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## The 1848-1849 Revolutionary Turmoil – Incentive for Changes in Croatia’s Education System<sup>1</sup>

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This paper presents how the 1848-1849 revolutionary turmoil gave rise to the political and social atmosphere that enabled the realisation of certain liberal ideas, political rights and freedoms, freedom of learning and instruction among others, and gave the crucial incentive for the beginning of modernisation reforms in the education system of the Habsburg Monarchy and Croatia.

*Key words:* 1848-1849 revolutionary turmoil, education system, modernisation, freedom of learning and instruction, Croatia, Habsburg Monarchy.

### Introduction

A wave of revolutionary unrest, which swept Europe from early 1848, brought to the fore – in addition to the political and social crisis, often escalating in armed conflicts – liberal ideas about constitutionality and parliamentarianism, the natural right of peoples to their own nation state, civil and political rights and freedoms. Among these rights and freedoms, freedom of the press, freedom of expression of thoughts orally or in writing, religious and national equality and freedom of learning and instruction held a prominent position. The revolutionary crisis encouraged the spread of these rights and freedoms, giving rise to an

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appropriate atmosphere for allowing a reasoned debate and shaping new ideas. This had a very positive impact on Croatia's education system.

Events in the Habsburg Monarchy, especially in Vienna and in Hungary, exerted greatest influence on developments in Croatia in 1848. The revolutionary turmoil in Hungary brought to the fore the resolution of the state and legal status of Hungary in terms of achieving a nation state and modernising anachronistic social and economic relations that prevailed. In Vienna, accumulated discontent with Metternich's absolutist regime and strict control over the entire political and intellectual life culminated when members of lower social classes (lower middle class, craftsmen, merchants, workers, etc.) took to the streets. Motives for this were news of the revolutionary unrest in Europe and Lajos Kossuth's speech in the Diet of Hungary on 3 March 1848. Street demonstrations of Viennese citizens coincided with the rejection of demands that Viennese students addressed to the ruler on 12 March 1848.<sup>2</sup> The students demanded freedom of the press and speech, freedom of learning and instruction, equality of members of all religious communities, public and oral court proceedings and introduction of a parliament.<sup>3</sup> This was a programme that required an integral transformation of society and with it students became leaders of the revolution in Vienna.<sup>4</sup> For this research, the demand for the introduction of freedom of learning and instruction features most prominently among the demands from the petition.<sup>5</sup> This academic freedom was also demanded by students of the University of Prague in a petition that their representatives presented to the ruler on 11 March 1848. The petiti-

<sup>2</sup> According to some research, since early March 1848 a petition was in circulation at the Faculty of Law in Vienna demanding freedom of learning and instruction. The petition served as a basis for drafting the address that was adopted on 12 March 1848. Mitchel G. Ash, "Die Universität Wien in den politischen Umbrüchen des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts", in: *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft*, ed. by Mitchel G. Ash and Josef Ehmer, Band 2 (Göttingen; Wien: V&R unipress; Vienna University Press, 2015), 35.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Maisel, *Alma Mater auf den Barrikaden. Die Universität Wien im Revolutionsjahr 1848* (Wien: Wiener Universitätsverlag, 1998), 19.

<sup>4</sup> About the role of Viennese students in the outbreak and course of the 1848 revolution in Vienna cf. Maisel, *Alma Mater auf den Barrikaden*; Gernot Stimmer, "Die Mythologisierung der Revolution von 1848 als Modell einer Studentenrevolution", in: *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien und Materialien*, ed. by Otto Heuloh and Walter Rüegg (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 243-302; Hubert Kaut, "Der Technikstudent und die Wiener Revolution von 1848", in: Gartmayer, Franz et al., *150 Jahre Technische Hochschule Wien. Eine Geschichte ihrer Studenten* (Melk [u. a.]: Wedl, 1965), 56-65; Ash, "Die Universität Wien", 33-57.

<sup>5</sup> Until the proclamation of freedom of learning and instruction in March 1848, university instruction in the Habsburg Monarchy was based on the prescribed textbooks and lecture notes approved by the Court Commission for Studies, which university professors had strictly to comply with during their lectures. Students had to test their acquired knowledge at semester and annual examinations. The success at these examinations was the prerequisite for enrolment in a higher year of studies. Faculties and universities were managed by directors of studies (*Studiendirektoren*) appointed by the state. Christof Aichner, "Die Umsetzung der Thun-Hohensteinschen Reformen an der Universität Innsbruck (1848-1860)" (Dissertation, Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck, 2014), 58-59. About the organization of studies at the University of Vienna in *Vormärz* cf. Hans Lentze, *Die Universitätsreform des Ministers Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein* (Graz; Wien; Köln: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1962).

on contained, *inter alia*, the demand that students be allowed to pursue studies at universities abroad (which was rarely allowed at the time) and demand for a change in the system of examinations.<sup>6</sup> Bloody clashes between Viennese citizens and students, and the army urged the ruling circles to give way: censorship was abolished and freedom of the press proclaimed, the National Guard introduced and the adoption of a constitution announced. On 23 March 1848, the Ministry of Education was set up, the first time in history. A week later in the assembly hall of the University of Vienna, the Minister announced a reform of the university following the model of German universities and based on freedom of learning and instruction.<sup>7</sup> Revolutionary unrests spurred a reform of the Habsburg Monarchy's education system. Discussions about the reform had been continuing for some time, there had already been certain plans, but conservative circles successfully managed to prevent their implementation.

In early April 1848, a commission was set up tasked with devising a reform of the education system. Its member Franz Serafin Exner,<sup>8</sup> mostly based on his own reform proposals from the previous year, drafted and in June 1848 published the *Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Österreich* [*Draft of the Main Features of the Public Education System in Austria*],<sup>9</sup> which became a basis for the ensuing reform of secondary and higher education in the Monarchy. The most important elements of the reform were the following: a course in philosophy was annexed to secondary schools (*Gymnasien*) preparing students for university studies; *Gymnasien* became eight-year secondary schools that were supposed to provide comprehensive knowledge and prepare students for university studies, which was achieved, among others, through the increase of classes in natural sciences, mathematics and Greek; the so-called *Realschulen* were established as a preparation for studies at technical institutes; *Matura* was introduced as a school-leaving examination in gymnasiums and a prerequisite for enrolment at university; the practice of teachers teaching a single school subject was introduced; universities gained autonomy; (restricted) freedom of learning and teaching

<sup>6</sup> A member of the delegation was Professor Franz Serafin Exner, who would soon become one of the chief reformists of the education system in the Habsburg Monarchy. About this petition cf Salomon Frankfurter, *Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein, Franz Exner und Hermann Bonitz* (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1893), 89.

<sup>7</sup> Aichner, "Die Umsetzung", 56-68. More about a reform of the university in the Habsburg Monarchy cf Lentze, *Die Universitätsreform*; Christof Aichner, Brigitte Mazohl, ed., *Die Thun-Hohenstein'schen Universitätsreformen 1849-1860. Konzeption – Umsetzung – Nachwirkungen* (Köln; Wien; Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2017).

