

## ON THE ROLE OF INFORMAL EDUCATION IN 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CROATIA<sup>1</sup>

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In 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatia, informal forms of education were very important due to the unsatisfactory formal education system, which was characterised by an underdeveloped network of schools and their small numbers, especially schools for girls; the poor quality of education and underpaid teachers; too large class sizes; irregular school attendance by pupils; impossibility for higher education in Croatia until the foundation of the University of Zagreb in 1874, except in legal sciences and theology; as well as other problems. The role of informal forms of education in Croatia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century will be illustrated by the example of a number of distinguished Croatian intellectuals. On the basis of autobiography sources – autobiographies and diaries – I will demonstrate what the role of self-education, education with private tutors and governesses was in education and intellectual formation of distinguished teacher and educator Mijat Stojanović, publicist Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac, politician and publicist Andrija Torkvat Brlić, writer Ksaver Šandor Gjalski and two Croatian female writers, Dragojla Jarnević and Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić. In their autobiographic and diary entries, they critically evaluated the positive and negative aspects of their own formal and informal education

**Key words:** informal forms of education, self-education, education through house tutors and governesses, Croatia, 19<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>1</sup> The work has been fully supported by Croatian Science Foundation under the project 4919 From Protomodernisation to Modernisation of Croatian School System (18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Century)

## 1. The State of Croatia's Education System in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

A reform of the education system was implemented as part of complex reform efforts that established the system of enlightened absolutism in the Habsburg Monarchy in the 1770s, during the reign of Maria Theresa. Since that time, it was the State that set out guidelines for the development and supervision of the education system at all levels. Influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, the education system was perceived as the prime catalyst of progress, and consequently the process of forming literate and loyal subjects who would be able to understand reforms aimed at strengthening the State became one of the State's priorities. All children, regardless of their social status, religious, gender or ethnic affiliation, were given the right and duty to elementary education. Measures were prescribed against parents who failed to send their children to school, mandatory textbooks were introduced, the number of classes, teaching methods for testing pupils' knowledge, as well as the supervision and funding of schools by local political administration were defined. A pyramidal structure of school administration was established.<sup>2</sup> There were several secondary schools (gymnasiums) in Croatia in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Higher education could be received at the Royal Academy in Zagreb, where philosophy, law and theology were taught (without the right to confer doctor's degrees) and at the Philosophical Lyceum in Zadar and Dubrovnik. In Dalmatia, theological education could be received at the Catholic Seminary of the Archdiocese of Zadar as well as at the Orthodox Seminary in the same city. At the culmination of the 1848 revolutionary turmoil in the Habsburg Monarchy, efforts intensified on the reform of secondary and higher education. As a result of these deliberations and following the Prussian model, the *Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Österreich* [Draft of the Main Features of the Public Education System in Austria] was written as a basis for the modernisation of secondary schools (gymnasiums and Realschulen) and universities that ensued in the Monarchy. This modernisation was implemented in Croatia as well starting from the early 1850s. Adapting the mentioned *Entwurf* to circumstances in Croatia and giving Croatia's education system a national touch, the Section for Education of the Ban's Council (Croatian *Ban-sko vijeće*, which was then the *de facto* independent Croatian Government) drafted *Osnova temeljnih pravilah javnoga obučavanja za Hèrvatsku i Slavoniu* [The Essentials of the Basic Rules for Public Education for Croatia and Slavonia] in 1849 as a bill to be debated by the Croatian Sabor (Parliament). However, the *Osnova* did not become a basis for further development of the Croatian education system, because the parliamentary session that was delayed in 1848 did not take place. In the new circumstances of stronger anti-revolutionary

<sup>2</sup> Ivana Horbec, Vlasta Švoger, "Školstvo kao politicum: Opći školski red iz 1774.," *Anali za povijest odgoja* 9 (2010), 5-47; Antun Cuvaj, ed. *Grada za povijest školstva kraljevinâ Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas* (hereinafter: *Grada za povijest školstva*), I., (Zagreb: Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, 1910) 365-444.

and centralist oriented forces after the breakdown of the 1848 revolution and subsequently of the introduction of the absolutistic system in the Habsburg Monarchy, the *Osnova* was not confirmed by the ruler and therefore could not be implemented.<sup>3</sup> Modern secondary schools (gymnasiums) in Croatia became nurseries for an educated elite and preparatory schools for studies at Zagreb's Royal Academy, which became a modern university in 1874, or at some other faculty in the Habsburg Monarchy or abroad.<sup>4</sup>

Croatian teachers, especially those who taught in different types of elementary schools, were poorly educated, and since 1849 when the first school for teachers was founded in Zagreb, qualifications for teachers were acquired at teachers' courses (or by passing the teacher's examination) at regular schools located in the centres of provinces.<sup>5</sup> In addition to poor education, another major problem was the meagre financial status of teachers, who, for this reason, were forced to perform the service of notaries as well as organists and sacristans at churches.<sup>6</sup> An additional problem was the excess of pupils in one classroom, inadequate school buildings and school equipment, a shortage of teaching material and appropriate textbooks. Nevertheless, the greatest problem of the Croatian education system in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the small number of schools and pupils. As illustration, in the school year 1837/1838 in Civil Croatia, there were just one hundred schools attended by approximately 5,370 male and female pupils.<sup>7</sup> Through interventions from higher instances,

<sup>3</sup> Cf Vlasta Švoger, "O temeljima modernoga školstva u Habsburškoj Monarhiji i Hrvatskoj," *Povijesni prilozi* 30 (2012) no. 42: 309-328; Ivana Horbec, Vlasta Švoger, "Početak modernoga srednjeg školstva u Habsburškoj Monarhiji: Nastavni plan za gimnazije (1849.)," *Anali za povijest odgoja* 10 (2011) 7-15.; "Nacrt ustroja gimnazija i realnih škola u Austriji. Beč: Ministarstvo bogoštovlja i nastave, Tiskano u carsko-kraljevskoj Dvorskoj i državnoj tiskari, 1849." (translated from German by Vlasta Švoger), *Anali za povijest odgoja* 10 (2011) 119-182; Vlasta Švoger, Ivana Horbec, "Nacrt temeljnih načela javne nastave u Austriji (1848.) – osnova modernizacije školstva u Habsburškoj Monarhiji," *Anali za povijest odgoja* 12 (2013) 7-39.

<sup>4</sup> For the organisation of modern high and higher education in Croatia in the period of neo-absolutism cf Mirjana Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske. Neoapsolutizam u Civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1850-1860. godine* (Zagreb: Globus – Centar za povijesne znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Odjel za hrvatsku povijest, 1985) 304-324 and Jaroslav Šidak, ed., *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, I. (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 1969).

