift des Verbandes rheinisch westfälischer Thierschutz-Vereine* (Köln), *Androcus* (Dresden), *Lami des animaux* (Ženeva), *Zoophile* (Lisabon).<sup>5</sup>

*Živobran*, in the ten years of its publication, had an *informative function* (it informed the readers on the work of the association for the protection of animals, offered useful advice on the treatment of domestic animals, warned citizens of monetary or jail fines for the abuse, torture and killing of animals, warned the citizens on new legal proceedings regarding animal protection and informed on the ways of their enforcement), a *popular function* (it promoted the usage of the best device for painless and secure capture of dogs constructed by their fellow citizen and which was known as the best Papeš dog catcher in all of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, informed the readers on the work of foreign associations dealing with animal protection<sup>6</sup> and encouraged the Croatian public to form animal protection associations in their cities<sup>7</sup>), an *educational one* (it used newspaper content to educate and teach citizens on how to protect animals, mostly birds, livestock, cattle, fish, dogs and cats, strongly went against wearing furs and the use and torture of animals for the purpose of entertainment in circus) and a *pedagogical function* (it printed flyers on the care for animals and offered them to schools, warned children not to shoot slings to aim at, wound or kill birds, encouraged readers of all ages to take care of singing birds, especially in the winter months).

In the beginning of its publication, the characteristic of *Živobran* was the publication of Croatian administrative-business texts (regulations, laws, rulebooks, reports, statutes, criminal charges) on animal protection. Even though the publication<sup>8</sup> of the Zagreb Association for the Protection of Animals

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5 More on this in: *Živobran*. Rad zagrebačkoga društva za zaštitu životinja, vol. II, ed. Dr. Dragutin Čech, Zagreb 1895, p. 59.

6 *Živobran* gives the information that the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals in Zagreb achieved correspondence and an exchange of experiences on the work of animal protection associations with Berlin, London, and even “Honolulu, on the island of Hawaii” *Živobran*. Glasilo hrv. društva za zaštitu životinja u Zagrebu. Chief editor Mirko Goranić, Year II. Zagreb April 1<sup>th</sup> 1900, no. 4.

7 At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, animal protection associations are founded in other cities in Croatia: in Karlovac 1894, Našice 1894, Vukovar 1894, Bjelovar 1896, Šibenik 1902.

8 It is an expert publication following the style of a magazine form, as well as the majority of newspapers printed in Croatia until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the subheads of the print

(1896–1903) will be renamed into a magazine for the protection and knowledge of animals of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals (1903–1904) and more and more gain the form of the magazines of today,<sup>9</sup> the legal regulations will be a part of it until the end of its publication run in 1904.<sup>10</sup>

Živobran, in the ten years of printing (1894-1904), was a contemporary magazine for the protection and knowledge of animals and it bore witness on the work of the members of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals, their activists and volunteers. The care taken of animals at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century continues to astound readers even a hundred years later.

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of the time, there was a line saying: a publication for politics, science, law, art, and economy. More on that see in: Marina Vinaj, „Građa za bibliografiju osječkih novina 1848.–1945.“ (eng. Database for the bibliography of Osijek newspapers 1849-1945) , *Knjižničarstvo* (eng. *Librarianship*), Glasnik Društva knjižničara Slavonije i Baranje 7 (2003) 1-2, p. 7–35.

9 The paper, under the term magazine, assumes a serial publication which is published with a certain frequency and deals with scientific-expert problems. Živobran came out once per month i.e. 12 times a year and thematically determined itself, with its subhead, as a *magazine for the protection and knowledge of animals*.