<sup>8</sup> About him cf Christof Aichner, "Franz Exner: Professor für Philosophie, Mitschöpfer der Universitätsreform nach 1848", in: *Universität – Politik – Gesellschaft*, Band 2, 183-188; Frankfurter, *Graf Leo Thun-Hohenstein*.

<sup>9</sup> Vlasta Švoger, "O temeljima modernoga školstva u Habsburškoj Monarhiji i Hrvatskoj" [On Foundations of Modern Public Education in the Habsburg Monarchy and in Croatia], *Povijesni prilozi* 42 (2012): 309-328; Ash, "Die Universität Wien", 49-50.

was introduced.<sup>10</sup> This freedom was expressed, among others, in the abolition of semester and annual examinations at faculties. Instead, strict final and state examinations were introduced. The Faculty of Philosophy was reformed and put on an equal footing with other faculties. Its task was to educate future secondary school teachers.<sup>11</sup> With this reform that first encompassed secondary and higher education, Minister Thun wanted, among others, to prevent the break-out of a new revolution where students would play an important role. He strove to achieve this by easing strict control of students and raising universities' scientific quality.<sup>12</sup>

### The 1848-1849 Revolutionary Turmoil and Changes in the Croatian Education System

The revolutionary turmoil in Hungary in the first months of 1848 ultimately deteriorated Croatian-Hungarian relations. They had been marred for decades due to the strivings of Hungarian politics to impose the use of the Hungarian language in Croatian Lands. These efforts were opposed by the Croatian National Revival.<sup>13</sup> Under the influence of national movements in European countries, especially Slavic ones, the movement that started as a cultural movement (attempts at standardising the Croatian language, publication of newspapers and development of literature in this language) gradually grew into a national political movement. It reached its peak in shaping a moderate liberal programme, which was formulated in the document *Zahtjevanja naroda* [*The Demands of the Nation*]. This document was adopted at the Grand National Assembly in March 1848.<sup>14</sup> An indepen-

<sup>10</sup> The Minister of Education Leo Thun-Hohenstein opposed unlimited freedom of instruction and learning believing that it is dangerous to the state. He advocated limited freedom of instruction that does not allow teachings that are dangerous to the state and contrary to Christian revelation, and in such a form it was implemented in the Habsburg Monarchy. Aichner, "Die Umsetzung der Reformen", 85.

<sup>11</sup> Ash, "Die Universität Wien", 49-57; Aichner, "Die Umsetzung der Reformen", 68-74.

<sup>12</sup> Aichner, "Die Umsetzung der Reformen", 84.

<sup>13</sup> For more on the Croatian National Revival cf *Hrvatski narodni preporod 1790–1848. Hrvatska u vrijeme Ilirskog pokreta* [Croatian National Revival 1790–1848. Croatia in the Period of the Illyrian Movement], (ed. Nikša Stančić) (Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1985) and Jaroslav Šidak et al., *Hrvatski narodni preporod – ilirski pokret* [Croatian National Revival – Illyrian Movement], (Zagreb: Školska knjiga; Stvarnost, 1990).

<sup>14</sup> The final version of this document was formulated by Ljudevit Gaj, Ivan Kukuljević, Ferdinand Žerjavić and Nikola Vakanović. At the same time with initial efforts of Croatian politicians in Zagreb, Croatian students and students from other Slavic countries in Vienna gathered on 20 March 1848 and formulated a proclamation to Croatian public. In this proclamation, which was printed the next day, students encouraged Croatian politicians to organize a national assembly and to formulate political programme or demands, which will be presented to the Monarch. This political programme should require the appointing of the new Croatian Ban (viceroy), the wide autonomy of Croatia and the reunion of the Military Frontier with Croatia-Slavonia. Ljudevit Gaj brought this proclamation from Vienna to Zagreb and it was publically read at the meeting held on 24 March 1848, one day before the mentioned Grand National Essembly. More on this cf Jaroslav Šidak, "'Narodna zahtjevanja' od 25. ožujka – program hrvatske Četrdesetosme" [The Demands of the Nation from March 25 – the Programme of Year 1848 in Croatia], in: J. Šidak, *Studije iz hrvatske povijesti za revolucije 1848–49*. [Studies on the Croatian History

dent Hungarian Government that was formed in March 1848 and the Hungarian Diet continued to pursue a policy of territorial claims over Croatia and Slavonia.<sup>15</sup> This policy was opposed by Croatian politics led by Ban Josip Jelačić, the Ban's Council [*Bansko vijeće*] and the majority of the Croatian political elite (except for the so-called *mađaroni*, members of the Croatian-Hungarian Party). In Croatian historiography, their political activity is called the Croatian Political Movement 1848-1849.<sup>16</sup> Supported by the largest part of the Croatian politically active public, in April 1848 Ban Jelačić made a decision to sever all state and legal bonds with Hungary. This brought about major changes in Croatia's administrative structure and education system. Till then, the supreme administrative body in charge of Croatia and Slavonia was the Council of Lieutenancy of Hungary to which reported the Supreme Headmaster of Schools in Croatia, who administered Croatia's education system. However, in April 1848, jurisdiction of the Council of Lieutenancy of Hungary in Croatia ceased and the supreme jurisdiction over Croatia's education system was transferred to the Ban, subsequently to the Ban's Council and its Section for Education.<sup>17</sup> The Supreme Headmaster of Schools in Croatia

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in 1848–1849] (Zagreb: Institut za hrvatsku povijest, Centar za povijesne znanosti, 1979), 33-76, especially 43-44, 50. See also Vlasta Švoger, "Political Rights and Freedoms in the Croatian National Revival and the Croatian Political Movement of 1848-1849: Reestablishing Continuity," *Hungarian Historical Review* 5 (2016), no. 1: 73-104. The document *Zahtijevanja naroda* was published in Šidak, "Narodna zahtijevanja", 51-52; *Constitutions of the World from the late 18th Century to the Middle of the 19th Century. Sources on the Rise of Modern Constitutionalism*, ed. Horst Dippel, vol. 9, *Croatian, Slovenian and Czech Constitutional Documents 1818–1849*, ed. Dalibor Čepulo et al. (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 39-46.

<sup>15</sup> Croatian Lands were territorially disunited in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: the so-called Civil Croatia (the civilian part of Croatia and Slavonia) was part of the Kingdom of Hungary, just as well as the so-called Hungarian Littoral. Dalmatia and the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier were under Vienna's administration. Parallel with the official name of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, the name of Croatia was increasingly in use. If not stated otherwise, this paper uses the name of Croatia to denote the civilian part of Croatia and Slavonia. Although all the Croatian Lands were formally under Ban Josip Jelačić's government from 1849 to 1859, he had actual power only in Civil Croatia, but in the Military Frontier he shared power with the military authorities.