<sup>5</sup> On the Croatian education system in the 19th century cf Jaroslav Šidak, "Jedno stoljeće u razvoju školstva u hrvatskim zemljama (1773-1874)," *Zbornik za historiju školstva i prosvjete* 9 (1975) 37-48; Dinko Župan, "Pučko školstvo u vrijeme banovanja Ivana Mažuranića" (Master's thesis, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2002), 13-43; Mate Zaninović, *Iz prošlosti školstva Dalmacije* (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1978); Krunoslav Tkalac, *Školstvo Slavonije u 18. i 19. stoljeću* (Županja: self-published, 1973).

<sup>6</sup> Antun Cuvaj, ed., *Građa za povijest školstva kraljevinâ Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas*, III (Zagreb: Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, 1910), 117, 151, 166; Ljudevit Vukotinović, *Nešto o školah pučkih. Rječ u svoje vrême* (Zagreb: Franjo Suppan, 1844), 34.

<sup>7</sup> Cuvaj, *Građa za povijest školstva*, III, 15-16; Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske*, 287-288, warned of the great unreliability of statistical data for Croatia for the period before 1855. The problems of the Croatian education system and proposals for their solution were an important topic in the

as well as through a broader involvement of society in the following decades, the number of schools and pupils increased significantly, and the quality of teaching to some extent as well.<sup>8</sup> However, the situation in Croatia's education system in the mid 1870s continued to be unsatisfactory and a text of county school inspector Ivan Filipović, published in the education magazine *Napredak* [Progress], confirms this. The author enumerated the reasons for the poor situation in the Croatian education system: "deficient and irregular school attendance, insufficient supply of prescribed teaching material for the children, inadequate and incomplete teaching aids, a large number of inadequate school buildings and furniture totally unsuitable. In the Zagreb County, barely 30 percent of children eligible for school attend classes; and of these 30 percent barely one third attends school on a regular basis. In a number of schools with 80-100 and more children, I found 15-16; and was told that attendance is good if there are 30. In general, school attendance is so poor that it is a real horror; and all reports by teachers and more conscientious local school boards are completely in vain. Furthermore, children are very irregularly supplied with prescribed books, copybooks and notebooks."<sup>9</sup>

In such circumstances, informal forms of education – self-education, private instructions by private tutors or governesses in middle, or upper middle class or noble circles – played a major role in 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatia. I will illustrate the role of these forms of education with examples of the intellectual formation of several distinguished members of the Croatian intellectual elite of both sexes: distinguished teacher and educator Mijat Stojanović, publicist Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac, politician and publicist Andrija Torkvat Brlić, writer Ksaver Šandor Gjalski and two Croatian female writers, Dragojla Jarnević and Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić. The material of autobiographical discourse – autobiographies and diaries – will be used as the principal material for analysing their intellectual formation and spiritual maturation.

## 2. Research Sources

When researching texts of autobiographical discourse, I proceed from the definition of Philippe Lejeune who uses the relationship established between the author and the reader – which he calls the "autobiographical pact" – as the basis for his deliberations.<sup>10</sup> Lejeune defines autobiography as

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newspapers at the turn of the 1840s and the 1850s: Vlasta Švoger, *Zagrebačko liberalno novinstvo 1848.-1852. i stvaranje moderne Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2007), 407-427.

<sup>8</sup> Antun Cuvaj, ed., *Građa za povijest školstva*, IV (Zagreb: Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, 1910), V (Zagreb: Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, 1910), VI (Zagreb: Kr. hrv.-slav.-dalm. zem. vlada, 1911); Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske*, 275-324.

<sup>9</sup> "Na obranu pučkog učiteljstva," *Napredak* (Zagreb) no. 12, 20 April 1876, 178.

<sup>10</sup> Due to the unilateral and informal nature of the pact, i.e. some sort of subjective guarantee of credibility of the matter presented by the author, Filip Hameršak considers "autobiographi-

a “retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality.” In Lejeune’s view, for a text to be called an autobiography, it should meet the following criteria: a prose narrative; the topic is individual life and the story of one’s own personality; the author, narrator and main character must be identical; retrospective perspective in narration. While the criteria of retrospection and description of individual life must be predominantly fulfilled, the criterion of the sameness of the author (who is introduced with his name and surname in the title of the book or manuscript), narrator and main character had to be fulfilled in its entirety.<sup>11</sup> The autobiographical notes that are the subject matter of this research – the reminiscences of Mijat Stojanović, Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac and Ksaver Šandor Gjalski meet these criteria. These are autobiographical notes originally intended for publication by their authors (although Stojanović’s autobiography was published in its entirety as late as 2015, although the author indicated “prepared for print” on his manuscript). While Stojanović’s and Tkalac’s autobiographies evolved as a result of the authors’ own inner urge, Gjalski wrote his autobiography at the request of his publisher as an Afterword in one of his books. They write about their own past from a (restricted) perspective of their current image about themselves. Their stories are a result of the reconstruction of the past based on their recollections and a selection of their own experience as a product of social relations, and these are creative processes characteristic for autobiographical discourse.<sup>12</sup> In the autobiographies mentioned, narratives are based on facts, and factual and fictional elements intertwine. These autobiographical texts can be classified as a sub-type that Louis A. Renza calls the memoir mode of autobiographical writing.<sup>13</sup> Unlike those already mentioned the autobiography of Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić is much terser and evolved from external encouragement,<sup>14</sup> as a response to questions in a survey conducted by the editorial board of the

cal oath” to be a more appropriate expression. Filip Hameršak, *Tamna strana Marsa. Hrvatska autobiografija i Prvi svjetski rat* (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2013), 117.

<sup>11</sup> Philippe Lejeune, “The Autobiographical Pact,” 4-5, 12, quotation from page 4, accessed on 31 January 2016. <http://edocs.uis.edu>. Similar definitions are proposed by James M. Cox and Northrop Frye. Cox calls autobiography more factual than fictional “narrative of a person’s life written by himself”. James M. Cox, “Autobiography and America,” *Virginia Quarterly Review* 47 (1971) 254. Frye emphasises that autobiography is a form of imaginative discourse that transforms empirical facts into artistic ones and is a form of “prose fiction”. Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 307-308.

<sup>12</sup> Marta Cuesta, “How To Interpret Autobiographies,” accessed on 31 January 2016. [www.razo-nypalabra.org.mx](http://www.razo-nypalabra.org.mx)

<sup>13</sup> Louis A. Renza, “The Veto of the Imagination: A Theory of Autobiography,” p. 7, accessed on 31 January 2016. [sites.dartmouth.edu/larenza/files/2012/08/Renza-1977-The-Veto-of-the-Imagination-A-Theory-of-Autobiography.pdf](http://sites.dartmouth.edu/larenza/files/2012/08/Renza-1977-The-Veto-of-the-Imagination-A-Theory-of-Autobiography.pdf) The author distinguishes between “confessional” and narcissitic mode of autobiographical writing. *Ibidem*, 7-14.