10 On the pages of Živobran, many administrative-business texts were published. We will highlight only a few of them here: *Zakon o zaštiti ptica od 2. kolovoza 1893.* (eng. *Law on the protection of birds August 2<sup>nd</sup> 1893*), *Zakon o lovu za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju od 27. travnja 1893.* (eng. *Law on hunting for the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia April 27<sup>th</sup> 1893*), *Pravila zagrebačkoga društva za zaštitu životinja* (eng. *Rules of the Zagreb animal protection association*), *Poslovnik „Živobrana“ Kluba zagrebačkoga društva za zaštitu životinja u Vukovaru* (20. kolovoza 1894.) (eng. *Rules of procedure of Živobran of the Club of the Zagreb Association for the Protection of Animals in Vukovar August 20<sup>th</sup> 1894*), *Naredba ministarstva unutarnjih djela izdana u dogovoru s vrhovnom vlašću redarstvenom od* (5. veljače 1895.) (eng. *Order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs published in agreement with the supreme authority of peacekeeping from February 5<sup>th</sup> 1895*) on the punishment of a person publicly abusing an animal and enticing public scandal in doing so, *Naredba kr. zem. vlade, odjela za unutarnje poslove od 25. srpnja 1883. br. 13.101.* (eng. *Order of the government of the land, department of internal affairs on July 25<sup>th</sup> 1883, No. 13.101.*) on the ban of castration of steers and foals by shortening instead of twisting the spermatophyte, then various memos to municipalities and cities which legally regulate treatment of animals (for instance, those lead to slaughterhouses or those pulling wheeled cargo), *Cesto-redarstveni red za slob. i kr. glavni grad Zagreb* (eng. *The security order for the free royal city of Zagreb*) (prescribing the transport of cattle, leading dogs on public grounds with a muzzle, forbidding nightly vagrancy of dogs and prescribing the lock-up of bitches in the time of mating (May 30<sup>th</sup> 1893), *Izveštaj glavne skupštine za zaštitu životinja u Zagrebu* (eng. *Report of the congress for the protection of animals in Zagreb*) (starting from 1893), *Izveštaj o prijavama gradske redarstvene straže u Zagrebu o mučenju životinja* (eng. *Report on the charges to the city security guard in Zagreb on the torture of animals*) (starting with 1893), *Statut Živobranskoga doma u vlasništvu Društva za zaštitu životinja u Zagrebu* (eng. *The statute of Živobran home in the property of the Animal protection association in Zagreb*) (1904).

### **The influence of *Živobran* to the ecological education of the school population in Croatia at the turn of the century**

The Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals, with its work and publishing of a publication/magazine for the protection and knowledge of animals called *Živobran* (1894–1904), influenced the development of social awareness of Croatian citizens on the natural, cultural, and ethical value of animal species i.e. attempted to change the dominant anthropocentric image of the world of the time, considering the relation of man towards nature and animals. The intention of the association was to encourage citizens to actively participate in the protection of the animal world and, thereby, influence the protection of the environment. The Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals recognized that many demands had to be fulfilled for such a responsible goal, and those assumed, among others, the education of the children and youth for the environment in order for them to be able to use their actions and activism to support the protection of the animal world, primarily in their local communities. That is where the pedagogical function of the association and the magazine lies at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Russell (2005) highlights that man, as a social creature, is not interested only in discovering the world, but that one of his tasks is to actively take part in it. That action is largely a part of the process of upbringing, but education as well, because: “The role of values in education is unquestionable. They show us not only what kind of children and men we want but also what kind of a society we want.” (Rakić, 2010: 790) Rakić highlights that values “are transferred in many ways, consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally. Each person possesses some values and expresses them with their behaviour, thoughts, and entire way of life. Acquired values in education become guidelines through life and give it meaning.” (Rakić, 2010: 790) By achieving cooperation with the school institutions, the magazine of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals had an educational role for the reading audience in schools and a direct influence on the forming of a pupil’s opinions, attitudes, stands, and relationships with nature and the animal world. With their actions and care given to the animals, as well as the written word for the readers, the Association pointed to the fact that man is a part of the natural world and that he should have responsibility towards that world, as well as the other living creatures in it. They tried to install their beliefs as much as possible into the educational aims of the Croatian school system at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The Zagreb animal protection association spoke to the High Royal Land Government in 1895, to the Department of Worship and Teaching with a request that they give out posters to the school population about the protection of animals, which were issued by the Board of the Association. In their explanation, they state that the Board is convinced that „*da valja prije svega odgojivati nježnu djecu, one božanstvene stvoroveblage čudi, nezasiitljiva duha i nedostiživa uma, one kličice velikih i važnih djela, u duhu humanitarnom i usiejati joj za mladih dana čuvstvo prave i čiste čovječnosti.*“ (eng. *kind children should firstly be raised, those godlike creatures of mild manners, insatiable spirit and elusive mind, those seeds of great and important deeds, in the humanitarian spirit and to seed it with the sensation of real and pure humanity in its early days*). (Živobran, 1895: 24) Živobran (1895: 22-23) will print, that same year 1895, a poster of the *Ten Commandments on the Protection of Animals. A Lesson for the Youth*. The Zagreb Association for the Protection of Animals saw the motivation to print the posters in the positive examples of cooperation of the European animal protection associations and school institutions, with the aim of encouraging teachers to educate the children and the young „*da se ljubav i milosrdje k životinjama uciepi već u mladjahna srdca školske mladeži.*“ (eng. *That love and mercy towards the animals should be ingrained into the young hearts of the school youth...*). (Živobran, 1895: 22) In the introduction, which was aimed at educators and teachers, there is a critique of the school system of the time in the Croatian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy because teachers insufficiently encourage the children and the young for the care of animals: “*Teachers show no interest for the protection of animals and there is no reference book for the youth on animal protection.*” (Živobran, 1895: 22) By calling upon the European experiences of the time, we learn from the introduction that children in foreign public schools pay a yearly fee to their protective associations in the amount of *20 to 50 monetary fee* and that they are exposed to the reading of different instructive publications and animal protection calendars. The aforementioned booklet called *Ten Commandments on the Protection of Animals* was ordered by the public schools in Nova Gradiška, and then the government in Sarajevo for the public schools of Bosnia and Herzegovina (500 units). In the hope that the royal government will “*distribute thousands of these instructive posters each year among the school youth as rewards*”, (Živobran, 1895: 22) the readers are informed of the price of the poster: “A hundred pieces of the ‘ten commandments’<sup>11</sup> with

