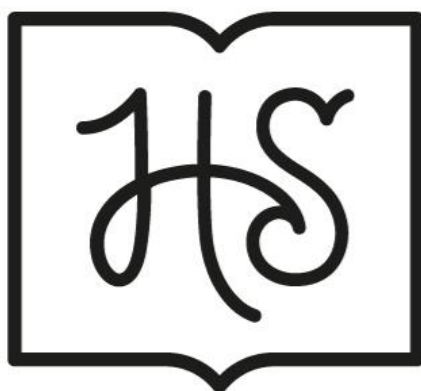


# **HISTORIA SCHOLASTICA**



**1/2019**

**Ročník / Volume 5**

**Praha / Prague 2019**

# Historia scholastica

Č. / No. 1/2019

Roč. / Vol. 5

---

## Redakční rada / Editorial Board

Vedoucí redaktor / Editor-in-chief: doc. PhDr. Tomáš Kasper, Ph.D. (Technická univerzita v Liberci)

Zástupce vedoucího redaktora / Deputy Editor: PhDr. Markéta Pánková (Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského v Praze)

Prof. PhDr. Milena Lenderová, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)

Prof. PhDr. Karel Rýdl, CSc. (Univerzita Pardubice)

Doc. PhDr. Růžena Váňová, CSc. (Filosofická fakulta University Karlovy v Praze)

Doc. Mgr. Jaroslav Šebek, Ph.D. (Univerzita Karlova v Praze a Akademie věd ČR)

Doc. PhDr. Dana Kasperová, Ph.D. (Technická univerzita v Liberci)

Mgr. Magdaléna Šustová (Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského v Praze)

Doc. PhDr. Martin Holý, Ph.D. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)

---

## Mezinárodní redakční rada / International Editorial Board

Prof. PhDr. Jaroslav Pánek, DrSc., dr.h.c. (Historický ústav Akademie věd ČR)

Prof. Dr. Jürgen Oelkers (Emeritus Professor Universität Zürich)

Prof. Dr. András Németh (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Budapest)

Prof. Dr. Simonetta Polenghi, Ph.D. (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore Milano)

Prof. Dr. Andreas Hoffmann-Ocon (Pädagogische Hochschule Zürich)

Prof. Dr. Edvard Protner (Univerza v Mariboru)

Prof. Dr. Eva Matthes (Universität Augsburg)

Prof. Dr. Dr.h.c. Ehrenhard Skiera (Univ. Prof. a.D. Europa-Universität Flensburg)

Prof. PhDr. Blanka Kudláčková, Ph.D. (Trnavská univerzita v Trnavě)

Prof. Dr. Gerald Grimm (Universität Klagenfurt)

Prof. Andreas Fritsch (Deutsche Comenius Gesellschaft)

Dr. Marta Brunelli, Ph.D. (University of Macerata)

---

**Výkonný redaktor / Executive Editor:** Mgr. Lucie Krausová (Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského v Praze)

---

## Vydavatelé / Publishers:

Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského

Valdštejnská 20, 118 00 Praha 1, [www.npmk.cz](http://www.npmk.cz)

IČ 61387169

Technická univerzita v Liberci

Fakulta přírodovědně-humanitní a pedagogická

Studentská 1402/2, 461 17 Liberec 1, [www.tul.cz](http://www.tul.cz)

IČ 46747885

ISSN 2336-680X

**Historia scholastica** journal is published twice a year.

This issue was published on 25<sup>th</sup> August 2019.

---

**Historia scholastica** journal has been included into Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, EBSCO and ERIH Plus.

## Contents

---

<b>EDITORIAL</b>	5
Tomáš KASPER, Andreas HOFFMANN-OCON, Norbert GRUBE, Andrea DE VINCENTI and Markéta PÁNKOVÁ	
<hr/>	
<b>STUDIES:</b>	7
1918 als Epochenschwelle? Analysen zu Reformpädagogik und bürgerlicher Familienerziehung	
Carola GROPPE	
<hr/>	
„Vom Schwarzen aus“...? Vater Hulstaerts indigenistischer Ansatz im Kongo und sein Zusammenhang mit der Reformpädagogik in Belgien	22
Marc DEPAEPE, Honoré VINCK und Frank SIMON	
<hr/>	
Wärmendes Stammesfeuer in emotional kalter Zeit – Theoretische Konzepte, Sehnsuchtsorte, gesellschaftliche Impulse in Lebensreform und Pädagogik	39
Ehrenhard SKIERA	
<hr/>	
Paul Oestreich (1878–1959) – ein untypisch typischer Reformpädagoge der Weimarer Republik	50
Esther BERNER und Julia KURIG	
<hr/>	
Landschulreform und „der Aufstieg unseres Volkes“. Reformpädagogik, Krisendiagnosen und Zukunftsentwürfe abseits vom ‚Roten Wien‘ anhand der Preisschrift des Landschulreformers August Bäunard	66
Wilfried GÖTTLICHER	
<hr/>	
The Reform of the Concept of Education and Society in Montenegro between the Two World Wars	77
Vučina ZORIĆ	
<hr/>	
Primary Education in Macedonia in the Period between the Two World Wars	90
Suzana MIOVSKA-SPASEVA	
<hr/>	
Private Female Schools between the Two World Wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina	105
Snježana ŠUŠNJARA	