<sup>14</sup> For various external factors that may be encouragement for writing an autobiographical text cf Sidonie Smith, Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography. A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 50-56.

biographical lexicon prepared for publication by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup> For this reason, this autobiographical text is primarily informative or referential,<sup>16</sup> but it also has the characteristics of a literary work, thanks to the author's self-reflections and very emotional descriptions of her own recollections linked to the visit to her birthplace following long absence.

In addition to the autobiographical texts mentioned, in this research I will use notes from the diaries of Dragojla Jarnević and Andrija Torkvat Brlić. A diary is a form of autobiographical text in which the author describes his activities and reflections, factual (or imagined) events in which he participated. A diary is written more or less regularly with a short time span (e.g. from day to day, or week to week) and is mainly intended for the author's use. Most frequently, a diary is not intended for publication in an unedited form.<sup>17</sup> Jarnević's diary differs significantly from the diary notes of A. T. Brlić. Her text is much more extensive, detailed and informative, the author partly rewrote it subsequently, because she wrote the first part of the diary in German (which she mastered at the time), and much later, when she was more fluent in Croatian, the author translated it herself in Croatian. She intended it for public use after her death, but with a certain time span. To the contrary, Brlić's diary remained a manuscript.<sup>18</sup> It was written with telegraphic brevity and contains a wealth of data on the author's activities, but often without providing the context. These features make it much harder to interpret by today's researchers and a prerequisite for its use is an excellent knowledge of the broader social and political context of the time in which it was created.

Although autobiographies, and even more so diaries, are a form of personal texts, they have a narrative discourse, they are useful and inspiring, more open than the stronger conceptualized and self-protective language of other documents, to a large degree official ones, and these are "the most democratic of historical sources."<sup>19</sup> For this very reason, they are suitable for studying informal forms of education in Croatia in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>15</sup> Vinko Brešić, ed., *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca* (Zagreb: AGM, 1997), 529.

<sup>16</sup> Referentiality as one of the characteristics of autobiography as a genre is emphasised by Lejeune, "The Autobiographical Pact," 22 and Hameršak, *Tamna strana Marsa*, 107.

<sup>17</sup> Helena Sablić Tomić, "Dnevnik," *Hrvatska književna enciklopedija*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2010), 386-388; "Diary", accessed on 20 June 2016. [www.britannica.com/art/diary-literature](http://www.britannica.com/art/diary-literature).

<sup>18</sup> The National and University Library, Zagreb, Manuscripts and Old Books Collection, Diary of Andrija Torkvat Brlić (1840-1857), R 4023.

<sup>19</sup> Steven Stowe, "Making Sense of Letters and Diaries," [2], accessed on 20 June 2016. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu>.

### 3. Autobiographical Notes and Diary Entries on Informal Forms of Education in Croatia in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Politician and publicist Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac (1824-1912) in his autobiographical notes *Jugenderinnerungen aus Kroatien* [Youth Reminiscences from Croatia] provided the most detailed description of his own education.<sup>20</sup> His *Uspomene iz Hrvatske* represents a combination of memoirs (in the first part of the book, he briefly describes his family history through several generations) and autobiography. The author begins the reconstruction of his own life with his earliest recollections, and the book covers the first twenty years of the author's life until his departure from Croatia to pursue his studies abroad. His narration is strongly marked by (self) irony, and the text can be read as a personal history of emotions.

Imbro Tkalac was born into a well-off family of lower nobility in Karlovac. Both of his grandfathers were illiterate, made a fortune in trade and provided quality education to their children. Tkalac received his first teaching from a governess. She taught him Italian and French based on popular songs, opera arias and everyday conversation. The teaching was not systematic and did not include grammar, reading and writing. The boy had an extraordinary memory and learnt with ease, and by the age of five he already spoke Italian and French fluently.<sup>21</sup> As a very young child, he showed great interest in reading and writing. The way he began to acquire these skills is quite interesting. Since his parents considered him too young to read and write, he found an aid by means of which he "discovered the great mystery of the art of writing" – a book with copperplate engravings of different saints with their names written in capital letters beneath. His mother or governess would tell him the name of the saints, and he memorised the figures linked to individual names. Then, he copied their names with chalk on the room's wooden floor. Seeing the boy's interest in writing, his father initially engaged a non-commissioned officer. He was soon replaced by a private tutor who taught the boy reading, writing and arithmetic. In view of such beginnings in acquiring the art of writing, Tkalac never learnt to hold a pen properly, but instead held it like a piece of chalk his entire life.<sup>22</sup>

Imbro Tkalac was very enthusiastic about the library of Count Đuro Drašković. Count Drašković was commanding officer of his elder brother who

<sup>20</sup> The book was originally published in German in Leipzig in 1894 (reprinted in German in 1996). It appeared in French under the title "Souvenirs de Jeunesse d'un Croate" in *Revue Britannique* (1897). Its Croatian translation was published in 1924 in the daily newspaper *Obzor*, and in the following year an incomplete translation was published in Belgrade. In its integral form, the book was published under the title *Uspomene iz Hrvatske (1749-1823. 1824-1843.)* in Zagreb in 1945 and entitled *Mladenačke uspomene iz Hrvatske (1749.-1823. 1824.-1843.)* in Karlovac in 2002. The quotes used in this paper stem from the 1945 edition *Uspomene iz Hrvatske*.

<sup>21</sup> Imbro Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Hrvatske(1749-1823. 1824-1843.)* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1945), 61-62.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, 63-66, the quotation is on p. 63.

was in military service. Since practically all the books in the library were in German, Imbro Tkalac decided to learn the language in his early childhood to be able to read books from the Count's library. Unable to find a suitably qualified teacher, his father hired some German officer. His engagement lasted several months because the officer was transferred to another post. Subsequently, a gardener whom Tkalac's father engaged to mind the landscaping on the estate took over the teaching. The new teacher-gardener found that the boy's German sounded as if some Hottentot had taught him. The gardener was educated and significantly improved Tkalac's linguistic competence in German. However, after a year due to illness he returned to his homeland and the boy's parents did not manage to find anyone to replace him. The boy perfected his knowledge by reading books from the Count's library. The language instruction he received as well as his efforts to perfect his linguistic competences at his own initiative through the intense reading of prose and poetic works of German authors in the original language bore fruit and Count Drašković estimated that the boy spoke German as well "as the actors in the Burgtheater."<sup>23</sup>

Several years later, the newly opened bookshop Hirschfeld in Zagreb, well supplied with titles in Croatian, German and Italian, made an equally strong impression on Tkalac. From his very first visit to the bookshop, Tkalac became a regular customer buying foreign books and magazines. Among them were often books from the Austrian black list of prohibited books, which booksellers smuggled into the Habsburg Monarchy using a widespread network of foreign collaborators from the publishing milieu. His fascination with books remained Tkalac's permanent trait and wherever he went, he spent a lot of time in the bookshops, looking for and purchasing the best books.<sup>24</sup>

A retrospective perspective as well as a long time distance enabled Tkalac to see the other aspect of a problem too. Tkalac's father felt that the boy was too young for regular school attendance before the age of ten. But the main reason for that, in his opinion, was that the family would have to move from their estate to the town of Karlovac. The parents saw to it that the boy received an education suitable to his family's social status in his own home, and consequently he studied drawing, painting and music. It may be that the choice of subjects he studied was influenced by the fact that he had two younger sisters, who, as members of the upper middle class were supposed to be educated in these subjects.<sup>25</sup> He and his sisters were taught by private tutors who would come to the house several times a week. His art teacher (like several of the boy's previous teachers was also a non-commissioned Italian officer who spoke to his pupil in Italian) gave the gifted boy lessons in various painting techniques, encouraged

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, 86-90, the quotation is on p. 90.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, 152-158.