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11 This is a printing error in Croatian: *zapovjedi* instead of *zapovijedi*. Živobran is a spelling and linguistic witness of the break in the Croatian linguistic norm at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. On the pages of the publication/magazine, at the time of its

*black print cost 2 florins, with red and blue 3 florins, and on thick carton 5 florins.”*  
(Živobran, 1895: 22)

We bring the entire content of the *Ten Commandments on the Protection of Animals. A Lesson for the Youth* poster, intended for students of public schools in the Croatian part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup>

### **Ten Commandments on the Protection of Animals.**

#### *A Lesson for the Youth.*

- I. *Animals are creatures of God. God gave them to you for your joy and benefit. Praise God for His wisdom and benevolence and know and appreciate the use of animals more and more.*
- II. *Do not torture a single animal because they feel pain just as you do.*
- III. *You may kill animals for food or if they harm you; but be careful to kill them quick and without great torment.*
- IV. *Provide domestic animals with the needed food and care because they are your useful servants. Do not keep more animals than you can feed.*
- V. *You must not overexert, anger or beat draught animals, do not let them stand in the head or cold and do not ask more of them than their strength endures.*
- VI. *If you must punish an animal, do not do so in anger and passion, because the animal did not err willingly but did so according to its natural instinct.*

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publication between 1894 and 1904, there are both styles co-existent, the one from the Zagreb philological school and the Vuk one which gradually replaced it. See more on the language of Živobran in: Lidija Bakota, „Pravopisna, slovopisna i jezična obilježja Živobrana, glasila zagrebačkog Društva za zaštitu životinja, na prijelazu stoljeća“ (eng. The spelling, graphic and linguistic markings of Živobran, the publication of the Zagreb Association for the Protection of Animals at the turn of the century”), *Od norme do uporabe 2* (eng. *From norm to usage II*), A collection of papers from a scientific gathering held on September 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> 2018, University of J.J. Strossmayer in Osijek, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Osijek 2018 (the work is currently being published).

12 The Zagreb Association for the Protection of Animals printed that very same 1895 another poster – *The Ten Commandments for the Protection of Livestock in Barns* published by Živobran (1895, vol. II, p. 24-26). The posters are intended for the Croatian peasants of the time with the intent of encouraging them to a humane relationship, care, and protection of livestock in barns. Živobran also brings a piece of information that Montenegro stated an interest that the Association should print posters in the Cyrillic language for the citizens over there.



- VII. *Do not hunt or kill lovely useful singing birds, nor strike down their nests; it would be wrong to both God and men.*
- VIII. *Ease the suffering of sick and wounded animals as much as you can and do not harness them while they are sick and wounded.*
- IX. *If you see anyone torturing animals, stop them and give them notice that they will be strictly punished, under law, with a fine and jail time.*
- X. *Never forget for animals: "Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you!"*