---

---

Erziehung und Bildung als Bindeglieder des Sozialen? Zäsuren und Verflechtungen in Debatten über Reorganisationen im Bildungswesen, Militär und in sozialen Bewegungen der Deutschschweiz um 1918 Norbert GRUBE, Andrea DE VINCENTI und Andreas HOFFMANN-OCON	116
<hr/>	
<b>VARIA:</b> Erziehung zur Gemeinschaft in Deutschland (1900 bis 1945) Jürgen OELKERS	131
<hr/>	
<b>BOOK REVIEW:</b> Christoph Aichner – Brigitte Mazohl (Hg.) Die Thun-Hohenstein'schen Universitätsreformen. Konzeption – Umsetzung – Nachwirkungen. Böhlau Verlag, Wien – Köln – Weimar, 2017. 424 pp. János UGRAI	153

---

# The Reform of the Concept of Education and Society in Montenegro between the Two World Wars

Vučina ZORIĆ

---

## ARTICLE INFO

---

### *Article history:*

Received 6 November 2018

Accepted 23 April 2019

Available online 25 August 2019

---

### *Keywords:*

reform pedagogy,  
educational policy,  
Kingdom of Montenegro,  
Kingdom of Yugoslavia

---

V. Zorić

University of  
Montenegro •  
Faculty of Philosophy •  
Danila Bojovića bb  
81400 Nikšić •  
Montenegro •  
vucina@ucg.ac.me

---

## ABSTRACT

---

### *The Reform of the Concept of Education and Society in Montenegro between the Two World Wars*

The main contextual specificity of Montenegro in the interwar period is the entry into the newly created Kingdom of Yugoslavia, where it became a part of a different and wider educational concept. Herbart's educational paradigm was almost completely suppressed by the reforms based on the principles of the "Work-School" which were more adequate for the state and educational policy. In addition, Montenegrin professional audience made an intensive acquaintance with the ideas of Maria Montessori, John Dewey, Leo Tolstoy, as well as Dalton Plan, Decroly Method, Project Method, etc. Also, individuals such as Pavle Čubrovic and Filip Marković made a significant contribution to their objective observation and critical review by denying and considering the opposition of the "old" and the "new" (i.e. the "passive" and "active") school as false and unnecessary. In spite of the increasing affirmation, the reform-pedagogical ideas did not have a significant extensive and consistent application in Montenegro from that time.

---

## Introduction

Following World War I, according to the agreements and decisions of the most influential victorious states, because of the complex international relations and many other factors, the borders of many European countries were changed. In addition, certain new states and concepts of national identity, such as Czechoslovakian, were formed. One such example and an area that had undergone a major transformation at the time was also a large part of the Balkans, where, primarily because of the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian state, the unification of the South Slavs into a common state was made possible. The Kingdom of Montenegro and the Kingdom of Serbia, the only independent South Slavic states at the time, became an integral part of the wider common state, i.e. the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (soon to be renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia).

This paper outlines a research focusing on the main characteristics of the socio-political and overall social context and changes in the national education policy, pedagogical paradigms and reforms in the field of education and schooling in Montenegro as a part of the newly formed state union of the South Slavs between the two world wars. We have presented and

analysed the changes in the field of legislation, education and schooling systems, the tendencies visible in the translations of the works of significant pedagogues and the activities and publications of certain important teachers of the time in Montenegro. This greatly depicts the trends in observation and critical consideration of pedagogical ideas and concepts between the two world wars.

### **Administrative and political context**

By the end of World War I, the Kingdom of Montenegro was an independent and internationally recognized state (as confirmed at the Congress of Berlin in 1878). It was governed by the Montenegrin dynasty Petrović-Njegoš whose last king Nikola I Petrović (1841–1921) ruled between 1860 and 1918. Although the Kingdom of Montenegro made significant efforts and progress at its development before World War I, at the time, it was a poor and underdeveloped state, lagging behind the leading modern European countries. As one of the victorious countries, the end of the war brought Montenegro the expectations of some better times, its general revival, reforms in many areas of the social, cultural, economic and educational life and its other segments.

Following World War I, the accession of Montenegro to Serbia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes came about (*Obrazovanje kraljevine SHS*, 1920, pp. 264–283). From 1920, the country was proclaimed constitutional, parliamentary monarchy occupying the territory inhabited by the South Slavs (Milošević, 2000). The Serbian royal dynasty Karađorđević presided over the state, more precisely, its first ruler was Aleksandar I Karađorđević, the second son of Peter I Karađorđević and Princess Zorka (the daughter of the Montenegrin king Nikola I Petrović). Aleksandar I Karađorđević was born in 1888 in Cetinje, the capital of Montenegro, and was assassinated in Marseilles, France in 1934. After his death, his son Petar II Karađorđević (1923–1970) acceded to the throne and ruled until World War II. The direct blood tie of the Serbian dynasty Karađorđević with Montenegrin rulers was supposed to be an integrating factor for the newly established country.

During the first decade, the common state was burdened with many problems, such as the consequences of war devastation, economic crisis, demographic catastrophes, inter-ethnic tensions, which culminated in clashes and murders at the National Assembly of the Kingdom of SCS in 1929. This is why that the same year King Aleksandar I Karađorđević abolished the old Constitution of 1921 (*Ustav Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, 1921), and passed the *Law on the Royal Government and the Supreme State Administration* (*Zakon o kraljevskoj vlasti i vrhovnoj državnoj upravi*, 1929) and the new *Constitution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia* (*Ustav Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, 1931). He dismissed the assembly, the executive power was transferred onto the king, he prohibited the work of all political parties, trade unions and religious or national associations, and finally he renamed the Kingdom of SCS into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (*Zakon o nazivu i podjeli kraljevine na upravna područja*, 1929). The power rested on unitarianism and centralism, and in accordance with this, a unique

Yugoslav nation was declared in the indivisible state, and its internal territorial organization was changed.