<sup>25</sup> Some other men in 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatia such as Ban Josip Jelačić (1801-1859) sang and played the piano well, but he probably acquired these skills during his education at Theresianum in Vienna. Andrija Torkvat Brlić also received music education.



his inclination towards visual arts and talent for judging works of art. After his teacher was transferred to Hungary, Tkalac dedicated more time to his music education. Although he had loved music from his early childhood, he did not want to play the piano because of the sounds produced on this instrument by his, obviously less talented, sisters. However, in order to make his wish come true and learn to sing (in the opinion of his contemporaries, he had a very pleasant and very powerful voice), he had to know the basics of piano playing. He was taught by a French emigrant who had a quality music education. After just several months of music instructions, “the small Tkalac” (as his fellow citizens used to call him because of his height and youth) sang opera arias with his teacher’s wife, a former opera singer, and composed music for Johann Wolfgang Goethe’s and Heinrich Heine’s poems.<sup>26</sup> Later, he even gave public performances.<sup>27</sup>

By the age of eleven, when he started attending regular school, Tkalac was, in his own words, “mentally left to himself without any kind of guidance.” By that time, he had read many books in German, Italian and French – novels, poetry, history and geography books, travel books, natural science books – but he knew nothing about contemporary history and inventions in technology. Despite his great knowledge, the head-master of the elementary school in Karlovac did not allow the boy to start the second class, due to his very bad handwriting. His teachers, Franciscans, were poorly educated, having received no education for teachers whatsoever and Tkalac critically concluded that he did not learn anything in elementary school but how to have a neat handwriting.<sup>28</sup>

The situation was no different in grammar school (gymnasium) either. During the holidays, he read all school books for gymnasium that the parents had purchased for his elder brother. He asked permission to take examinations for the first two classes of gymnasium and requested direct enrolment in the third class of gymnasium, but they did not allow him because it was against school statutes. For this reason, he felt that “he lost six precious years of his life.”<sup>29</sup> Since he did not need much time for his school work and studying, he daily painted and played the piano for two to three hours, took occasional walks, and read the rest of time. In order to reach “a harmonious development of spirit and soul” and gaining little motivation for this in gymnasium, he strove to achieve this through independent studying and reading. In gymnasium, he studied Latin, Greek and Hungarian, and studied Czech, Polish and Russian on his own. He read all the masterpieces of world literature, mainly in their original languages, some of them several times, he read Greek and Roman

<sup>26</sup> Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Hrvatske*, 90, 174-184. After his father’s sudden death in Karlovac, when Tkalac was at the same time playing the piano and singing with his friends in Zagreb, he destroyed all his compositions and did not play the piano for thirty years.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, 182, 302-303.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, 137-141, 145-148.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, 158-159, the quotation is on p. 159.

classics, major works in history, archaeology, geography, philology, philosophy, politics, biblical history and art history.<sup>30</sup> He almost literally memorised what he read and was very critical of his own knowledge: “After all this reading, my head was filled with diverse knowledge, but without any constant direction or mutual connection. I could not use this knowledge at school.”<sup>31</sup> His vast knowledge surpassed that of his teachers. However, Tkalac self-critically assessed that this had very detrimental consequences for the development of his personality: he became conceited, (excessively) self-confident, at times impertinent, rebelled against the authority of teachers and every other authority. He stated: “school... did not develop my mental and moral features in any respect. Without school, I would be left without many of my moral faults that I had my entire life. Later, I could never get rid of the evil sides of self-education.”<sup>32</sup>

The autobiography of distinguished writer and politician Ksaver Šandor Gjalski (1854-1935) entitled *Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka* [A Handful of Autobiographical Notes] is much shorter than the previously analysed one. It was written at the publisher's request and published as an afterword in Gjalski's book *Ljubav lajtnanta Milića i druge pripovijesti* [The Love of Lieutenant Milić and Other Stories] (1923).<sup>33</sup> Gjalski, his real name being Ljubomil Tito Josip Franjo Babić, was born into a well-to-do and reputable aristocratic family on the family's estate in Gređice, Croatian Zagorje. He received quality education appropriate to his social status. His father was an attorney-at-law and elementary administrative personnel also worked in his castle. One of them started to teach the young boy to read and write for fun, therefore Gjalski mastered these skills already by the age of five. As a result, his father decided that it was time that his son receive systematic education. The boy was first taught by a tutor who would daily come to the castle, but soon a permanent private tutor was engaged. When the boy was seven, the family moved from the estate to Varaždin due to his father's work, and since that time the boy attended elementary school but simultaneously also took private lessons from his private tutor.<sup>34</sup> It seems that the tutor had the duties and authorities comparable to those of a governess in the education of girls of the middle and upper social classes,<sup>35</sup> because, in the author's words: “Matković (tutor) was always there and had the last word in everything, indeed we could not go for a walk or play some game without him.” Therefore, in reading between the lines, one could get the impression that the boy was somewhat relieved when, soon after he

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, 166-170, 184-192, the quotation is on p. 184.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, 158.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, 160-161, the quotation is on p. 161.

<sup>33</sup> Ksaver Šandor Gjalski, “Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka,” in: Vinko Brešić, ed., *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca* (Zagreb: AGM, 1997), 217-251.

<sup>34</sup> Gjalski, “Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka,” 219-220.