We will look back at certain parts of the *Lesson for Youth* by observing it from the perspective of protection and welfare of animals. In the second commandment, there is talk of the universal nature of pain. It is a so-called pathocentric concept highlighting that animals are creatures capable of suffering. In the fourth commandment, the principle of care for animals is mirrored, and it assumes a moral obligation and duty of man to respect them and take care of their life i.e. that it is the duty of man to ensure conditions to keep and care for animals, depending on their species, race, gender, physical and biological characteristics. That care of man for animal also relates to states of illness, which is clearly stated in the eighth commandment. In the ninth commandment, the principle of banning the abuse of animals is mirrored, whereby a kind of animal dignity is recognized in a mediated way. Man should not harm an animal, cause it to suffer or hurt it in any way, which is also implicitly said in the sixth commandment as well. In the *Ten Commandments of the Protection of Animals* there is a modern concept of human dignity mirrored, which Kaspar spoke of. He said that responsibility and empathy for creature belongs in it, as well. "A man who has the power act brought animals into a dependence on himself and is, therefore, obligated to take care of their interests and rights derived from them. The autonomy of man has a mutual relationship with the responsibility for his actions. Without this responsibility, there is no human dignity." (Kaluderović, 2009: 315) From the perspective of the rights and welfare of animals, perhaps the third commandment is most controversial because it states that an animal may be killed because of food, but that it should be done in a 'humane way', by causing it as little pain as possible, to do it quickly and without great suffering. The aforementioned poster on a more just relationship between man and animals changes the anthropocentric images of the world in the Croatian society at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in which man was awarded a special place in the relationship with other living creatures and it points that relationship towards a

non-anthropocentric image of the world which focuses on the relativization of the relationship between man and animals by advocating the bioethical approach within which a sort of ethics of animals may be discussed.

In the second book of *Živobran*, printed in 1895, we find out more about those who ordered the *Ten Commandments on the Protection of Animals* and its distribution within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Namely, *The Lesson for Youth* was ordered by the following parties: The City Council (100), The Royal Land Government in Sarajevo (400), the book store in Nova Gradiška (100), the Lieutenant Colonel P. Karić (100), baron Metel Ožegović, the royal district governor in Ludbreg (300), the royal district of Vukovar (200), the “*Živobran Vukovar*” club (50), which brings us to a total of 1350 posters sold. (*Živobran*, 1895: 55) From the reports, it is apparent that the data on the arrival of animal protection posters in public schools are withheld, and which was the primary intention of the Association. A piece of data that says that several teachers came to the association in Zagreb expressing their desire to become its literary cooperants speaks to the fact that teachers were, nevertheless, familiarized with the poster. (*Živobran*, 1895: 58) The association made a commitment to send interested teachers its publication for free.

By printing and distributing the educational materials on animal protection to the school institutions, appealing to the school population to treat animals kindly, provide them with appropriate treatment and protect their lives as much as possible, the need of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals becomes apparent – as we already mentioned, it was to install the values relating to the moral development of children, involving care not only for themselves but also for others, respecting themselves but others as well, and to develop an awareness of social responsibility into the Croatian educational system of the time. It is the so-called universal values, among which Kidder (1994) states: love, truthfulness, honesty, freedom, unity, tolerance, responsibility, and a respect for life. (Rakić, 2010) Rakić (2010) highlights that among universal values i.e. those common to all men, not only a certain community and its culture, there is also the human aspiration for good and goodness. Furthermore, with a cooperation with the school institutions, the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals, as early as at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, pointed to the fact that the Croatian educational system should move in the direction of education for the environment.

On the pages of *Živobran*, we find out about another form of cooperation between the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals and the school

institutions. The royal district of Irig (Srijem), by the advocacy of Nikola Malešević, subscribed all the schools of its district to the publication *Živobran* with a comment that it is a noteworthy act because the editorial board of the magazine is of the opinion that it is „...*najprikladnije štivo za gg. učitelje i občinske upravnike, budući im podaje valjane gradje za praktičan rad*” (eng. “*the most appropriate read for teachers and community administrators, because it gives them valid material for practical work*”). (*Živobran*, 1902)

It seems important to highlight the call to citizens, as well, and then also to the school population, for activism, which is read in the newspaper texts published in *Živobran* – the publication/magazine of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals.<sup>13</sup> Namely, the magazine called and encouraged its audience to be active members of the community and to involve themselves more directly into the research and protection of nature and their environment. The educational role of the published newspaper texts exploring the problems of activism and volunteering in Croatian society, and the school population as its element at the turn of the century, is extremely important. Because, as Toomela (2008) highlights, values are mostly learned and developed through a pupil’s experience of a general environment, more than by direct teaching. (Rakić, 2010) The Croatian Association for the Protection of Animal, by way of its publication/magazine spoke to the principles of schools with a plea for them to encourage the school youth to feed birds in their environment, especially in the winter months. We find out that, for the purpose of additional informing of the school population on the protection of birds and giving them the help they need, the Association awarded 100 copies of the book „*Djeco branite ptice od glada i mraza*“ (eng. *Kids, defend the birds from hunger and frost*) to schools. (*Živobran*, 1900: no. 1) In the same issue of the publication, the Association calls for activism among the entire population so that they would “*sacrifice something of their own for the feeders in their environment and to lay food in them*” i.e. “*We most politely ask the owners of balconies to place covered boxes on their balconies for the oncoming winter where they will place food for the poor and hungry birds.*”<sup>14</sup> By talking to their readers, *Živobran* frequently encouraged