<sup>16</sup> The chief goals pursued by these politics, based on the document *Zahtijevanja naroda*, were: territorial integrity of Croatian Lands, an independent Croatian government and wide autonomy, transformation of the Croatian Diet into a modern parliament, unity of the Habsburg Monarchy transformed into a federal state with equal rights to all nations. Some members of the political elite also requested legal guarantees of political and human rights, and participated in discussions about the modernisation of Croatia's school system as well as at the modernisation process itself. More on this political phenomenon cf. Nikša Stančić, "Das Jahr 1848 in Kroatien: unvollendete Revolution und nationale Integration", *Südst-Forschungen* 57 (1998): 103-28; Tomislav Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret 1848–1849. Ustanove, ideje, ciljevi, politička kultura* [The Croatian Political Movement of 1848–1849. Institutions, Ideas, Goals, Political Culture] (Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2000); Tomislav Markus, *Hrvatski politički pokret 1848–1849. godine. Izabrani dokumenti na njemačkom* [The Croatian Political Movement of 1848–1849. Selected Documents in German] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009).

<sup>17</sup> In early September 1848, Ban Jelačić issued an explicit order to the Supreme Headmaster of Schools in Croatia Josip Schrott to send his reports pertaining to the education system thenceforth to him or the Ban's Council. Croatia – the Croatian State Archives, Zagreb – holdings 67 – Bansko vijeće, Prosvjetni odsjek, box XII, document 42 from 1848 (hereinafter: HR-HDA-67, Pr. O., no. of the box, file and year).

Josip Schrott,<sup>18</sup> the prior of Vrana and the titular Bishop of Belgrade-Smederevo, recognised the jurisdiction of the Section for Education and successfully cooperated. The severance of ties between Croatia and Hungary also raised the issue of state funding of schools, because the funds from the School Foundation that were managed from Pest temporarily remained inaccessible.

Even before the state and legal relations with Pest were broken, the document from March 1848 *Zahtijevanja naroda* put forth a demand for the formation of an independent Croatian Government. The first step in this direction was made by Ban Josip Jelačić who set up the Ban's Council in May 1848. The Council was in operation from May 1848 to June 1850, formally as an advisory body to Ban Jelačić, and *de facto* as the first Croatian independent government.<sup>19</sup> It had a special Section for Religion and Education, whose jurisdiction comprised education, religious affairs and culture. In its work, the Section for Education faced many difficulties. Due to the Croatian-Hungarian War, during the 1848-1849 school year, no classes were held at the Zagreb Royal Academy of Science and in gymnasiums, except in the Rijeka Gymnasium (classes there were primarily held for reasons of political consideration, to avoid the domestic population's discontent with the new authorities after the reincorporation of the broader littoral of Rijeka, the so-called Hungarian Littoral, in the Triune Kingdom in late August 1848<sup>20</sup>) because part of the teachers and students participated in fighting or in the National Guard, and some school buildings were used as hospitals or some other military purpose.<sup>21</sup> The financial situation was very complex due to major expenditures related to war and army supply. In such circumstances, the Section for Education, in line with its abilities, resolved acute financial problems of individual schools and teachers, encountering, while doing so, the resistance of individuals and authorities at the local level. The financial situation of education was aggravated even more by the fact that clergy and nobility, having lost a significant part of their income as a result of the abolition of serfdom and serf levies, declined to fulfil their finan-

<sup>18</sup> About his activities in the education system and the Church cf Vlasta Švoger, "Josip Schrott – čovjek izvan struje" [Bishop Josip Schrott – man who was not following mainstream], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 36 (2012), no. 70: 105-116.

<sup>19</sup> The Ban's Council had several sections, which were, to a certain extent, equivalents of ministries in the modern structure of the highest administrative body in a country. These were: Home Section, Education, Justice, Finances and Military Section. For the Ban's Council cf Iskra Iveljić, "O značenju Unutrašnjeg odsjeka Banskoga vijeća (1848—1850)" [On the Role of Home Section of the Ban's Council (1848-1850)], *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 22 (1989): 71-94 and Tomislav Markus, ed. *Korespondencija bana Jelačića i Banskoga vijeća 1848.-1850.* [Correspondence between van Jelačić and the Ban's Council 1848-1850] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Dom i svijet, 1998), 43-45, 47-51, 161-166.

<sup>20</sup> For the issue of reincorporation of the Hungarian Littoral in Croatia in 1848 cf Bosiljka Janjatović, "Josip pl. Bunjevac i pitanje Rijeke 1848. godine" [Josip Bunjevac and the Rijeka Issue in 1848], in: *Hrvatska 1848. i 1849. Zbornik radova* [Croatia in 1848 and 1849. Collection of Papers], ed. Mirko Valentić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 301-314.

<sup>21</sup> HR-HDA-67, Pr. O., Urudžbeni zapisnik, 190, 1849, document no. 11782/282, the separated document whose contents were quoted in the registry book.

cial commitments to schools and teachers. At times, the Section for Education or other official on behalf of the Ban's Council had to threaten them with seizure in order to force them to comply with their financial commitments related to individual, mainly village schools and teachers.<sup>22</sup> Apparently, the financial situation of teachers in towns was not good either. A proposal that Mirko Lentulaj, the Ban's Lieutenant, sent to Ban Jelačić on behalf of the Ban's Council serves as testimony to this. In explaining his proposal, he invoked a request sent to the Council by the Supreme Headmaster of Schools Josip Schrott that an annual supplementary allowance be paid to the headmaster of the Zagreb Gymnasium, some teachers at that gymnasium as well as some civil servants in the Supreme School Directorate due to increased cost of living in Zagreb resulting from war developments. An additional argument that Lentulaj mentioned – that salaries of teachers at the Zagreb Gymnasium and of civil servants in the Supreme School Directorate, in spite of repeated requests for raises, were not increased since Maria Theresa's reign in the 18<sup>th</sup> century – seems almost incredible.<sup>23</sup> Obviously, Jelačić did not immediately comply with the request so Lentulaj repeated it in January 1850.<sup>24</sup> The Section for Education had conflicts with the magistrates of individual Free Royal Cities, which financed schools in their territory, due to different understandings related to the jurisdiction for the appointment of teachers. Town magistrates considered themselves entitled to appoint teachers because they paid them, whereas the Section believed that it was entitled to appoint teachers.<sup>25</sup>

The Section for Education employed teachers and professors on the basis of public tender and verification of their professional competences, independently of religious affiliation of candidates and their belonging to the clergy or laity. In principle, this was presented in a letter to Ban Jelačić by the Ban's Lieutenant Mirko Lentulaj on behalf of the entire Ban's Council. He explicitly requested that “our classrooms not be surrendered in advance to any corporation forever, but rather when teachers are appointed – be they secular, spiritual or ordinary – regardless of their religion, whoever be found the most competent and most skilled for such an important public honour as educating the youth.”<sup>26</sup> The Section for Education was guided by these principles in its work. Thus, the Ban's Lieutenant Lentulaj, who, on behalf of the Ban's Council, conveyed decisions of its individual sections to Ban Jelačić proposed, on behalf of the Ban's Council, candidates for the post of

<sup>22</sup> Iskra Iveljić, “Pokušaji modernizacije u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji od 1848. do 1850.” [Attempts of Modernization in Civil Croatia and Slavonia from 1848 to 1850] (Master thesis, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb, 1992) 35-37.

<sup>23</sup> Lentulaj's letter to Ban Jelačić dated 25 October 1849, HR-HDA-67, Pr.O., XIV, 10757-257, 1849. The document was published in: Markus, *Korespondencija*, 328-329.