<sup>35</sup> Kathryn Huges, *The Victorian Governess*, London and New York: Hambledon and London, 1993), 21, 70-73.

began attending elementary school, the house tutor was replaced by an elder student from gymnasium who gave him lessons in almost all school subjects, excluding biology and religion. Obviously, he needed private lessons because in his childhood, and later as well, Gjalski demonstrated far more interest in reading “other, non-academic books” than in learning school material, which reflected on his marks. The author self-critically noted that he would not succeed in school had he not taken private lessons, where he learnt enough to get good marks.<sup>36</sup>

His great interest in reading encouraged him to write in his early youth. Although he did not explicitly mention it in his autobiography, he studied foreign languages – in addition to Latin and Greek, he studied French and German, and later Russian too, because these were the languages in which he read books. He read novels by French and German classics, later he read Turgenev’s works, books on philosophy and natural science, and he was especially interested in Charles Darwin’s theory. He also read books on astronomy and was most interested in books on the history of Slavic peoples and world history. His interest in reading did not wane during the course of his studies in Vienna (he studied law), and he spent countless hours in the court and university libraries in Vienna.<sup>37</sup>

Like Tkalac, Gjalski too was critical about his school teachers. He criticised their relatively poor education, their uninteresting way of lecturing and their insistence on mechanical repetition of school material. He was most impressed by those few teachers who lectured in an interesting way and managed to arouse students’ interests, and those who readily answered their questions.<sup>38</sup> From his autobiography it can be concluded that formal education did not make a strong impression on him and he considered self-education to be much more important for his intellectual formation.

The diary and family correspondence of Andrija Torkvat Brlić (1826-1868) are the sources of information on the education of this politician, publicist, historian and lawyer.<sup>39</sup> A. T. Brlić was born into a middle-class family in Brod

<sup>36</sup> Gjalski, “Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka”, 222-223, the quotation is on p. 222.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, 223, 225-231.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, 223-225, 230-231.

<sup>39</sup> Part of this rich correspondence was published: Ignjat Alojzije Brlić, *Pisma sinu Andriji Torkvatu 1836-1855*, book I (Zagreb: Hrvatski izdavački bibliografski zavod, 1942), book II, (Zagreb: Hrvatski izdavački bibliografski zavod, 1943); Mato Artuković, Vlasta Švoger and Mica Orban Kljajić, ed., *Korespondencija Andrije Torkvata i Ignjata Brlića, Knjiga prva: pisma 1846.-1856.* (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2015). Part of Brlić’s diary, especially from the revolutionary years 1848 and 1849, was also published. Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić, *Ulomci dnevnika Andrije Torquata Brlića. Prvi ulomak: A. T. Brlić u slovačkom ustanku i Banovu taboru. (Dnevnik od 17. rujna do 1. prosinca 1848.)*, *Iz Arhiva obitelji Brlić u Brodu na Savi*, book II. (Zagreb, 1935, reprinted from the *Obzor* magazine); Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić, *Ulomci dnevnika Andrije Torquata Brlića. Drugi ulomak: A. T. Brlić kao Banov emisar u Parizu (Dnevnik od 1. prosinca 1848. do 5. svibnja 1849.)*, *Iz Arhiva*

na Savi (today Slavonski Brod). His father was a prominent Croatian linguist and merchant Ignjat Alojzije Brlić, who very carefully directed and oversaw the education of his eldest son. In a house filled with books, it was not difficult to spark the boy's interest in books and learning, all the more so since he was very intelligent and motivated. His education was a combination of public school attendance, private lessons and self-education. After the young Brlić completed elementary school (*Hauptschule*) in his native town, he did not attend school for one year, but took private lessons in music. However, this did not satisfy the boy's intellectual needs. Therefore, he also took private lessons in the school subjects taught at gymnasium from an educated Franciscan. For this reason, his father requested permission from the head-master of the gymnasium in Vinkovci for A. T. Brlić to take exams for the first classes of gymnasium after his private lessons.<sup>40</sup> Permission was granted and young Andrija continued his education at the Vinkovci gymnasium. He corresponded with his father in German, Latin and Croatian, and his father strictly corrected the son's errors in language and style. Andrija was a very hard-working and ambitious pupil therefore his father supported his wish to study, in addition to the subjects in gymnasium, music, drawing and other subjects of interest, if he had time, especially because he had excellent marks.<sup>41</sup> In Zagreb, where he attended higher gymnasium, the young man was originally accommodated in the Diocesan Seminary (he intended to study theology), but he was not satisfied with studying conditions (four or five young men were accommodated in one room), therefore he found accommodation at the Convict for Noblemen.<sup>42</sup> The son demonstrated his spite towards his father's authority, at least that is the father's interpretation, when he declined to study Hungarian in Zagreb, justifying this with his fervent patriotism.<sup>43</sup> His father did not call into question his patriotism as an argument, but he had a pragmatic approach to the problem and emphasised on several occasions the benefit that his son would have in his future professional career from his proficiency in Hungarian. Finally, due to his son's persistent rejection, he had to invoke his fatherly authority and

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*obitelji Brlić u Brodu na Savi*, book III. (Zagreb, 1935, reprinted from the *Obzor* magazine); David Bogdanović, "Iz burne prošlosti Hrvatske. (Godine 1848. i 1849.) Izvadci iz zapisaka Andrije Torkvata Brlića", *Obzor* (Zagreb), no. 80, 22. March 1914, 3-4; no. 87, 29. March 1914, 3, 4; B-ć. [David Bogdanović], "Ban Jelačić u Osijeku 1849.", *Obzor* (Zagreb), no. 36, 14. February 1905, 1; Dr. B. [Franjo Bučar], "Iz spomenara A. T. B. 1847-1855", *Obzor* (Zagreb), no. 253, 31. October 1936, 1.

<sup>40</sup> Brlić, *Pisma sinu*, book I, 19-21.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 21-24. Andrija's school certificates are kept in the Brlić Family Archives in Slavonski Brod, box 34.

<sup>42</sup> Brlić, *Pisma sinu*, book I, 36-38. His father accused him in the letter of being stubborn, wanton, feeble-minded and irresponsible towards his parents.

<sup>43</sup> At that time, Hungarian-Croatian bilateral relations were very strained due to (a failed) attempt of Hungarians to impose Croats the Hungarian language instead of Latin, which up to that time had been Croatia's official language.

order his son to study Hungarian.<sup>44</sup> It seems that the vast knowledge, which he largely acquired through self-education, inspired in young Brlić, like in Tkalac and Gjalski, a boost of (excessive) self-confidence, which became evident in his critical attitude towards his teachers. Therefore, his father cautioned him to refrain from publicly expressing such views, because they could maliciously be conveyed to the teacher.<sup>45</sup> Brlić's strong self-confidence was clearly visible several years later, in 1848, when as a 22-year old he was Ban Josip Jelačić's envoy to Paris, where he had talks with the leading persons of French politics and the Church.<sup>46</sup>