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13 *Živobran*, for example, in 1900 in its 2<sup>nd</sup> issue, informed citizens on feeders for birds being placed in Zagreb and calls for a private feeding of birds in the winter months. We find out from a newspaper article that feeders were placed in the following city location: Vlaška ulica, the Kaptol and Krajiška schools, in the garden of Pongrac the knight, in the Mihanovićeve ulica, Gundulićeve ulica, at the university square, in the garden of the city firing range, at the western park at Mrs. Sajević, the “stage actress”, in Ilica and Novovjesa.

14 *Živobran* (1900), in the same issue (no. 1), publicly praises the sacrifice by Mrs. Sajević, the “*artist of our Croatian stage*”, who set a feeder on her own balcony, which she procured at her

Croatian citizens at the turn of the century for activism wanting to create “good citizens” who will be ready to change the present state considering the relation man-nature-animal. We also use the following newspaper article to substantiate what we claim:

“...Where the streams, rivers or waters freeze, they should be penetrated at certain places in order for the domestic and wild animals to be able to drink. Warm water should be poured into frozen bowls, not leave them frozen and let the water thaw. Where drinking water is given, it should be warm, not half frozen...in winter, animals should be given fresh water.” (Živobran, 1900: no. 1)

Živobran also informs us on the negative examples of actions by the school youth towards animals at the turn of the century.<sup>15</sup> The publication of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals, in its fifth issue in 1899, brings a news on wanton youth who, still carrying books in their hands, throws “rocks at various animals and birds, especially pigeons”, expressing great astounding with the wanton behaviour of the school youth.<sup>16</sup> On similar actions by Zagreb youth towards birds, the publication of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals informs us in its second issue from 1900, in which it states that two pupils were recently caught “in the middle of the street dealing with catching pigeons by tying a grain of corn on a piece of thread. When the birds swallow the grain, those savages forcefully yank it from their throat.” The same issue brings a piece of news that there are frequent scenes on the streets of Zagreb of shooting slingshots at pigeons, which the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals strongly condemns: „Opet se opaža, da su pračke<sup>17</sup> u modu došle te mnogi dječaci osobito viših škola s pračkama nabacuju ptice“ (eng. Once again it is noticed that slingshots are in and that many boys, especially those in higher schools, use slingshots to strike at birds). (Živobran, 1900: no. 2) For the destruction of bird nests, according to the law on the protection of birds of the time, there were monetary fines foreseen, of what the magazine for the protection and knowledge of animals warned its readers:

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own expense and “has, with great sacrifice and devoutness, been feeding various birds for a longer period of time who find a bountiful sanctuary there. It would be worthy for that noble cause to find its echo in the entire citizenry of our city.”

15 In 11<sup>th</sup> issue of Živobrana from 1900 the author will declare such wanton youth as *children of modern culture*.

16 By the law on the protection of birds of the time, it was banned to throw, scare or kill birds, especially pigeons, which were considered domestic poultry (according to the data from Živobran (1899: no. 6).

17 This is a printing error in Croatian: *pračke* instead of *pračke*.

“The nesting of singing birds has begun and so we recommend to the public security authorities and to our worthy members to be careful so as not to find rascals and vagrant school youth who would destroy the nests of singing birds, remove eggs, kill and kidnap the younglings. Every case should be reported to the chairman of the place, and in Zagreb to the board of the association so that the guilty can be given to the authorities for punishment. We ask the teachers kindly to warn their youth of all the harm and disgust of destroying the nests of singing birds.”<sup>18</sup>

The animal protection association warned school institutions of the repulsive behaviour of school youth, considering the confirmed abuse and/or killing of birds and asked the school board to most strictly fine that kind of behaviour. Živobran also had documented names of students reported to the school board by the board of the association for the protection of animals: *Sajević Antun, Coronelio Umbert, Govedić Iva, Vlatka Kolarić, Rudolf Altnofer, Vladko Suput, Žigo Komor etc.* (Živobran, 1900: no. 6) From a newspaper article in Živobran we find out that in the Ilica street in Zagreb, two students of the *downtown public school* Šajatović Dragutin were reported to the city council, *Pilek Ivan* and *Šifer Bogumir*. (Živobran, 1900: no. 7)