<sup>24</sup> HR-HDA-holdings 66-Ban Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije (Ban's letters), CLIX, 44, 1850. The document was published in: Markus, *Korespondencija*, 377.

<sup>25</sup> Iveljić, “Pokušaji modernizacije”, 37.

<sup>26</sup> HR-HDA-66, CLIX, 72, 1850; HR-HDA-67, Pr. O., XIV, 465-25, 1850. The document was published in: Markus, *Korespondencija*, 381-383, quotation 382-383.

Professor of Philosophy at the Zagreb Royal Academy of Science. He excluded one of the candidates who asked the Ban to appoint him to this post without testing his qualifications and without a public tender. The Council ranked other candidates taking into consideration written and oral test results of their knowledge and their qualities as orators and lecturers before a tender commission made up of Doctors of Philosophy. It is interesting that the Council disagreed with the decision on ranking candidates made by the Supreme Headmaster of Schools Schrott and four Commission members who put a priest first on the list. The Section for Education ranked this candidate second arguing that he cannot be recommended first because it believes that he, as a Catholic priest, lacks the necessary freedom of instruction since he is bound to Church dogma which “does not agree with the coveted scientific progress of youth or with the principles of liberal thinking of our time.” Therefore, the Council ranked a secular candidate first (Dr. Ante Starčević), who was ranked second by the majority of Commission members, and the additional argument in favour of his appointment was that his knowledge of the Croatian language was best from among the candidates and could immediately lecture in the language.<sup>27</sup> The Director of the Section for Education of the Ban’s Council, Canon Stjepan Moyses, who was in Vienna at the time, disagreed with the opinion of the majority of members of the Section for Education about the unsuitability of the Catholic priest to be Professor of Philosophy at the Zagreb Academy and proposed to the Ban the appointment of the aforementioned priest.<sup>28</sup> However, the ruler rejected the proposals of the Ban’s Council and Moyses, and, at the proposal of the Minister of Education Leo Thun, appointed a priest from the Diocese of Senj, Đuro Šikić, to be Professor of Philosophy in Zagreb.<sup>29</sup>

One of the modernisation measures implemented in the education system by the Section for Education was the introduction of Croatian as the language of instruction in most schools in Croatia. This was the realisation of a conclusion of the Croatian Diet from October 1847 about the introduction of Croatian (which was then called “national language”) as the official language in all offices and schools.<sup>30</sup> Until 1848, instruction in elementary schools in Civil Croatia and Sla-

<sup>27</sup> HR-HDA-67, Pr. O., XIV, 11265-265, 1849, the document was published in: Markus, *Korespondencija*, 331-333.

<sup>28</sup> HR-HDA-67, Pr. O., XIV, 11265-265, 1849, the document was published in: Markus, *Korespondencija*, 346-347.

<sup>29</sup> Mirjana Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske, Neoapsolutizam u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1850-1860* [The Beginnings of Modern Croatia. Neoabsolutism in Civil Croatia and Slavonia 1850-1860] (Zagreb: Globus; Centar za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Odjel za hrvatsku povijest, 1985), 312.

<sup>30</sup> The Croatian Diet was the supreme legislative body in the Triune Kingdom but its conclusions (laws, decisions etc.) became effective only after the ruler’s approval. If the ruler failed to sanction them, they could not be implemented. In the atmosphere of the 1848 revolutionary turmoil, some decisions of the Croatian Diet and of the Hungarian Diet (which was the joint Diet of the Kingdom of Hungary) were implemented even without the ruler’s approval. This is also true of the conclusion on the introduction of Croatian as the official language in Croatia.

vonja (which consisted of elementary instructions in reading, writing, arithmetic and religion) was given in the national, Croatian language, whereas in the Military Frontier in German, and partly in Croatian. Gymnasiums were primarily schools for teaching classical languages, and their language of instruction was Latin (from 1835 to 1841, Antun Mažuranić held private lectures on the Croatian language and literature at the Zagreb Gymnasium).<sup>31</sup> While introducing Croatian as the language of instruction in Croatia's schools, the Ban's Council proceeded with consideration and in accordance with specific circumstances. Responding to the Ban's Council's request of considering the possibility of teaching in Croatian at the Zagreb Academy and gymnasiums, the Supreme Headmaster of Schools responded that two Academy professors did not master Croatian and could not teach in Croatian, whereas others were able to start immediately lectures in the national language; and that in gymnasiums in Zagreb, Varaždin, Požega and Osijek, all teachers said they were prepared to teach in the national language. The college of teachers in gymnasiums in Rijeka<sup>32</sup> and Karlovac requested that they be first sent textbooks in Croatian. Furthermore, it reported that there were just three school textbooks in the Croatian language. It also proposed a number of administrative changes – that the Lyceum in Senj and the Gymnasium in Vinkovci which, as part of the Military Frontier, were under the jurisdiction of military authorities be subordinated to the Supreme School Directorate.<sup>33</sup> Teaching in the Croatian language began at Croatian gymnasiums in the 1849-1850 school year,<sup>34</sup> except at Rijeka Gymnasium where Italian remained the language of instruction while Croatian was introduced as a school subject. The Zagreb Royal Academy of Science was reformed in 1850 and turned into the Law Academy with a three-year programme and “Illyrian” as the language of instruction (exceptionally, if the professor did not speak Croatian, classes could be held in Latin).<sup>35</sup> The Section for Education strove to introduce Croatian as the language of instruction also in

<sup>31</sup> Jaroslav Šidak, “Jedno stoljeće u razvoju školstva u hrvatskim zemljama (1773-1874)” [One century in development of education system in Croatian lands (1773-1874)], *Zbornik za historiju školstva i prosvjete* 9 (1875): 41; Antun Mažuranić, “Kratka pregled povjestnice Gimnazije zagrebačke” [A short review of history of Zagreb Gymnasium], in: *Drugo godišnje izvjestje o c.k. Zagrebačkoj višjoj gimnaziji koncem školske godine 1852*. (Zagreb: Narodna tiskarnica dra. Ljudevita Gaja, 1852), 14.

<sup>32</sup> Schrott and the Section for Education agreed that the national language should not be introduced abruptly as the language of instruction in Rijeka because students would not be able to learn it well. However, they wanted to accomplish it as soon as possible. It seems that the Ban's Commissioner in Rijeka, Josip Bunjevac, dismissed two pro-Hungarian oriented gymnasium teachers without obtaining permission from the Ban's Council. Iveljić, “Pokušaji modernizacije”, 51-52.

<sup>33</sup> HR-HDA-67, Pr. O., XII, 51- 1848.

<sup>34</sup> The Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA-68 Banska vlada, XXXI, 2673, 1850. However, the Croatian (“Illyrian”) language of instruction did not survive long in Croatian gymnasiums. During the period of neo-absolutism, German was introduced as the language of instruction in gymnasiums in the Habsburg Monarchy on the basis of an order issued on 22 August 1854. Gross, *Počeci*, 305.