By 1922, the territory of the Kingdom was divided into provinces, one of which was Montenegro. By 1929 the state was divided into 33 administrative regions, where most of the territory of the former Kingdom of Montenegro became the Zeta region, and then until the beginning of World War II it was divided into nine areas called *banovinas*, with the former Zeta region as an expanded territory called the *Zeta banovina*. The regions, and then the *banovinas*, were named by the local rivers, in order to erase all previous nationally coloured names. In addition, the enlargement of the regional administrative areas, i.e. the creation of bigger areas in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was aimed at creating a national and religious variety in order to achieve the successful integration of the previous three (Kingdom of SCS) into one nationality/country, i.e. Yugoslav/Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

### **Reform of pedagogical paradigm**

As was the case in many other areas of the present-day Southeast Europe, in the Kingdom of Montenegro a significant progress had been made in education and schooling since the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until World War I. This particularly involved opening of schools for the education of primary school teachers and preschool teachers, a faster development of the primary school network, the emergence of some pedagogical concepts from Europe and beyond and so on (Zorić, 2013; Zorić, 2015). This was to a certain extent intensified after World War I, but under difficult circumstances, limited opportunities of the Montenegrin region and the new administrative-political context. Montenegro had moved from one monarchy to another, then gained the status of a region, changing its name and its borders within a common state. The South Slavic state, especially in certain regions, had very significant differences in languages, religion, social and economic development, history, administrative structure, political and cultural tradition, national and social contradictions, which made it difficult to achieve the numerous ambitions of centralized authorities that sought to overcome economic and political integration in many fields. One of the dimensions of this integration was the state civil concept and the creation of the Yugoslav nation and identity, which had a direct impact on the design and formulation of the country's education policy, dominant pedagogical paradigm and educational objectives.

Although after World War I the area of Montenegro was receiving an ever increasing amount of information about pedagogical concepts from Europe and beyond, the dominant influences were those of the national education policy. In the meantime, the newly formed state and leadership had tried to reform anything remaining from the old system as inadequate and dated, i.e. to set the new education objectives and the concept of school and schooling for a new society. At the time, there were numerous new pedagogical ideas in Europe, but the appropriate ones were being searched for. However, coming up with the best solutions through pedagogical discussion was not the primary goal, but rather modifying and combining certain contemporary concepts as to create an adequate pedagogical concept that would eventually fit into the project of the new state, its politics and ideology.

The education policies in Montenegro did not develop independently of those in the rest of the common state, and the pedagogical thought was underdeveloped. Until World War I, the dominant Herbartian theory of education was largely suppressed by reforms, primarily by favouring the principles of the “work-school” which suited the state and educational policies which aimed at securing an individual in the national community and strived towards an integral Yugoslav and state-civic education (Zorić, 2017). Until World War I, in the Kingdom of Montenegro, “Herbart’s pedagogy was embraced by the official educational authorities, and the pedagogical theorists close to the court paid great attention to Herbart’s teachings, demanding their application at all levels. Herbart’s upbringing objectives and his formal teaching steps were accepted and the teachers were asked to strictly adhere to them” (Delibašić, 2009, p. 252). However, this was not the case only in Montenegro, but in the majority of the region, as it was for example, in the present-day Slovenia (Protner, 2014). This practice in Montenegro was legalized by a detailed curriculum for primary schools of 1908 (Nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Knjaževini Crnoj Gori, 1908, pp. 3–13). However, although after World War I, the influences of Herbart’s pedagogical ideas were still felt throughout the Kingdom of the SCS, reforming influences began to emerge, mostly of the German “work-school” (Delibašić, 2009, p. 308). In the Kingdom of the SCS “until 1929 the penetration of the *New School* (New Education; Progressive Education – related innovative pedagogical concepts that emerged in Europe and the United States during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as a reaction of a new context to the numerous constraints and formalism of traditional education) continued, which before and after World War I continued to operate in Austria, Germany, France, England, Czechoslovakia, the United States etc. In the teaching practice, the Herbartian didactics was still prevalent. Only a small number of teachers tried to come up with some new ideas, but the disadvantageous financial position and poor didactic equipment in the majority of schools were suppressing these processes” (Potkonjak and Šimleša, 1989a, p. 339). Nevertheless, in spite of numerous difficulties, the dynamics of change was more intense over time and with more results than before. In the Kingdom of the SCS “[...] the work-school became firmly established after World War I. The most popular were Kerschensteiner’s manual direction, Gaudig’s free spiritual work, Lay’s school of action and Blonsky’s productive school. [...] In the conditions of economic underdevelopment of the country, Gaudig’s approach was the most acceptable one, because it did not require a lot of material resources for its realization” (Potkonjak and Šimleša, 1989b, p. 287). In addition to the socio-political context, this was one of the reasons why the extensive introduction of various crafts and the principle of “work-school” in elementary schools was legally regulated since 1929. This is how “the work-school as the main objective of didactic-methodical reconstruction became an official pedagogical orientation in the 1930s, under the strong influence of the educational policy and ideology of the former Yugoslav state” (Batinić and Radeka, 2017, p. 41).