An impressive thought was confirmed on the pages of Živobran – animals should not be exploited, abused or deprived of life, which was a part of school teaching in Croatian schools at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

“When you rip the wings of a beetle, when it is stuck on a needle and spun, its legs are being ripped off, some rip apart parts of the body, that is torture and that is why it would be good that our members of the school board stop this torture, especially when children are doing it publicly, in class. We ask the school boards to stand against the torture of animals in front of other students, and especially in student rooms, and to issue regulations because the board of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals is getting sad notifications in that regard.”<sup>19</sup>

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18 hrv. *Gnieždenje pticâ pjevicâ započelo je, zato preporučamo organom javne sigurnosti i našim vriednim članovom, da popaze, kako se ne bi našlo derana i skitajuće školske mladeži, koja bi razarala gniezda pticâ pjevicâ, vadila jaja, ubijala i otimala mladunčad. Svaki slučaj neka se prijavi načelniku mjesta, a u Zagrebu upravi društva, da se krivci uzmognu predati kazne radi oblastima. Gg pako učitelje umoljavamo, da svoju mladež upozore, na svu štetu i ogavnost uništavanja legla pticâ pjevicâ.* (Živobran, 1900: no. 6)

19 (hrv. *Kada se hruštevom odkidaju krila, kad se isti nabadaju na iglu i vrte odkidaju im se noge, pojedini komadaju dielovi tiela, to je mučenje i zato bi bi blo dobro, da koli naši članovi toli školske uprave, zaprieče to mučenje osobito da djeca to javno u školskih razredih čine. Umoljavamo uprave škole da proti javnom mučenju životnja pred drugimi učenici a osobito u*

In the year 1900, in May, the fifth issue of *Živobran* – the publication of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals, came out. The first text in the aforementioned issue, titled *The Protection of Animals and Schools* had a subheading that said *There is no worse upbringing than to educate the mind without the heart*. In the newspaper text, the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals directly critiqued the school system of the time, which was focused on the cognitive-developmental system of teaching<sup>20</sup> i.e. it excessively highlighted the “cognitive dimensions of a child’s development, neglecting the emotional and behavioural dimension.” (Rakić, 2010: 771–795)

“Where there is a lot of matter piled onto the school training, there is a danger of developing the mind at the expense of the heart. Teachers inadvertently, while trying to do the materials, forget or run out of time to ethically process the matter. This hurry to acquire knowledge is also seen in the books of students, which are more alike to the so-called compendium than an educational book.”<sup>21</sup>

Instead of such an approach, the Association feels that public schools should highlight the educational dimension more i.e. that school should highlight the so-called education of character:<sup>22</sup>

“...this circumstance forces the educators of youth even more to train their youth with studying and leave them unbuilt with upbringing. The end of such circumstances – they enter the life of men with a mind without a heart. That is why it is necessary that school upbringing be modified by the old ‘non multum, sed multa’ i.e. ‘not quantity, but quality’. Training is to be a tool of education.”<sup>23</sup>

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*školskih soba, izvole odredbe izdati, jerbo upravi hrvat. društva za zaštitu životinja, stižu u tom pogledu žalostni glasovi* (Živobran 1900: no. 5)

20 The cognitive-developmental approach stems from the attitude that the best way of teaching values or moral education is to encourage and develop thinking in students who should develop their own values. One of the most famous approaches within the representatives of this theoretical framework is the Kohlberg method of moral thought, which rests on the discussion of moral dilemmas, which encourage the development of a student’s moral judgment. (Rakić, 2010: 771–795)

21 (hrv. *Gdje je nagomiljano mnogo učiva u školsku obuku, predstoji pogibelj, da se um razvija nauštrb srca. Učitelji i nehotice da svladaju naučni materijal, zaborave ili im ne preostje vremena, da učevno gradivo etično obrade. Ta žurba za sticanje znanja, vidja se i u učevnim knjigami, koje su više nalične tako zvanom kompediju, nego li učevno-uzgojnoj knjizi*) (Živobran, 1900: no. 5)

22 The most famous advocate of the so-called education of character is Lickon, who states that education of character is as old as education in general, because, throughout the history of education, people always attempted to help others become smarter and to become good. (Rakić, 2010: 771–795)

23 (hrv. *a okolnost jošte više sili uzgojitelje mladeži, da gledaju da mladež svoju što više dresiranjem*