<sup>35</sup> In the provisional regulations on its structure, it was announced that prospectively it would turn into a real faculty with freedom of instruction and learning. Like in gymnasiums, German was soon introduced as the language of instruction at Zagreb Law Academy (in October 1855). Gross, *Počeci*, 311-313.

schools in the Military Frontier and to have supervision over schools in this area. This was met with opposition of the Supreme Military Command in Zagreb. The Command stated that Croatian was already used in teaching in the majority of municipal schools in the Military Frontier, but indicated the importance of learning German (which was the language of command in the Habsburg Monarchy, author's note). The Command established a link between possible reforms in the education system of the Military Frontier with the corresponding reforms that would be implemented at the level of the Monarchy as a whole.<sup>36</sup>

Promotion of the national language in public affairs and the education system was not just the realisation of the Diet's conclusion, but also the reflection of then widespread romantic understandings, which considered that language and popular culture best reflect the spirit of the people. Education in the national language was considered one of the main prerequisites for progress in all aspects of life. Faith in progress was the *spiritus movens* of the atmosphere in which liberal ideas were spread, which were, at least partially, accepted by most of the participants in efforts to modernise Croatia's education system.

The issue of the publication of school textbooks in the national language was closely associated with its introduction as the language of instruction in Croatian schools. In this regard, the Section for Education achieved certain success. Bishop Schrott wrote in a letter that there were just three school textbooks in the Croatian language (textbooks on Latin grammar, geography and catechism). Therefore, the Ban's Council ordered Land Archivist Ivan Kukuljević, who was in Pest at the time to collect archival material on the Triune Kingdom, to find textbooks which were translated in Croatian and published in the university printing house in Pest, and dispatch them to Croatia. He discovered that three textbooks on education had been printed there intended for the teachers' course in Zagreb. Following negotiations with the Director of the printing house, he managed to send them to Zagreb for a fee.<sup>37</sup> The Section for Education published a tender for a reading textbook in the national language in the newspapers. Petar Zoričić's manuscript was proclaimed the best among those received. Zoričić received royalties and the state was given the right to print and sell his book. Later, however, the book was met with opposition of Croatian Catholic bishops, who criticized it for its alleged religious indifferentism and "overstrained" national significance. For similar reasons, the bishops criticized books by Bogoslav Šulek (a protestant and liberal, author's note). He and other authors offered the Section for Education school textbooks that they wrote or translated themselves.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The attempt by the Ban's Council to introduce Croatian as the official language in the Military Frontier was equally unsuccessful due to the opposition of individual regiments and the Supreme Military Command in Zagreb. In this regard, the Ban's Council could not be assisted by Ban Jelačić either, who was aware that such a decision would have to be made in Vienna. Iveljić, "Pokušaji modernizacije", 53.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, 54.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, 55-56.

Before going to war against the Hungarians in early September 1848, Ban Jelačić ordered members of individual Sections to draft legislation from their scope of activity, based on the papers drafted by individual committees of the Diet, and prepare them for debate in the Croatian Diet once reconvened.<sup>39</sup> In April 1849, the Section for Education began to work on a draft legislation on education. As a starting point, it used a proposal drafted by the Diet's "Committee for Drafting the Most Necessary Regulations on Schools, Instruction and Religion" chaired by the Bishop of Senj Mirko Ožegović.<sup>40</sup> At the time, it was not yet known what future influence the clergy would have on the education system, and the Section for Education followed the proposal of the Diet's Committee with minor modifications. However, since the part referring to elementary schools and public education was not systematic, which was difficult to achieve due to the short time in which the Diet's Committee was active, the Section for Education concluded to prepare a new systematic draft legislation, bearing in mind the principles that guided the Diet's Committee. The Section believed that it would be useful to introduce the same education system for the Habsburg Monarchy and the Triune Kingdom. Since the Austrian education draft agreed with the main principles followed by the Diet's Committee, in August 1849 the Section for Education made a draft legislation for restructuring Croatia's education system at all levels entitled *Osnova temeljnih pravilah javnoga obučavanja za Hèrvatsku i Slavoniu* [*The Essentials of the Basic Rules for Public Education for Croatia and Slavonia*]. The document was based on the Austrian *Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Oesterreich* [*Draft of the Main Features of the Public Education System in Austria*].<sup>41</sup> *The Essentials* were printed and sent to the governing boards of Croatian Counties, Deputies in the Diet and the media, i.e. it was submitted to public debate.<sup>42</sup> They were not just a mere translation. In relation to its Austrian counterpart, the Croatian draft legislation was more specific (it specified where

<sup>39</sup> HR-HDA-66, CLXV, s.n.: The Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ban Josip Jelačić's heritage, Correspondence Jelačić-Lentulaj, II/C-12, 1848. The document was published in: Markus, *Korespondencija*, 50-51.

<sup>40</sup> For the structure of the Diet's Committees cf: Josip Kolanović, "Saborski odbori. Ustroj i djelatnost 1848.-1849." [The Diet's Committees. Structure and Activity 1848-1849], in: *Hrvatska 1848. i 1849.*, 75-88.

<sup>41</sup> HR-HDA-67, Pr.O., XV, 7392-792, 1850. The document was published in: Markus, *Korespondencija*, 601-602; *Osnova temeljnih pravilah javnoga obučavanja za Hèrvatsku i Slavoniu*, HR-HDA-907 Zbirka stampata, 131-130, 1849; Hrvatski školski muzej, Zbirka školskih propisa, sg. Z 51. According to the copy from the Croatian School Museum, *Osnova* was published by Radosna Peteris-Martinčić, "Temeljni tekstovi iz hrvatskoga školskog zakonodavstva 19. stoljeća (I.)" [Basic Texts of Croatian Education Legislation of 19<sup>th</sup> Century], *Analiza povijest odgoja* 1 (1992): 125-152.

<sup>42</sup> It was published in *Narodne novine* (NN; Zagreb), issue no. 167 dated 16.10.1849, 168 dated 17.10.1849, 169 dated 18.10.1849, 170 dated 19.10.1849, 171 dated 20.10.1849, 172 dated 22.10.1849, 173 dated 23.10.1849, and 174 dated 24.10.1849 as well as in *Slavenski Jug* (SJ; Zagreb), issue no. 166 dated 16.10.1849, 167 dated 17.10.1849, 169 dated 19.10.1849, 170 dated 20.10.1849 and 171 dated 22.10.1849.

secondary schools of different types should be established, including vocational schools, teachers' salaries were prescribed and similar). It contained a consistent provision that the language of instruction be Croatian and that school subjects in gymnasiums include Slavic languages and Old-Slavic (in addition to classes in German, Italian, French and English). Whereas the Austrian essentials provided for a limited freedom of teaching and learning, the Croatian draft legislation did not restrict this freedom, which was consistently applied. Another essential difference was that the Croatian document made a recommendation to students to pursue their education for a certain period of time at some Austrian or foreign university, and defined in detail the allocation of scholarships from state and private endowments. This could not be found in the Austrian education document. The Croatian draft legislation was more concrete, it was appropriate to Croatian circumstances and had a national and Slavic orientation.<sup>43</sup>

There were just a few reviews of *The Essentials* in Croatian newspapers. The authors welcomed this document and evaluated it as a solid basis for future quality and versatile education. Their rare critical objections were very concrete, considering some specific paragraphs. The anonymous author in the newspaper *Südslawische Zeitung* was the only one who negatively judged the Croatian draft legislation as well as its Austrian model. He even accused the Section for Education of usurpation of the responsibilities.<sup>44</sup>

The Croatian Diet was supposed to deliberate on the Education Essentials when it reconvened.<sup>45</sup> However, the elected assembly of the Parliament of 1848 did not reconvene. After the revolution in the Habsburg Monarchy was crushed, the conservative and centralist direction in the Monarchy's policy, which began with the accession to the throne by Francis Joseph I, was additionally reinforced. Soon, an absolutist system of rule ensued, during which the Croatian Parliament did not convene. In such circumstances, *Osnova temeljnih pravilah javnoga obučavanja za Hèrvatsku i Slavoniu* was not implemented. Nevertheless, the ideas and principles put forth in this first legislative attempt at a systematic regulation of the entire education system in Croatia exerted lasting influence on subsequent draft legislation on the regulation of Croatia's education system at different levels.