After completing higher gymnasium with excellent results, A. T. Brlić was, as a very gifted promising young man, sent to Vienna in 1843 to study theology at the expense of the Diocese of Zagreb. Information about his education can be obtained from his diary, which was written in a very terse, almost telegraphically brief style. In Vienna, in addition to attending lectures and studying, he spent considerable time walking and talking with fellow students (on various current political affairs, national identity, religious issues and books they had read), visiting theatres and museums, reading domestic and foreign press (in Croatian, German and Czech), and he intensely pursued his self-education.<sup>47</sup> During the first months of his theology studies, he studied ecclesial and general history, archaeology, logic, philosophy and psychology. He studied Czech grammar on his own, as well as Arabic and Sanskrit (it is not clear from the diary whether he studied these languages on his own or with help). He read scientific literature and literary works in the German, Latin and Slavic languages, and he even read a work by the infamous Eugen Sue.<sup>48</sup> During his stay in Vienna, he studied English and Polish on his own. He completed his theology studies successfully in 1847, but was too young to be immediately ordained a priest. Therefore, he prepared his doctor's thesis in theology at Augustineum, the highest institution for the education of priests in the Habsburg Monarchy. He passed several examinations (rigorosa) but did not obtain his doctor's degree, because under the impression of the revolutionary turmoil of 1848 he temporarily left Augustineum. In the meantime, he gave up his theology studies and completed law in Vienna in the 1850s. In Brlić's later

<sup>44</sup> Brlić, *Pisma sinu*, book I, pp. 42-46.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Rudolf Maixner, *Andrija Torkvat Brlić emisar bana Jelačića u Francuskoj, Iz Arhiva obitelji Brlić*, book IV. (Zagreb: 1939); Vlasta Švoger, "Mađari i mađarska politika u političkom djelovanju Andrije Torkvata Brlića," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 46 (2014), no. 2: 363-382.

<sup>47</sup> The National and University Library, Zagreb, Manuscript and Old Books Collection, Diary of Andrija Torkvat Brlić, R 4023, diary entries from 21 and 24 January 1848, 3, 4 and 6 February 1848.

<sup>48</sup> The National and University Library, Diary of A. T. Brlić, entries from the first months of 1844. In his diary, Brlić wrote just the titles of books, often incomplete, and as a rule did not express his personal opinion. However, he briefly wrote that he had discussed some of them with his fellow students.

public activity in politics (as a deputy in the Croatian Parliament in 1861 and publicist), literature (he wrote poems) and science (he wrote several historiographic treaties and published two books of documents), his extensive knowledge, which he, for a large part, acquired through permanent self-education, became apparent.<sup>49</sup>

Unlike the previously mentioned Croatian intellectuals, Mijat Stojanović (1818-1881), one of the most prominent Croatian educators and popular writers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, did not receive his first teachings in his parental home. The reason for this should be sought in his origin. He was born into a peasant family in Babina Greda, which was then part of the Slavonian Military Frontier, and his parents were illiterate. The autobiography of Mijat Stojanović *Sgode i nesgode moga života*<sup>50</sup> [The Adventures and Misadventures of My Life] is in some parts a combination of memoir and diary entries. In it, the author, like Tkalac in his autobiography, begins with the history of his family and brings an abundance of interesting facts about the social, political and everyday life in Croatia. With an interesting, at times self-ironic style, the author reconstructs his own life, placing emphasis on his own intellectual and emotional development and his professional life.

He describes his first school experience with a very picturesque vocabulary and emotional tone. He initiated the beginning of his own education at the age of ten. Seeing other boys going to school, he persuaded his father to enrol him as well. He attended a German village school. However, because of his fear from his strict teacher, who punished every incorrect answer with a beating, Stojanović was unable to present the little knowledge that he had. For this reason, he used to sit in the so-called *Eselbank* [donkey bench] as the worst pupil. It is interesting that in his autobiography he did not blame his teacher, who taught “according to the then inappropriate, awkward and poor manner of teaching,” but attributed his failure at school to his insufficiently developed emotional and cognitive skills. Only after some time did he manage to liberate himself from this mental block and learn better. After one year, his first teacher passed away. He was succeeded by a teacher who managed to free the boy from excessive fear from the teacher’s authority and encourage him to learn more and to demonstrate his knowledge without fear, and soon the little Stojanović became one of the best pupils in class. After the end of the second class of the trivial German village school, the teacher proposed Stojanović as a pupil with excellent marks for another type of primary school with more comprehensive programme (*Hauptschule*) in Vinkovci. However, his father decided that the boy would not continue his education because he was needed as a hand in

<sup>49</sup> Vlasta Švoger, *Ideali, strast i politika. Život i djelo Andrije Torkvata Brlića* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2012).

<sup>50</sup> Mijat Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, ed. by Dinko Župan, Stanko Andrić and Damir Matanović, (Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje and Hrvatski školski muzej, 2015).

farming. The boy's pleadings bore fruit after a while and his father sent him to the registry of a company to prepare for military service. Soon, an order issued by military authorities that all children of both sexes eligible for school had to attend school changed Mijat Stojanović's life. Due to the significant increase in the number of pupils in his village school, Stojanović soon became assistant to the teacher that had previously taught him.<sup>51</sup>

It was then that the painstaking process of self-education and professional development began that would last his entire life. He was very critical of his own knowledge. At the beginning of his career, "I gladly acted as teacher and taught children, but I myself did not know much, except some reading, writing and arithmetic."<sup>52</sup> Aware of his own modest knowledge, he made enormous efforts to educate himself. Therefore, during the day he worked at school, and at night he studied and prepared for classes. In his own words, he stated: "Not a single day passed that I did not read, write and study. I studied science, geography, general history as well as our and German grammar. Often, I would sit over a book or a map until late. It is difficult to be one's own teacher." He gradually advanced from assistant teacher to senior teacher and prepared himself for the prescribed exams that he successfully passed. He reached the peak of his professional career in 1871 when he was appointed District School Inspector (he retired in 1877).<sup>53</sup> In parallel with his professional development, he read domestic and foreign literary works and technical literature, wrote articles for newspapers and magazines, wrote school textbooks for a variety of school subjects, mostly based on Austrian and German textbooks, collected popular proverbs, songs and other material for his books that were intended for broadest social classes. He was very active in the fight for improving the vocational education and position of teachers in Croatia and was one of the founders of the Croatian Literary-Educational Association (1871), the most important professional association of Croatian teachers that is still operating today.<sup>54</sup> He was truly a self-made man.

The autobiography of the famous Croatian writer Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić (1874-1938) differs considerably from the autobiographies of her male colleagues Tkalac, Gjalski and Stojanović. Her *Autobiografija* [Autobiography]<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, 49-51.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 51.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, 54-65, 79-118, quotation from p. 65. Stojanović's professional path was briefly presented by D. Župan, "Stojanovićeve 'Zgode i nezgode'" in: M. Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, XVIII-XXII.

<sup>54</sup> Cf Dinko Župan, "Bibliografija radova Mijata Stojanovića", in: M. Stojanović, *Sgode i nesgode moga života*, 285-299. The list of newspapers and magazines, in which Stojanović published his many articles, treatises, travel books, poems and short stories from 1845 to 1881 was published by Vinko Brešić, *Čitanje časopisa. Uvod u studij hrvatske književne periodike 19. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2005), 46-47.