In the continuation of the newspaper article, the thought that with the selected content of teaching, positive traits of students can be built, primarily those values focused on the protection of animals. From today's perspective, this is a traditional approach to the education of character, which had its peak at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the goal of implanting desirable traits in children i.e. virtues, which was attempted with building habits for 'good' behaviour (Nucci, 1997). (Rakić, 2010: 771-795) This is also confirmed by the following thoughts of the author of the newspaper text from 1900:

“The children who are morally strong will hate the evil behaviour of animals, which are portrayed in the reading, for instance cunning, deceit, insidiousness. However, how many children have such strong will that the evil examples will not drag them along? Many more children will be found who will not do good out of evil but will do evil from the evil example of the animal. The fox, transformed in the schoolbooks as a cunning, thieving, shrewd, will serve many a student as a model for similar deceit. Schoolbooks should not portray evil examples, because the youth sees more evil examples than good ones in their lives.”<sup>24</sup>

The newspaper article finishes with a thought that emotion and behavioural character of teaching should be the basis for public schools, while the cognitive approach to teaching should be introduced into the “higher grades of colleges i.e. those youths who will live from science.” (*Živobran*, 1900: no. 5) The emotional and behavioural dimension of education in schools is primarily built, according to the opinions of the authors of the newspaper article, with practical examples of animal protection.

In the end, we wonder what kind of an influence did the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals have, as well as its publication/magazine, on their fellow citizens at the turn of the century? A portion of the answer to this question is read in the newspaper articles written in *Živobran*, in which, among other things, we find out that the people of Zagreb accepted the call of the Association

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*uče, a uzgoj ostavljaju neizgrađenu. Kraj takovih okolnosti, ulaze u život ljudi sa umom bez srca... Zato je nužno potrebno, da se školski uzgoj udesi po onoj staroj 'non multum, sed multa', t. j. 'ne mnogo, već mnoga'. Obuka ima biti sredstvom uzgoja. Obuka ima biti sredstvom uzgoja.)* (*Živobran*, 1900; no. 5)

24 (hrv. *Djeca koja su moralno jaka, ona će zamrziti na zle vlastitosti životinje, koje se u odnosnom štvu predočuju n. pr. na lukavost, prevaru, podmuklost. No koliko je djece tako jake petlje, da ih zli primjeri za sobom ne povuku. Mnogo će se više naći takove djece, koja se ne će iz zla učiti dobru, već iz zla primjera životinje zlo. Lisica predočena u školskih knjigah kao lukava, kradljiva, prevejana, služiti će mnogim učenicom kao model za slične prevare. U školskih knjiga ne smiju se predočivati zli primjeri, jerbo mladež u životu vidi više zlih primjerâ nego dobrih.*) (*Živobran*, 1900: no. 5)

to take care of settled birds and the singing birds, primarily by feeding them in the winter months. In the year 1903, an uncommon winter ensued, which was fatal for many birds in Zagreb, but the magazine reports that, thanks to the engagement of not only the members of the Association, but also the volunteering citizens, many birds still lived: “*And so praised be our success, the thought of feeding bird during the winter became general and popular in Zagreb.*” (*Živobran*, 1903: no. 2)

With its appearance, *Živobran* completed the Croatian *newspaper-magazine vault* at the turn of the century,<sup>25</sup> especially that section belonging to the publishing action of Croatian expert and scientific publications. By becoming a partner in the Croatian newspaper-scientific publishing at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the magazine had a very important *educational* and *pedagogical* function, apart from the informative and popular one, by focusing the Croatian society of the time and its educational system according to ecological literacy, which ceased to be conditioned by tradition as a characteristic of premodern societies.

## **Conclusion**

On the pages of *Živobran*, it is apparent that it educated its youngest readers at the turn of the century outside of the frame of institutions and formed them into people who will be ethically and morally responsible, who are now ready to change their own notion of the world and show respect towards other species, as well as a readiness to coexist with them. That is a calling to a new way of life, new habits, actions, behaviours, and thinking.

However, in order to establish the influence of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals and the *Živobran* magazine on the Croatian school system at the turn of the century, further scientific research is needed, which should focus on school archives and museums in order to gain insight into school documents i.e. set goals of education of the time. The aims of education in school systems are derived from the aims of the society as a whole, regardless of the fact if those aims are set as an ideal to be strived towards or concrete outcomes which should be achieved by educational work. Furthermore, the school documents could show what kind of an interest did the pupils of the time

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25 The expression *newspaper-magazine vault* was used by Vlasta Rišner in her paper „Jezik hrvatskih novina i časopisa u 19. stoljeću” (eng. The language of Croatian newspapers and magazines in the 19<sup>th</sup> century). (Rišner, 2015: 245-299)



have to take part in the activities of protecting nature and the animal world. Finally, with the insight into school documentation from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it would be shown whether these and similar ecological actions encouraged teachers to further methodical activism focused on protecting nature.