The resistance of conservatives and followers of Herbartian pedagogy were not really helping faster and stronger influence of the reformed pedagogy. Although the state supported the changes in education, it did not allow a high degree of democratization of work in the



classroom, fearing that it could jeopardize its own interests. However, by that time “[...] some school supervisors recommended certain changes which mainly entailed connecting teaching with manual work in order to arouse greater interest and better student performance. So, when the new didactic-methodical ideas were already affirmed in our practice, their expansion was encouraged. In Yugoslavia, the school supervisors frequently introduced teachers to the methods of the *work-school* and evaluated their work from this point of view during their supervisory visits” (Potkonjak and Šimleša, 1989a, pp. 343). Moreover, 14 experimental schools, which applied the methods of the “work-school”, were opened in Belgrade, Zagreb, Novi Sad, Borovo, etc. A number of pedagogic societies organised activities in this kind of educational spirit and these were mainly in form of lectures, courses, publications, as well as translations of the works of Georg Kerschensteiner (Keršenštajner, 1923; Keršenštajner, 1939), Paul Ficker (Fiker, 1939) John Dewey (Djui, 1926; Duji, 1934; Djui, 1935; Djui, 1936a; Djui, 1936b), Adolphe Ferrière (Ferijer, 1932; Ferijer, 1935) etc.

### **Reform of laws and school system**

Until the end of the World War I, Montenegro’s national schools operated in accordance with *the Law on National Schools of the Principality of Montenegro* (Zakonu o narodnim školama Knjaževine Crne Gore, 1907). “After the common state – the Kingdom of SCS (1918), was established, the work unofficially resumed according to the regulations from the time of the independence, since the Principality of Montenegro’s *Law on National Schools* from 1907 (Zakon o narodnim školama, 1907) was almost identical to Serbia’s *Law on National Schools* from 1904 (Zakonom o narodnim školama, 1904), and this law was effective in Montenegro from 1918 to 1929” (Starovlah and Vuksanović, 2005, p. 16). Therefore, there were no significant changes in the school practice following King Aleksandar I Karađorđević’s decision of 30 June 1919 whereby all the laws of the former Kingdom of Serbia begin to apply in the territory of Montenegro (Službene novine Kraljevstva SHS, 1919). It was only on 5<sup>th</sup> December 1929 that the first law for the field of education was passed and was binding for the entire common state. This was *the Law on National Schools* (Zakon o narodnim školama, 1929) according to which national schools, besides primary and high schools, included kindergartens, schools for children with disabilities and institutions serving the general national enlightenment, literacy courses, housekeeping schools and courses etc. Most importantly, at the very beginning this *Law* stated that the schools’ principal tasks is to “by training and educating in the spirit of state and national unity and religious tolerance, prepare the students to be moral, loyal and active members of the state, national union and community” (Ibidem, p. 1), which is practically literally copied from Article 16 of *the Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* of 1921 (Ustav Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1921). In this way, the centralist and Unitarian concept of state got its legal justification and foundation in the field of education and schooling. In the aforementioned spirit, *the Law on Secondary Schools* (Zakon o srednjim školama) was adopted in 1929, as well as the *Law on Teacher Training Schools* (Zakon o učiteljskim školama), *the Law on Textbooks* (Zakon o udžbenicima) and *the Law on Religious Education*

(*Zakon o vjerskoj nastavi*). In 1930, the *Law on National Schools (Zakon o narodnim školama)* was amended and the *Law on Universities (Zakon o univerzitetima)* was passed. In 1931 the *Law on Civic Schools (Zakon o građanskim školama)* and the *Law on the Principal Educational Council (Zakon o Glavnom prosvjetnom savjetu)* were passed, which regulated the work of schools until 1941 (Potkonjak and Šimleša, 1989b, p. 517). Therefore, from 1929 to 1931 all the relevant laws in the field of education and schooling in the common state were brought. This ended a major problem of the prior period – the legal vacuum in the field of education and schooling.

In the interwar period, there was a significant increase in the number of educational institutions in Montenegro. Until World War I there was only one national kindergarten. In 1924 there were three kindergartens, in 1931 six state-owned and one private, and in 1939 there were 13 kindergartens with 800 predominantly clerical children (Backović, 2001, p. 75). However, the problem was that the laws on education did not regulate the organization and content of educational work in pre-school institutions, so that there was no official curriculum or a methods manual for preschool teachers. There was not enough professional literature and the teachers were left to their own devices, i.e. they independently created their own syllabi, based on their notes and collections compiled during their education (Bulatović, 2010, p. 707). It is paradoxical that between the two world wars there were only two documents that were helpful to preschool teachers, none of them being official or binding or being given a chance to be officially approved. The first document, which was particularly useful to preschool teachers, was the *Handbook for National Kindergartens and Lower Classes of National Schools (Priručnik za narodna zabavišta i niže razrede narodnih škola)* written by Nikola Kirić in 1935. The Manual emphasized the importance of “handicraft”, i.e. the importance of manual work for the development of preschool children (Kopas-Vukašinić, 2004, p. 47). The other document was the *Curriculum and the Methods of Work in the Kindergarten (Program i način rada u zabavištima 1940)*, brought several months before World War II. It considered a number of issues of organization, working methods and content of educational work and relied heavily on the concepts of Friedrich Froebel and Maria Montessori, particularly when it comes to didactic materials and their use.