<sup>55</sup> Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić, "Autobiografija", in: Vinko Brešić, ed., *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca* (Zagreb: AGM, 1997), 521-528.

is far less extensive than the previously mentioned ones and written in a terse style. Its structure follows questions of the editorial board of the biographical lexicon that the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (today Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts) planned to publish. The autobiography contains the most basic information about the author's life, and describes in some detail events and persons who exerted most influence on her. This is actually an autobiographic survey and is not a result of a reconstruction of the author's life based on the self-selection of her own recollections, which is a typical trait of autobiographical texts.

Ivana Mažuranić was born into a family of most prominent Croatian intellectuals in Ogulin. Her father was a high justice official, and her grand-father Ivan Mažuranić was a Croatian ban. As a member of the comparatively well-off middle class she received corresponding education, appropriate to her social status.<sup>56</sup> Since the family often relocated due to her father's employment, Ivana Mažuranić completed just two classes in public schools, one class in elementary school and one class in a higher school for girls, getting the rest of her education through private lessons at her home, predominantly in French.<sup>57</sup> Subsequently, she began to study German, then Russian and English. In her parents' and grandfather's house she found many books in these languages, which she read and in this way expanded her knowledge. She was quite self-critical and rated her education – formal and private – as “truly incoherent”.<sup>58</sup> This self-criticism was exaggerated, because it is evident from her literary works and diary entries that she had a rather extensive education.<sup>59</sup> In retrospect to a period of several decades and with an equally self-critical attitude, she assessed the negative as well as the positive consequences of her free choice of books for her intellectual development: “I was free to choose books. I was not bound by

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<sup>56</sup> The education of women from the middle and upper social classes in 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatia, as well as in other European countries, was directed towards their preparation for the marriage market and for realisation of their natural role as wives, mothers and house-wives. Dinko Župan, *Mentalni korzet. Spolna politika obrazovanja žena u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (1868-1918)* (Osijek - Slavonski Brod: Učiteljski fakultet u Osijeku and Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2013).

<sup>57</sup> Brlić-Mažuranić, “Autobiografija”, 521. She wrote her first poems in French and Croatian. Cf Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić, *Moji zapisci. Dnevnički, memoari, molitve, putni i drugi zapisi* (Slavonski Brod: Ogranak Matice hrvatske Slavonski Brod, 2016), 11-22; Brlić-Mažuranić, “Autobiografija”, 522. It seems that studying French in 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatia was very popular among members of the middle and upper social classes of both sexes. In addition to the Croatian intellectuals mentioned Tkalac, Gjalski and Brlić, French was also studied by Tkalac's and Gjalski's sisters, and the first Croatian female composer Dora Pejačević. All these girls received their education mainly through private lessons from their governesses and private tutors. Cf Gjalski, “Rukovet autobiografskih zapisaka”, 228; Tkalac, *Uspomene iz Hrvatske*; Dinko Župan, “Books I have read – Dora Pejačević kao čitateljica,” *Scrinia Slavonica* 12 (2012), 120-121.

<sup>58</sup> Brlić-Mažuranić, “Autobiografija”, 521.

<sup>59</sup> Brlić-Mažuranić, *Moji zapisci*. Cf also Mato Artuković, “Dnevnički i memoarski zapisi Ivane Brlić-Mažuranić,” in: Brlić-Mažuranić, *Moji zapisci*, 441-475.



the education system, and my parents did not prescribe which books to read. Thus, many gaps arose in my reading that needed to be filled later but, at the same time, because of this, a certain freedom of judgement was preserved that I sometimes consider very precious.”<sup>60</sup> She spent her childhood and early youth in a way customary for female members of the middle and upper social class: she studied, read, embroidered, made visits, took walks, attended concerts and the theatre, and occasionally went to balls with her mother or in the company of her governess.<sup>61</sup> In her childhood, she liked physical activity, and early on demonstrated an inclination for writing. But equally early she concluded “that writing is incompatible with female duties.”<sup>62</sup> It is obvious, and she explicitly confirmed,<sup>63</sup> that Ivana shared the view, widespread in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that the ideal woman from the middle class is a wife and mother primarily responsible for her children’s upbringing.<sup>64</sup> Only when her children from her marriage to a reputable politician and lawyer Dr. Vatroslav Brlić (son of A. T. Brlić, whom she married on her eighteenth birthday) showed an interest in reading, Ivana felt that her desire for writing can be reconciled with her motherly duty to provide guidance to her children in this field and she began writing stories and poems, which she initially self-published for a circle of family and friends, and was only later encouraged to make them accessible to a broader readership.<sup>65</sup> In other words, it was only after fulfilling the duty of wife and mother that she was ready to venture beyond the stereotype of the time of middle-class woman and become a writer.<sup>66</sup>

From the diary of Dragojla (her real name being Karolina) Jarnević (1812-1875), writer and teacher, we can reconstruct a far less comfortable life path. She kept a diary from early 1833 to late 1874.<sup>67</sup> As she was growing up, she was more attached to the German language and culture, which was the language of education and daily civilised communication. For this reason she kept her diary in German until 1841, and then in Croatian (she translated the German parts in

<sup>60</sup> Brlić-Mažuranić, *Moji zapisci*, 522.

<sup>61</sup> Brlić-Mažuranić, *Moji zapisci*.

<sup>62</sup> Brlić-Mažuranić, “Autobiografija”, 524.

<sup>63</sup> “Nevertheless, the first ten years of my marriage were so occupied with family and motherly concerns and duties, both social and public, which I had to share with my husband, that during that time I abandoned all my literary dreams...”. *Ibidem*, pp. 525-526.

<sup>64</sup> Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, 55.

<sup>65</sup> Brlić-Mažuranić, “Autobiografija”, 527-528.

<sup>66</sup> While women writers were extremely rare in 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatia (for example Dragojla Jarnević, Marija Fabković, Jagoda Truhelka), the profession of a writer was among the rare professions that did not harm the social status of a single middle-class woman in Victorian England. Huges, *The Victorian Governess*, 34-36.

<sup>67</sup> The diary was published in its integral version for the first time in 2000. Dragojla Jarnević, *Dnevnik*, ed. Irena Lukšić, (Karlovac: Matica hrvatska, 2000).