Regardless of the fact that we still have no answers to the questions asked here, from the described social and educational cooperation of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals and the school institutions of the time, it is possible to make the following conclusions:

The Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals and the magazine for the protection and knowledge of animals *Živobran* (1894–1904) are undoubtedly positive examples of an attempt of extra-institutional *ecological education* and are important elements of raising ecological awareness of Croatian citizens at the turn of the century.

The aforementioned cooperation between the Association and the school institutions can be, from the perspective of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, seen in the context of developing the so-called *ecological literacy* for which Morrone and co. (2001: 35) (Jukić, 2011: 267-286) say that it included more than just knowledge of the environment i.e. that an ecologically literate citizen should also develop the values, attitudes, and arts which enable the transformation of knowledge into action.<sup>26</sup> According to this, we can say that the call of the Association and the magazine for the activism of citizens and for the interdependence and interaction of man and nature is unquestionable.

The contemporary approach to ecological literacy, in the achieved cooperation of the Association and school institutions, is also mirrored in the abandonment of the awareness on ecological literacy the way it existed in the premodern societies in which ecological literacy was conditioned by tradition. “Tradition was the basic educational medium of mediation between man and nature, as

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26 By ‘ecological literacy’, Cifrić states that it is: a) in a *historical sense*, a reflection of the relationship of culture towards the specific nature/environment it supposes and guarantees its survival and changes/development; b) in a *cultural sense*, it assumes cultural patterns of routine behaviour transferred by tradition (individual, group, and society) temporally and spatially appropriate to the related environment; c) in a *socialization (education) sense*, ecological literacy relates to the symbolic replenishing of cultural patterns in which knowledge/knowing specific elementary ecological (environment) problems are contained, as well as the means and methods of their everyday behaviour; d) in a *practical sense*, ecological literacy is behaviour belonging to the area of “practically aware”, without a special need to change but also without an opposition to changes. (Cifrić, 1996: 404)

well as relations within society.” (Cifrić, 1996: 407) However, in contemporary societies, ecological literacy covers *ecological education* and primarily in *organized institutional forms of education*, as Cifrić (1996) states. We will add that ecological literacy, at the aforementioned example from the turn of the century, was reached by *institutional and extra-institutional education*.

There are three dimensions of environment awareness shown on the pages of *Živobran* in which the ecological literacy of the time is mirrored: *cognitive, affective and conative*. “The cognitive dimension contains knowledge enabling us ‘ecological understanding’, the affective dimension expresses attitudes towards the environment with the mediation of feelings, fears, hopes, personal danger etc., and the conative dimension covers the specific behaviour and readiness to act.” All three dimensions of environment awareness (knowledge of ecology, empathy towards the animal world, readiness for activism, acting and changing your own behaviour) are united in the actions of the Croatian Association for the Protection of Animals which contributed to the cultural understanding of the relationship between man and nature at the turn of the century with its magazine production and cooperation with school institutions.

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## ŽIVOBAN

### **glasilo (časopis) Hrvatskoga društva za zaštitu životinja, i njegova odgojno obrazovna uloga u promicanju prava životinja među školskom populacijom na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće**

#### **Sažetak**

U radu će se predstaviti glasilo (časopis) hrvatskoga Društva za zaštitu životinja Živobran (1894.–1904.). Istražit će se doprinos Živobrana u razvijanju društvene svijesti o prirodnoj, kulturnoj i etičkoj vrijednosti životinjskih vrsta s posebnim osvrtom na njegovu odgojno-obrazovnu ulogu u promicanju prava životinja među hrvatskom školskom populacijom na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće. Naime, ostvarivši suradnju sa školskim institucijama, časopis je hrvatskoga Društva za zaštitu životinja izravno utjecao na oblikovanje učenikova mišljenja, stavova i odnosa prema životinjskome svijetu. Istraživački korpus čine tekstovi objavljeni u glasilu (časopisu) Hrvatskoga društva za zaštitu životinja Živobran u razdoblju od 1894. do 1904. godine. Rad je doprinos proučavanju hrvatske kulturne zoologije i književne ekologije.

**Ključne riječi:** časopis Živobran, kulturna zoologija, književna ekologija