In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the number of state primary schools grew, and many private primary schools were gradually closed down. In 1910 all primary schools were state-owned and there was a significant number of them, i.e. 136. In 1914 already there were 211 primary schools with 18,115 students (*Glas Crnogorca* 1915), and in 1939 there were 464 primary schools with 44,310 pupils (Starovlah, 2007, p. 227). *The Law on National Schools* from 1929 was not fully implemented in Montenegro because the primary education remained a four-year course, although the law prescribed a mandatory eight-year education (in higher national schools, i.e. education from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> grade), to be introduced gradually in a variety of forms and as shortened courses. (Ivanović, 1982, p. 71; Potkonjak and Šimleša, 1989a, p. 337). Moreover, the eight-year primary education was not realized in the majority of the common state. This points to the inability of certain levels of administrative centralized authorities to implement their decisions in the field of school development. More favourable

conditions were created for the development of pre-school institutions, such as the changes in individual curricula, degrees of education, but there were no significant changes in the school system, such as the lack of full respect of school obligations, which mainly resulted in the basic four-grade education, etc. At the same time, in 1940, the four-year schools in Montenegro included only 49.80% of children (Medojević, 1988, p. 104), and the Zeta banovina was amongst those with the highest illiteracy rate (64.04%) above the age of 10 (Franković, Pregrad and Šimleša, 1963, p. 546).

The numbers of primary and higher national schools were not growing evenly, and the extent of this problem is illustrated by the comparative figure that “in 1921 the Kingdom of SCS had 4.5 times fewer primary schools and teachers than Czechoslovakia with only one million inhabitants more (12:13)” (Potkonjak and Šimleša, 1989a, p. 337). The primary school curricula changed several times between the two wars (in 1920, 1926, 1927, 1933, 1937). In the curriculum from 1926, the teaching subject “Handicraft” was introduced, but this was not a great novelty because it had existed in the curriculum since 1904. There were significant changes characteristic of the period’s developments in the field of education policy and pedagogical paradigms, such as those in the curriculum of 1927 which insisted on the moral and education through work, as well as on linking the teaching and the school with the given environment (Nastavni plan i program za I, II, III i IV razred osnovne škole Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1927). According to the curriculum from 1933, the teaching subject “Religious instruction” is changed to “The doctrine of faith with moral lessons” and the subject “Handicraft” was given the title of “Practical Economic Knowledge and Skills” (Nastavni plan i program za narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, 1933).

A lower grammar school was established in Cetinje in 1880, and in 1902 it was turned into an eight-year school of vocational orientation. Until World War I grammar schools, as well as numerous secondary vocational schools, were opened in Podgorica, Nikšić, Berane, Peć and Pljevlja (Potkonjak and Šimleša, 1989a, p. 330). In the period between the two world wars, the situation was further improved when it came to strengthening the network of secondary schools (two secondary vocational schools, seven civic schools, 13 women’s craft schools, three sewing schools, two men’s craft schools, eight craft-trade schools, six evening classes, one religious school for the education of Orthodox priests – “Seminary of St. Peter of Cetinje” and at one point four teacher training schools in Danilovgrad, Cetinje, Berane and Herceg Novi) and in 1939 there were 11 grammar schools with 9087 pupils (Starovlah, 2007, p. 227). Probably the biggest advance of the time happened in the education of female population, mainly vocational craft education, but the most notable was the work of the Women’s Teacher Training School established in Cetinje in 1922. The school was turned into a mixed school in 1925 and as such operated with shorter interruptions until 1941 (Delibašić, 2009, p. 308; Šekularac, 2009, p. 47). On the other hand, with the termination of the very important “Empress Mary’s Girls’ Institute” in Cetinje (1869–1913), there was a lack of qualified preschool teachers between the two world wars. Because there were no specialized preschool teacher training schools and because preschool teachers were educated in other centres of the common state, i.e. in Ljubljana, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Dubrovnik,

etc. (Bulatović, 2007, pp. 25–26), the teachers and students from teacher training schools worked in the kindergartens. Thus, the area faced major problems in the field of preschool education and it was not possible to adequately develop this segment of education and systematic work with children until the children started primary education. Until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were no state-owned higher education institutions, i.e. faculties and universities, and nothing was being done about it. Because of this, between the two world wars, the citizens were predominantly educated in other parts of the common state – in Belgrade, Zagreb, but also in Vienna, Rome, Prague, Kiev, Moscow etc.