Croatian from 1872 to 1873).<sup>68</sup> In the Foreword to her diary, she quoted “un-masked truth”<sup>69</sup> to be her motto and adhered to it. Many authors who analysed her diary stated that there is really no self-censorship in it.<sup>70</sup>

She completed elementary school in Karlovac, where she was born. She was very hard-working and curious (“hungry for every knowledge”) and mastered school material with ease. As a diligent pupil, she enjoyed the affection of her teacher but was also the object of malice and jealousy from other pupils. She completed her formal education at the age of 13.<sup>71</sup> She regretfully found that her eldest sister received the best education – instruction in all sorts of female needlework, cooking with a French cook and piano playing. Her parents considered this an investment – they expected her to pass on her knowledge and skills to her younger sisters. For this reason, her mother sent Dragojla to her married sister’s in order to teach her, but her sister did not teach Dragojla but instead used her as a free nanny.<sup>72</sup> Dragojla suffered from incontinence up to the age of 40. Her siblings mocked her because of this, therefore she found consolation in books. She read novels, stories, travel books, books for midwives and others. Therefore “chaos arose in my soul.” Through her own efforts, she learnt embroidery, sewing and excellent cooking, she became skilled in card games, played the zither and sang. She fervently wished to become educated, she would read on Sundays and stayed awake many a night reading: “I had to acquire knowledge, which at the time could not be acquired in classrooms by anyone. I became self-taught at the cost of my physical strength.” Nevertheless, despite huge efforts and invested time, she was aware that her self-education was unsystematic.<sup>73</sup> Due to her problems with incontinence, she did not want to marry, because she would not reconcile herself with her female destiny appropriate to her social status – to become wife to some merchant or craftsman, and she did not meet the ideal husband she desired – an intelligent, educated and civilised man.<sup>74</sup> In her wish to be independent of her male

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<sup>68</sup> She bequeathed her sealed diary to a teachers’ association provided that it be kept sealed not less than ten years after her death. She intended the proceeds from the possible publication of her diary for the support of teachers’ widows and orphans. Irena Lukšić, “Dnevnik Dragojle Jarnević: knjiga obilja i očaja,” in: Dragojla Jarnević, *Dnevnik*, ed. Irena Lukšić, (Karlovac: Matica hrvatska Karlovac, 2002), 774. I used this book edition in this paper.

<sup>69</sup> Jarnević, *Dnevnik*, 7.

<sup>70</sup> Ludwig Bauer, Lidija Dujić, “Tagebuch der Caroline Jarnević. Dvostruko čitanje – žensko čitanje teksta, muško čitanje konteksta,” *Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice – VDG Jahrbuch 2007* (2007), 111.

<sup>71</sup> Jarnević, *Dnevnik*, 9-10, the quotation is on p. 9.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibidem*, 10.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibidem*, 10-13, the quotation is on p. 11.

<sup>74</sup> In the words of Dragojla Jarnević: “I feel that my scope is limited and that needle-work and cooking do not satisfy me. True, if I were a wife, mother and housewife, this profession of mine would satisfy me, and all my happiness would consist of a quiet family life; but since it is not given to me to meet a man who would meet the requirements of my heart and soul, I prefer to

relatives, she decided to become a nanny. Since she was skilled in all female jobs, spoke Italian and German, played the zither and sang, she went to Graz to learn the trade of a milliner. Subsequently, she worked as a governess in wealthy families in Graz, Trieste and Venice. Later, she worked as a teacher in a higher school for girls in Karlovac, then as a private tutor in Pribić, near Karlovac. She became active in Croatian literature in the 1840s, at the time of the Croatian National Revival (Illyrian Movement). She wrote poems, stories, novels and dramas (which were never staged). In her teaching profession and literary production, she discovered an alternative form for realising her female identity, constantly developing herself spiritually and intellectually. She accomplished her female mission.<sup>75</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

All Croatian intellectuals whose autobiographies and diary entries have been analysed in this paper (except Ivana Brlić-Mažuranić who did not write on this topic) were critical of 19<sup>th</sup> century Croatian schools. Although all of them also acquired some formal education at public schools, self-education was undoubtedly more important for their intellectual and spiritual formation, and they all were aware of that. In retrospect, they critically assessed their extensive knowledge acquired through self-education as unsystematic. As a direct consequence of this knowledge, the men (except Stojanović, probably because of his modest social origin) emphasised the development of excessive self-confidence and re-examination, disrespect for authority. Both the men and women emphasised that their self-initiated engagement on the expansion of their own knowledge encouraged the development of free spirit and critical attitude towards what they read. This realisation, in the case of the two female writers, made them aware of the stereotype linked to their social status, while on the other hand it enabled them to venture beyond this framework, realise their own creativity and develop their personal, more complex identity. Unlike them, their male colleagues did not use acquired knowledge to re-examine their own male identity, but considered it self-explanatory and desirable, in line with the then gender division of social roles. In any case, the knowledge acquired through self-education helped all of them to realise their own creativity, wishes and plans, especially professionally.

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wander around the world single rather than groan in slave-like fetters of married life, in which I were not placed by love and good will but rather by force." *Ibidem*, 114.

<sup>75</sup> Many women who pursued some profession in the 19<sup>th</sup> century felt a strong, almost religious feeling of a special vocation, fulfilment of a mission. Jane Martin, Joyce Goodman, *Women and Education, 1800-1980* (Basingstoke – New York; Palgrave and Macmillan, 2013), 17.

## Zusammenfassung

### Zur Rolle der informellen Bildung in Kroatien im 19. Jahrhundert

Die informellen Formen der Bildung waren in Kroatien im 19. Jahrhundert sehr wichtig wegen der unzureichenden Qualität des formalen Bildungssystems, das durch viele Mängel charakterisiert wurde. Diese Mängel waren: ein schlecht entwickeltes Netz von Schulen; eine kleine Zahl von Schulen, was besonders die Mädchenschulen betrifft; schlecht ausgebildete und bezahlte Lehrer; zu große Klassen; unregelmäßiger Schulbesuch; vor der Gründung der Universität Zagreb im Jahre 1874 war eine höhere Ausbildung in Kroatien nicht möglich, außer in Rechtswissenschaften und Theologie; und andere Probleme. Die Rolle der informellen Bildung in Kroatien im 19. Jahrhundert wird anhand Erfahrungen einiger herausragenden kroatischen Intellektuellen illustriert. Aufgrund autobiographischer Quellen – Autobiographien und Tagebücher – wird gezeigt, welche Rolle die Selbstausbildung, Unterricht mit Privatlehrern und Gouvernanten in der Bildung und intellektuellen Formierung des hervorragenden Lehrers und Pädagogen Mijat Stojanović, des Publizisten Imbro Ignjatijević Tkalac, des Politikers und Publizisten Andrija Torkvat Brlić, des Schriftstellers Ksaver Šandor Gjalski und kroatischer Schriftstellerinnen Dragojla Jarnević und Ivana Brlić Mažuranić spielte. In ihren Autobiografien und Tagebüchern schätzten sie positive und negative Aspekte ihrer eigenen formellen und informellen Ausbildung kritisch ein.

**Schlagwörter:** informelle Formen der Bildung; Selbstausbildung; Unterricht mit Privatlehrer und Gouvernanten; Kroatien; 19. Jahrhundert

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