<sup>43</sup> A comparative analysis of the Austrian and Croatian education essentials in: Švoger, "O temeljima modernoga školstva", 309-328.

<sup>44</sup> "Iz Podravine", *NN*, issue no. 186 dated 8. 11. 1849; editorial, *SJ*, issue no. 174 dated 9. 11. 1849; "Die Kultussektion des Banalrates und unser Schulwesen", *Südslawische Zeitung* (*SZ*; Zagreb), issue no. 179 dated 24. 10. 1849; editorial, *SZ*, issue no. 175 dated od 19. 10. 1849. If author and/or title of the article is not stated, it is because they were published anonymously and without a title.

<sup>45</sup> The session of the Croatian Diet was adjourned in early July 1848 due to the forthcoming negotiations of the Croatian and Hungarian delegations about conciliation of two sides after Ban Jelačić severed relations with Hungary in April 1848. The negotiations held in late July 1848 in Vienna did not bear fruit and both sides began to prepare for war.

In spite of very difficult financial and political circumstances (the resistance of the military authorities in the Military Frontier and individual towns and municipalities to individual decisions of the Section for Education and conflicts over jurisdiction) under which it operated, the Section for Education achieved certain success also with respect to the foundation of new schools. In October 1849, the Section for Education implemented the decision on the foundation of a two-year teachers' seminary / *Preparandium* in Zagreb. As early as 1845, the Croatian Diet sent a petition to the ruler to establish a teachers' school in Zagreb, which would systematically resolve the problem of educating prospective teachers. Before the teachers' school was established, prospective teachers had attended courses organized to this end or taken an examination for teachers before an inspector appointed by the Supreme Headmaster of Schools. The ruler approved the foundation of the teachers' school, of which the Croatian authorities were informed through the mediation of the Council of Lieutenancy of Hungary in January 1847. The school was supposed to start work in October of the same year. The Bishop of Zagreb Juraj Haulik set up a special endowment which was supposed to provide funds for the salary of one teacher as well as assistance to twelve students, while the other two teachers should have been financed by the state from its school foundation. However, this decision was not realized in 1847 (it is impossible to ascertain exact reasons for it), but was implemented thanks to the efforts of the Section for Education in the autumn of 1849, and the Section followed preparatory work which had been done two years earlier. It is interesting that as early as 1847, before the Croatian Diet made the decision to introduce the Croatian language as the official language in education and administration in Croatia, Croatian was envisaged as the language of instruction at the teachers' school. The school was primarily intended for the education of teachers of elementary schools, and according to the Supreme Headmaster of Schools in Croatia, J. Schrott, the objective was for teachers to acquire quality professional, scientific and educational education in line with the spirit of time.<sup>46</sup> In September of the same year, the Nautical School in Bakar was opened.<sup>47</sup> Due to the small number of students, the school was provisionally closed by decision of the Imperial-Royal Ministry of Religion and Education in 1854, but was later reopened and has been working ever since.

The introduction of freedom of the press spurred the development of the press in Croatia and an increased influence exerted by public opinion. This also reflected on the broadening of the range of topics the newspapers wrote about. As a consequence, problems of education and its modernisation became important

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<sup>46</sup> Antun Cuvaj, ed., *Grada za povijest školstva Kraljevinâ Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas* [Sources for the history of education of Kingdoms Croatia and Slavonia from the earliest times till today], vol. III. (Zagreb: Naklada Kr. Hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. Vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, 1910), 188-197, pp. 434-443.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, 197.

topics, topics that prior to 1848 featured relatively seldom on newspapers pages. Since early 1848, political papers, and especially liberal ones appearing in Zagreb, became a forum where educators, teachers and intellectuals of different professions discussed the role of schools in society, the relationship between the school and the Catholic Church, depicted the current situation in the Croatian education system and put forth proposals and concrete measures for its improvement. In this context, several Croatian teachers who participated very actively in these discussions in the press should be highlighted. These were Ivan Filipović and Mijat Stojanović who, from moderately liberal positions, assessed the situation in Croatia's education system and proposed solutions, and Ladislav Štrobot, a teacher from the Military Frontier who presented views that were close to the education authorities in the Military Frontier. In addition to them, interesting texts on the situation in the education system were written by distinguished Croatian intellectuals and politicians of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Mirko Bogović, Ljudevit Vukotinović and Imbro Tkalac.<sup>48</sup>

One of the new topics raised by the newspapers after the outbreak of the 1848 revolution was freedom of teaching and learning. An anonymous author, who claimed that he had previously written newspaper articles on the Croatian education system, analysed in two articles how this freedom should be applied in practice. He advocated that freedom of learning should be applied from the lowest level of education, admittedly in a limited form. Such a view was opposed by the newspapers' editorial board which annotated that freedom of learning was nowhere introduced in elementary schools or gymnasiums. The board expressed the opinion that freedom of learning could only exist at higher schools (faculties) in scientific subjects, because students were mature enough to be able to recognise their own interests and assess what would be of use in later life. Such decision-making could by no means be expected from children attending elementary or secondary schools.<sup>49</sup> In a second article, the same author positively assessed the proclamation of freedom of instruction, but stated that the state, given its own interests, should be careful whom it entrusted with the education of youth. He added that the state should control that students not be taught things dangerous for the state and the people, and contrary to religious teaching.<sup>50</sup> The author did not explicitly mention any faith, he only referred to the teaching on the immortality of the soul from which one can conclude that he implied Christian faith, first Catholicism and Orthodoxy, to which belonged the overwhelming majority of the population in Croatian Lands. His views on restricting freedom of instruction coincided with

<sup>48</sup> More extensively on that: Vlasta Švoger, *Zagrebačko liberalno novinstvo 1848.-1852. i stvaranje moderne Hrvatske* [Zagreb liberal press 1848-1852 and building of modern Croatia] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2007), 407-427.

<sup>49</sup> "I. O slobodi učenja", *SJ*, issue no. 198 dated 23.11.1849.

<sup>50</sup> "II. O slobodi naučanja", *SJ*, issue no. 200 dated 26.11.1849.

the views of Education Minister Thun, as mentioned earlier. It can be assumed that this opinion was shared by the majority of the Croatian public because nobody retorted, or they believed that it was self-evident that this freedom would not be abused.

In mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatia, there was no conflict between the Church and the secular intellectual elite as regards jurisdiction over the education system, as was the case in West European countries. Croatian liberal intellectuals, both those who were involved in the education system and those who were not, did not demand full secularisation of the education system, but rather a gradual decrease in the influence of the clergy in schools.<sup>51</sup> The reason for this should be sought in the fact that Croatia at the time did not have enough educated lay teachers. However, everyone writing about Croatia's education system emphasized its poor state which was illustrated by the insufficient number of inadequately equipped schools, including classroom facilities, and didactic material; poorly educated teachers, even those who taught in gymnasiums; the poor financial situation of teachers, especially village teachers; low school attendance; use of foreign languages in education (Latin and German) and the poor quality of textbooks in Croatian.<sup>52</sup> The most comprehensive analysis of the situation in Croatia's primary education and measures for resolving the problems were provided by Ivan Filipović. Departing from the understanding that "elementary school and elementary education arising from it are the temple and foundation of the people's prosperity..." he indicated tools for improving the elementary school system. In his view, these were the establishment of quality schools for the education of prospective teachers, quality textbooks in Croatian suitable to the spirit of the time and written in accordance with the idea of Slavic mutuality; autonomy of school in relation to the Catholic/Orthodox Church and the patronising relationship of landowners; and improvement of the teachers' financial situation. Filipović elaborated these theses. His modality for ensuring the quality of teaching personnel is especially interesting (since no other author writing about this problem used a similar approach). Like other authors, Filipović also emphasized the need for establishing a teachers' school where prospective teachers could receive quality education. The problem of ensuring quality teaching personnel in this school for teachers could, in his view, be most quickly resolved with the financial assistance of well-off nationally conscious members of the Croatian people. He proposed

<sup>51</sup> This topic is analysed in the following articles (here are just the major ones): Stjepan Mlinarić, "Najpotrebnija reforma", *SJ*, issue no. 27 dated 6.10.1848 and no. 28 dated 8.10.1848; "Učionica i cèrkva I.-II.", *SJ*, issue no. 24 dated 29.9.1848 and no 25 dated 1.10.1848; C – "Über das Volksschulwesen in Slowenien", *SZ*, issue no. 246 dated 25.10.1850; "Unser Volksschulwesen II.", *SZ*, no. 230 dated 27.12.1849.

<sup>52</sup> The following are interesting critical articles about poor conditions in Croatia's education system: *SJ*, issue no. 54 dated 8.12.1848; Ivan Filipović, "Interpelatja na odsiek prosvjete", *SJ*, issue no. 54 dated 8.5.1849; no. 65 dated 2.6.1849; "Poziv Lipe sl. na učitelje", *SJ*, no. 20 dated 15.2.1849; *SJ*, issue no. 68 dated 9.6.1849; S. "Nešto o staležu učiteljskom", *SJ*, no. 73 dated 21.6.1849.

that each one of them (of course, on a voluntary basis) fund the three-year education of one student at the teachers' academy in Berlin, followed by a one-year education in Prague or Krakow. In this way, it would be possible in a few years to train quality teaching personnel who would then teach in the teachers' school. As a source of funding for the teachers' school and for the improvement of the Croatian education system, he proposed the introduction of a special education tax (*Aufklärungssteuer*).<sup>53</sup> Another distinguished teacher Mijat Stojanović also departed from the enlightening role of (elementary) school whose task was to create useful members of society who will abide by law and contribute to society's welfare. Like Filipović, he too focused on teachers as part of overall efforts to improve the quality of education. To ensure good progress of elementary schools while waiting for the establishment of the teachers' school, he proposed the organisation of teachers' assemblies where there would be an exchange of experiences and discussions on problems and their resolution. To test the quality of teachers' candidates, he proposed public tenders and examinations for teachers.<sup>54</sup>

In 1849, in a series of articles published in the paper *Südslawische Zeitung*, an anonymous intellectual who had experience with the education system outside Croatia and the Habsburg Monarchy, probably Imbro Tkalac, put forth a detailed proposal for the reform of Croatia's education system. Unlike Filipović and Stojanović, who, being teachers in elementary schools, restricted themselves to proposing measures and ways to improve the elementary school education system, his focus was on improving the quality of the education system at all levels, from elementary schools, over different types of secondary schools (gymnasiums, *Realschulen* and vocational schools) to higher education. The major objective was to enable a relatively comprehensive, quality and purposeful education, adapted to Croatian circumstances and needs, as well as the acquisition of corresponding professional know-how and skills for future experts at different levels and of various profiles. Motivated by the publication of a school curriculum for gymnasiums and *Realschulen* in the Habsburg Monarchy, he put forth his own proposal for the reform of Croatia's education system and focused on secondary and higher education. In comparison with the proposed curriculum for gymnasiums and *Realschulen* drafted in Vienna, Tkalac proposed that the gymnasiums should have fewer lessons in religion and classical languages while classes of Latin and Greek should have less grammar and linguistic-stylistic contents; the number of classes in history and culture of ancient peoples should be increased. On the other hand,

<sup>53</sup> F., "Potreboće pučke škole", *Jugoslavenske novine (JN: Zagreb)*, issue no. 40 dated 25.5.1850, F., "Potreboće pučke škole. A. O uredjenju sēmeništa za učitelje", *JN*, issue no. 91 dated 26.7.1850, F., "Potreboća pučke škole. B. Ali kako da se ta sēmeništva urede?", *JN*, issue no. 98 dated 3.8.1850, F., "Potreboće pučke škole. B. O školskih knjigah", *JN*, issue no. 180 dated 11.11.1850, F., "Potreboće pučke škole", *JN*, issue no. 181 dated 12.11.1850.

<sup>54</sup> Mijat Stojanović, "O učionici", *SJ*, issue no. 31 dated 15.10.1848; "Rieč učiteljem Jugoslavenskim od učitelja M. Stojanovića", *SJ*, no. 20 dated 15.2.1849.

he proposed an increase in the number of lessons in sciences and living languages (he proposed the study of English and French) as well as a priority being given to national history and geography over general contents in these school subjects. For the *Realschulen*, he proposed that more attention be paid to the study of living languages (German, Italian, English, French and some Slavic languages), as well as the study of music, gymnastics and shorthand.<sup>55</sup> He analysed in detail the reasons for the establishment of the University of Zagreb and its structure. In addition to faculties that were customary constituent parts of Austrian (German) universities – Faculties of Philosophy, Law, Theology (Catholic and Orthodox) and Medicine (which was supposed to be established successively)<sup>56</sup> – he proposed the establishment of “an encyclopaedic faculty for exact sciences” where sciences, mathematics, engineering, architecture, agriculture and forestry, maritime, commercial and military sciences would be taught. Professors were supposed to teach in an interdisciplinary manner, and the university should be founded on freedom of learning and instruction.<sup>57</sup>

All the authors mentioned implied that Croatian should be the language of instruction at all levels of education in Croatia. They understood that schools at all levels played an important role in enlightening the people and disseminating (high) national culture, whereby they should contribute to cultural homogenisation and national integration.