### **Emergence of critical pedagogical thought in Montenegro**

Pavle Čubrović (1880–1942), a Doctor of Philosophy, was the first major pedagogue from Montenegro (born in the vicinity of Berane). After studying philosophy, pedagogy and general history at the University of Belgrade, which he completed in 1907, he studied philosophy, pedagogy and economics for three semesters in Jena and Leipzig. He received his doctorate in 1911 at the University of Leipzig for his thesis “Development of moral virtues”. Shortly afterwards, he became a teacher at the Cetinje Grammar School and the Seminary-Teacher Training School in Cetinje. He was the founder, director and teacher at the Teachers’ School in Berane and assistant professor at the University of Skopje. At the end of 1925, he established the journal “Pedagoški savremenik” (“Pedagogical contemporary”) and served as its editor-in-chief. Because of all of his high-quality and influential publications, work and overall contribution to pedagogical theory and practice, we can consider him a pioneer of pedagogy in Montenegro (Zorić, 2016, p. 107). He dealt with the issues of general pedagogy, especially moral and political education. He was a supporter of Yugoslav unity, was politically active and liberally oriented. He then became a Marxist socialist, because of which his pedagogical ideas did not find their place in the corpus of the official pedagogical paradigm between the two wars (Krkeljčić, 1982, p. 145; Delibašić, 2009, p. 310). One of the preserved, yet unpublished works by Čubrović is “The Moral Importance of Group Physical Work in Contemporary Teaching”, while in 1935 he published “The Concept of the Work-School” (“Pojam škole rada”). The latter criticized the views that the “work-school” was something novel in comparison with the old-school concept, tracing back the foundations of the “work-school” to the science of upbringing and to the ideas proposed by Locke, Pestalozzi, Froebel, etc. Čubrović had a particularly negative attitude towards the form of the “work-school” which was focused on and limited to physical production, so that instead of calling them work-schools, he named them production schools. He thought that productive work is a part of the framework of work education and activities, therefore, he stressed its importance for the moral and overall development of students’ personality (Čubrović, 1935). Filip Marković (1898–1950, born to father Jovan in the vicinity of Podgorica) was educated in the teacher training schools in Peć and Danilovgrad, then studied pedagogy part-time at the University of Belgrade and worked as a teacher at the Teacher Training School in Cetinje and the Teacher Training School in Nikšić. Between the two world wars he published numerous articles in various journals and was also the editor of the journal “Cetinjski echo” (“Cetinjski

odjek”). He published several short monographs, the most important was the *Contemporary Teaching Methods – their Possible Applications in Our Schools* from 1932 (Savremeni nastavni metodi – mogućnosti njihove primjene u našim školama, 1932), the only publication by a domestic author between the two world wars systematically dealing with the problem of Herbart’s ideas and reform pedagogy and an emphasis on the “work-school”. In this work, by using concrete examples while providing a detailed analysis of Herbart’s pedagogy, Marković showed that it does not need to be verbalistic, formal, passive and repressive in teaching, and rightfully emphasized all of its qualities and advantages. The author critically examined some of the one-sided understandings of the “work-school”, i.e. its reduction to physical, manual or production work or only to a special teaching subject (handiwork). Marković emphasized the understanding of teaching as a principle of activity and self-actualization, because otherwise the work-school could become merely a drill. If Herbart’s ideas of “work-school” were literally understood and mechanically applied, this would render both of them absurd. Marković provided concrete examples of how it is possible to use Herbart’s and “work-school” ideas in a creative way, in accordance with what they strive to achieve, but at the same time to use them effectively, in a versatile way, practically and correlatively between teaching subjects or educational content. In such a way, it is possible to connect teaching with life outside the classroom, the local community and society, and prove that in the Montenegrin schools, which were very scarce in terms of conditions and means of work, it is possible to realize quality teaching in accordance with contemporary pedagogical ideas and goals. In the above analysis, he also referred to the Dalton Plan, Decroly Method, Project Method, etc. Marković concluded that it would be most realistic, appropriate and effective, and finally possible to implement the “total teaching” (“complex teaching” or “global method”) in Montenegro, in no way a new method, but a system of organizing teaching subjects and content. By using the above examples he rejected as false, and not necessarily opposite, the divisions to the “old” and “new”, i.e. “passive” and “active schools”, and thus emphasized the responsibility, dedication, role and significance of teachers.

It is important to point out that between the two world wars in Montenegro the local professional public was increasingly introduced to the ideas of Leo Tolstoy (for example, Radoslav Vešović received his doctorate at the University of Lausanne in 1931 for his thesis *Tolstoy and the problems of moral and religious education*), John Dewey, and others, especially through magazines from Belgrade, Zagreb etc. The translations of books and articles, as well as foreign book reviews on Dewey, caused a growing interest in his ideas (Pejović, 1980), but later it turned out that they were not systematically studied. In the meantime, there was often a tendency of connecting Dewey to Georg Kerschensteiner, and the proposal that Dewey’s study of the relationship between the individual and the community was linked to the goal of the Yugoslav school reform. “Considering education as a working and constructive process, and representing a pragmatic viewpoint according to which the criterion of truth lies in the practical applicability and the practical value of theoretical knowledge, John Dewey aroused the interest of many in Montenegro” (Pejović, 1980, p. 93).

There were examples of full understanding and consistent appreciation of Dewey's ideas, but there were also examples of misunderstanding, misuse and manipulation of his ideas. Spasoje Vukadinović, a Danilovgrad teacher of communist orientation, wrote a book review of *Democracy and Education* by John Dewey, published in 1935 in the journal "Slobodna Misao" ("Free Thought") in Nikšić. Besides stating those whose main task is educating the youth should not miss to get to know John Dewey through their work – precisely the contemporary understanding of education, the author adds that Dewey "wants to remove class differences through democratic education..." (Vuković, 1985, p. 165). The above was subject to different sorts of interpretation, and could be used or misused in various contexts. However, as the time went on, socialist ideas and Marxist thought were increasingly influential in educational institutions, and there was an increasing number of their followers and spokespersons among teachers and students. This, however, posed a great danger to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, its official educational policy and pedagogical paradigm.

## Conclusion

An intensified access to the ideas of reformatory pedagogy and their critical consideration in Montenegro after World War I was, to some extent, enabled and encouraged by the life in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. However, this was made possible primarily by a greater availability of information on reformatory pedagogy, as well as by the obvious importance of state ideology and politics that directly influenced the prescription and imposition, often in a very detailed and unnecessary manner, of a centralized educational policy and the official pedagogical paradigm, primarily in the spirit of the "work-school". Thus, even "the provisions of the *Law on National Schools* of 1929 emphasised the need to apply the principles of teaching concentration and the principles of the child's activities in the teaching process. This legalization of the two well-known didactic principles shows the inability of the authorities to depart from the tendency to impose and prescribe a state dictatorship" (Tešić, 1980, p. 125). In addition, the pedagogical scientific thought in Montenegro was not significantly developed, although there were a few examples of high-quality analyses of Herbartian pedagogy and the "work-school", as well as the relations between the "old school" and the "new school". At the time, the reformatory pedagogical ideas in Montenegro did not receive an extensive and consistent application, although they acquired an increasing affirmation. The transition from one state status to the other, from one pedagogical paradigm to another and the like, was too much of a burden for Montenegro and a hasty, not a gradually realized and experienced change, accompanied by numerous difficulties for educational workers. The educators had themselves understood that "the preparation of teachers and the transition to a new phase of school work must be easy, gradual – evolutionary, such as in its nature is the process of upbringing and the development of an active school" (Vojvodić and Marković, 1929, p. 4). Both Mirko Vojvodić and Filip Marković emphasized the above in the preface to the *Collection of lectures – useful books for school work in elementary school* in 1929 (Zbirke predavanja – pomoćne knjige za školski rad u osnovnoj školi, 1929), the year in which the most important national reform laws in the area of education were adopted.

At the same time, it was stressed that “we must not hesitate a minute, we must not, without thinking and self-criticism, adopt the opinions of the advocates of the new school who seek unconditional disassociation with the old school and its methods. Similarly, we must not adopt the opinion of the stiff defenders of the old school who ask us to treat the novelties with reserve and to wait until the new school builds a permanent and advanced method or system of teaching organization” (Marković, 1932, p. 42). However, in the generally difficult circumstances, especially the unprivileged position of most of the students, the disadvantageous position of teachers whose material and social status was much worse than those who worked for the state authorities, the contemporary ideas about a new, modern school were largely not readily accepted or realized. This was all suitable for the emergence and support of communist ideas by many students and teachers, especially in the secondary schools. As this posed a great danger to the state power, those who were politically unsuitable could not obtain the position of teachers. In its reverse form, this principle of political inappropriateness was applied even after World War II, especially in the first decades of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and therefore in Montenegro as well, as one of its six republics.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary sources**

*Glas Crnogorca*, 1915. Cetinje, No. 19.

*Nastavni plan i program za I, II, III i IV razred osnovne škole Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*. 1927, Beograd.

*Nastavni plan i program za narodne škole u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji*, 1933. Beograd: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije.

*Nastavni plan i program za osnovne škole u Knjaževini Crnoj Gori*, 1908. Cetinje.

*Obrazovanje kraljevine SHS*, 1920. In: ŠIŠIĆ, Ferdo, ed. *Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca 1914–1919*. Zagreb: Naklada „Matice Hrvatske“, pp. 264–283.

*Program i način rada u zabavištima*, 1940. Prosvetni glasnik, Beograd: Državna štamparija.

*Službene novine Kraljevstva SHS*, 1919. Beograd, No. 68.

*Ustav Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, 1931. Beograd: Službene novine Kraljevine Jugoslavije, No. 200, 03. 09. 1931.

*Ustav Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, 1921. Beograd: Geca Kon.

*Zakon o kraljevskoj vlasti i vrhovnoj državnoj upravi*, 1929. Beograd: Geca Kon.

*Zakon o narodnim školama u Knjaževini Crnoj Gori*, 1907. Cetinje: Glas Crnogorca, No. 6.

*Zakon o narodnim školama*, 1904. Beograd.

*Zakon o narodnim školama*, 1929. Beograd: Prosvetni glasnik, Vol. 11, No. 289.

*Zakon o nazivu i podeli kraljevine na upravna područja*, 1929. Beograd: Geca Kon.

### **Literature**

BACKOVIĆ, Slobodan, 2001. *Knjiga promjena*. Podgorica: Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke.