The first teachers’ meetings were organised after the spring of 1849. They discussed the professional status of teachers and the problems of their profession. During 1849 and 1850, several such conferences were held (in Đurđevac, Križevci, Vinkovci, Nova Gradiška, Petrinja). Discussion was, among others, also focused on the language of instruction. Whereas teachers from the Brod Regiment, assembled at their teachers’ assembly in Vinkovci in May 1849, opted for Croatian as the exclusive language of instruction, teachers of the Gradiška Regiment explicitly demanded that German remain in elementary schools. From 29 September to 15 October 1850, a conference of teachers from the Military Frontier was held in Petrinja (with the participation of individual invited teachers) which discussed the modernisation of education in this area. Most of the discussion was focused on Croatian reading-books for individual classes that would be used in the schools in the Military Frontier. In that school year, Croatian was taught as a school subject together with German in the schools in the Military Frontier,

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<sup>55</sup> “Zur Studienreform. I.-III.”, SZ, issue no. 133 dated 30.8.1849, 134 dated 31.8.1849 and 137 dated 4.9.1849.

<sup>56</sup> There were no technical faculties in the Habsburg Monarchy at the time, but higher education in sciences and mathematics was obtained at Faculty of Philosophy, and in technical subjects at technical institutes. Artistic subjects were taught at art academies.

<sup>57</sup> “Zur Studienreform. V.-VIII.”, SZ, issue no. 148 dated 18.9.1849, 149 dated 19.9.1849, 150 dated 20.9.1849, 151 dated 21.9.1849, 169 dated 12.10.1849, 170 dated 13.10.1849, 225 dated 19.12.1849.

but German remained the language of instruction. According to an article on this teachers' conference, which was published in the Zagreb newspaper *Jugoslavenske novine*, the majority of teachers, most probably because their existential dependence of the military authorities, rejected the proposals of a more advanced group of teachers who advocated the introduction of modern teaching methods and Croatian as the language of instruction, instead of German.<sup>58</sup>

## Conclusion

A combination of political, social and economic reasons precipitated the outbreak of the revolution in some parts of the Habsburg Monarchy in February and March 1848. Even in parts of the Monarchy not affected by the armed revolutionary rebellion, accumulated discontent with the pre-March regime, characterised by major restrictions and strict control of all fields of public activity, manifested itself through different forms of political and social rebellion. The abolition of censorship and introduction of liberal political rights and freedoms – namely freedom of the press, speech and assembly, freedom of instruction and learning, as well as religious and national equality were particularly important for the development of a modern education system – enabled the raising of new topics and a free discussion about them, as well as shaping of new ideas and reform projects. Such a favourable political and social climate set the stage for the implementation of important modernisation steps in the education system of the Habsburg Monarchy and Croatia. In Croatia, the Ban's Council was established, which was *de facto* the first Croatian independent government that had its special section for education – the Section for Religion and Education. Public debate on the situation in the education system and proposals for reform were opened – through newspapers, teachers' meetings and activities of the Section. Some individuals put forth their proposals for a reform of the education system, and the Section for Education formulated *Osnova temeljnih pravilah javnoga obučavanja za Hèrvatsku i Slavoniu* [*The Essentials of the Basic Rules for Public Education for Croatia and Slavonia*], the first comprehensive proposal of reform of Croatia's education system at all levels. This draft legislation was prepared after the model of the Austrian *Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Oesterreich*, but was much more specific, adapted to Croatian circumstances and shaped in the national and Slavic spirit. Although the mentioned Croatian draft legislation was not implemented, because the Croatian Parliament in the assembly of 1848 did not reconvene due to changed political circumstances (the revolution was crushed and conservative forces won, and soon the absolutist system was introduced), the draft legislation was known in the public and served as a basis for all

<sup>58</sup> Cuvaj, *Grada*, vol. III, 430-432, 490-497, 512-513; editorials in *JN*, issue no. 155 dated 11.10.1850, no. 159 dated 16.10.1850 and no. 160 dated 19.10.1850.

subsequent draft legislations aimed at the modernisation of Croatia's education system until the break-up of the Monarchy. During two years of their existence and despite very complex political and economic circumstances, the Ban's Council and its Section for Education introduced Croatian as the language of instruction in schools in Croatia (except in the Military Frontier that was under the administration of the military authorities, and in Dalmatia and Istria that were administered by Vienna). They also took steps to draft text-books in Croatian and resolve financial and other problems of the education system. They established the teachers' school and consistently applied the principle of employing teachers on the basis of public tender and verification of their qualifications. Although the need for modernising the Croatian education system had been discussed earlier and there had already been some proposals for its reform, the 1848 revolutionary turmoil set the stage and gave the crucial impetus for activities on the modernisation of Croatia's education system.

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## Revolucionarna previranja 1848. – 1849. – poticaj za promjene u hrvatskom školstvu

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### Sažetak

Tijekom revolucionarnih previranja 1848.-1849. u Habsburškoj Monarhiji u duhu liberalnih ideja, među ostalima, izneseni su zahtjevi za donošenjem ustava i uvođenjem građanskih i političkih sloboda i prava. Među navedenim slobodama i pravima posebno mjesto zauzimale su sloboda tiska i s njom povezane sloboda izražavanja misli u usmenom i pismenom obliku, vjerska i nacionalna jednakopravnost te sloboda učenja i poučavanja. Revolucionarnim pobunama potaknuto ostvarenje tih zahtjeva stvorio je pozitivnu atmosferu i omogućilo formuliranje i provođenje modernizacijskih reformi u školstvu Habsburške Monarhije, a vrlo pozitivno odrazilo se i na hrvatsko školstvo. Uvođenje slobode tiska dalo je snažan zamah razvoju tiska u Hrvatskoj i jačanju uloge javnog mnijenja. Zagrebački politički listovi od početka 1848. godine postaju forum u kojemu prosvjetni djelatnici i intelektualci različitih profesija raspravljaju o ulozi škole u društvu, odnosu škole i Katoličke crkve, prikazuju aktualno stanje u hrvatskome školstvu i donose prijedloge i konkretne mjere za njegovo poboljšanje. U to vrijeme organiziraju se prvi sastanci učitelja na kojima su raspravljali o svom profesionalnom statusu i problemima struke. Prosvjetni odsjek Banskoga vijeća (*de facto* samostalne hrvatske vlade od rujna 1848. do lipnja 1850.) rukovodio je svim poslovima vezanima za školstvo i, unatoč brojnim objektivnim ograničenjima, uveo je hrvatski kao nastavni jezik u većinu škola u Hrvatskoj, ostvario je određene uspjehe u izdavanju školskih udžbenika na hrvatskom jeziku, provodio je zapošljavanje učitelja na temelju javnih natječaja i provjere profesionalne osposobljenosti kandidata neovisno o njihovoj vjerskoj pripadnosti i društvenom statusu, rješavao je financijske probleme škola i učitelja, i donošenjem zakonske osnove o ustroju hrvatskog školstva 1849. godine (prema austrijskoj liberalnoj osnovi o preustroju školstva na svim razinama) postavio je temelj za daljnju modernizaciju hrvatskog školstva.

*Ključne riječi:* revolucionarna previranja 1848. – 1849., školstvo, modernizacija, sloboda učenja i poučavanja, Hrvatska, Habsburška Monarhija