- BATINIĆ, Štefka, RADEKA, Igor, 2017. Od reformne do alternativne pedagogije – Pokušaji drugačije škole u Hrvatskoj u 20. Stoljeću. *Acta Iadertina*. Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 41–60. ISSN 1845-3392.
- BULATOVIĆ, Anđelka, 2007. *Predškolsko u Crnoj Gori (1903–2006)*. Beograd: Zadužbina Andrejević. ISBN 978-86-7244-616-6.
- BULATOVIĆ, Anđelka, 2010. Predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje na tlu Crne Gore u periodu između dva svjetska rata. *Pedagogija*. Vol. 45, No. 4, pp. 705–712. ISSN 0031-3807.
- ČUBROVIĆ, Pavle, 1935. Pojam škole rada. *Narodna prosveta*. Vol. 16, No. 6, pp. 26–27.
- DELIBAŠIĆ, Rade, 2009. *Istorija pedagoške misli u Crnoj Gori*. Podgorica: CID. ISBN 987-86-495-0394-6.
- DJUI, Džon, 1926. Kako mi mislimo. *Učitelj*. Vol. 6, No. 8, pp. 545–552.
- DJUI, Džon, 1935. *Škola i društvo*. Nova Gradiška: Štamparija Nikola Debač.
- DJUI, Džon, 1936a. *Škola i društvo*. Beograd: Viša pedagoška škola.
- DJUI, Džon, 1936b. *Interes i napor – Moral i vaspitanje*. Skoplje: „Nemanja“ zadužbinska štamparija Vardarske banovine.
- DUJI, Džon, 1934. Pedagogika i demokratija: uvod u filozofiju vaspitanja. Beograd: Geca Kon.
- FERIJER, Adolf, 1932. *Škola podobnosti*. Beograd: Izdavačka knjižarnica Gece Kona.
- FERIJER, Adolf, 1935. *Aktivna škola*. Beograd: Izdavačko i knjižarsko preduzeće Geca kon a.d.
- FIKER, Paul, 1939. *Didaktika nove škole*. Beograd: Geca Kon.
- FRANKOVIĆ, Dragutin, PREGRAD, Zlatko and ŠIMLEŠA, Petar, 1963. *Enciklopedijski rječnik pedagogije*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.
- IVANOVIĆ, Božina, 1982. Škole i obrazovanje u Crnoj Gori juče i danas. Cetinje: Obod.
- KERŠENŠTAJNER, Georg, 1923. Škola Rada – Škola Budućnosti. *Učitelj*. No. 1, pp. 44–50.
- KERŠENŠTAJNER, Georg, 1939. *Teorija obrazovanja*. Beograd: Geca Kon.
- KIRIĆ, Nikola, 1935. *Priručnik za narodna zabavišta i niže razrede narodnih škola*. Velika Kikinda: Štamparija J. Radaka.
- KOPAS-VUKAŠINOVIĆ, Emina, 2004. *Karakteristike i razvoj programa za predškolsko vaspitanje i obrazovanje u Srbiji*. Novi Sad. Dissertation. Faculty of Philosophy, University of Novi Sad.
- KRKELJIĆ, Branko, 1982. O životu i pedagoškom radu Pavla Čubrovića. *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*. No. 5–6, pp. 142–150. ISSN 0350-1094.
- MARKOVIĆ, Filip, 1932. Savremeni nastavni metodi – mogućnosti njihove primjene u našim školama. Cetinje: Knjižara „Lovćen“.
- MEDOJEVIĆ, Miraš, 1988. *Prosvjetni savjet Crne Gore*. Titograd: Univerzitetska riječ Nikšić.
- MILOŠEVIĆ, Miladin, 2000. Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca – Prvi naziv jugoslovenske države. *Arhiv*. Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 97–111. ISSN 1450-9733.



- PEJOVIĆ, Đoko, 1980. Društveno filozofski pogledi u Crnoj Gori od početka XIX vijeka do sredine XX vijeka. Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti.
- POTKONJAK, Nikola, ŠIMLEŠA, Petar, ed., 1989a. *Pedagoška enciklopedija I*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva. ISBN 86-17-00977-2.
- POTKONJAK, Nikola, ŠIMLEŠA, Petar, ed., 1989b. *Pedagoška enciklopedija II*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva. ISBN 86-17-00977-2.
- PROTNER, Edvard, 2014. *Herbartianism and its Educational Consequences in the Period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: The Case of Slovenia*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers. ISBN 978-3-631-64881-0.
- STAROVLAH, Miloš, 2007. *Istorija školstva u Crnoj Gori*. Podgorica: CID. ISBN 978-86-495-0327-4.
- STAROVLAH, Miloš, VUKSANOVIĆ, Senka, 2005. *Razvoj predškolskog zakonodavstva u Crnoj Gori (1903–2003)*. Podgorica: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti. ISBN 86-7215-158-5.
- ŠEKULARAC, Božidar, 2009. Razvoj školstva i obrazovanja u Crnoj Gori. *Vaspitanje i obrazovanje*. No. 4, pp. 41–48. ISSN 0350-1094.
- TEŠIĆ, Vladeta, 1980. *Sto godina Prosvetnog saveta Srbije*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
- VOJINOVIĆ, Perko, 1989. *Crnogorska inteligencija*. Titograd: Istorijski institut SR Crne Gore; Nikšić: Univerzitetska riječ. ISBN 86-427-0037-8.
- VOJVODIĆ, Mirko, MARKOVIĆ, Filip, 1929. *Zbirka predavanja – pomoćna knjiga za školski rad u osnovnoj školi*. Cetinje: Štampa državne štamparije.
- VUKOVIĆ, Rade, 1985. *Napredni učiteljski pokret u Crnoj Gori između dva rata (1918–1941)*. Titograd: Republički zavod za unapređivanje vaspitanja i obrazovanja.
- ZORIĆ, Vučina, 2013. The Development of Primary School Teachers Education in Montenegro. *History of Education & Childrens Literature*. Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 107–129. ISSN 1971-1093.
- ZORIĆ, Vučina, 2015. Vývoj vzdělávání učitelů nižších škol v Černé Hoře v letech 1862–1914. In: KASPER, Tomáš, PÁNKOVÁ, Markéta et al., ed. *Učitel ve střední a jihovýchodní Evropě*. Praha: The Academia – Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic; and Národní pedagogické muzeum a knihovna J. A. Komenského, pp. 259–270. ISBN 978-80-200-2473-2; ISBN 978-80-86935-26-3.
- ZORIĆ, Vučina, 2016. Establishment, Work and Prospective Development of the Department of Pedagogy in Montenegro. *Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies*. Vol. 67 (133), No. 3, pp. 104–123. ISSN 0038-0474.
- ZORIĆ, Vučina, 2017. Alternativni pedagoški koncepti i obrazovna politika u Crnoj Gori. *Acta Iadertina*. Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 27–40. ISSN 1845-3392.