

LUCIE ZORMANOVÁ

The University of Silesia in Katowice

ORCID – 0000-0002-8004-8674

THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS IN THE PATH TOWARDS WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN BOHEMIA*

Introduction: The article follows the development of views on girls' education in the Bohemian lands from its humble beginnings dating back to the middle of the 19th century to allowing university studies for women.

Research Aim: The aim of the study is to present the importance of women's associations for the development of women's education in the Bohemian lands. The research question was formulated as follows: How has the education of women within women's associations changed during the 19th century to the first decade of the 20th century? Which goals did the individual associations want to achieve with their activities? What was the curriculum of the schools formed by individual associations? Which target groups did the individual associations focus on? To get these questions answered, we compared women's associations which in the second half of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century focused on women's education in the Bohemian lands.

Method: The study is carried out using historical-pedagogical research, the method of content analysis of documents was used. Normative materials, archival documents and scientific articles were used.

Results: The women's associations pursued various goals: supporting girls and women to be able to play their traditional female roles of wives and mothers as best as they can, helping poor girls and middle-class girls to better position themselves in the labour market, preparing girls for university studies.

Conclusions: Women's associations played a significant role in the feminist movement. In consequence of the indomitable work of these associations, women are now educated in various fields, and we can see them in non-stereotypical professions.

Keywords: women's associations, women's movement, girls' education, women's professions, university studies, Bohemia.

*Suggested citation: Zormanová, L. (2022). The Important Role of Women's Associations in the Path Towards Women's Education in Bohemia. *Lubelski Rocznik Pedagogiczny*, 41(2), 179–194. <http://dx.doi.org/lrp.2022.41.2.179–194>

INTRODUCTION

Still in the first half of the 19th century, the female role was oriented towards the private sphere (Burešová, 2001). During the second half of the 19th century, we can notice a gradual change in the concept of the female role; other opportunities for self-realization gradually opened up for women, i.e. the possibility of education, employment, execution of minor political tasks or literary production. The women's movement in the Bohemian lands is characterized by its connection with the patriotic program and by the important role of women's associations, which have made a significant contribution, especially to the development of girls' education. With their offer of educational activities, women's associations replaced the state, which still in the 19th century offered only basic primary school attendance to women (Drtina, 1909).

RESEARCH AIM AND QUESTION

Recognizing the importance of the role of women's associations in the women's movement, the authors decided to dedicate an article to this topic. The aim of the study is to present the importance of women's associations for the development of women's education in the Bohemian lands. The stated goal was achieved by answering the following research questions. The main research question was formulated as follows: How has the education of women within women's associations changed during the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century?

The following research sub-questions are based on the main research question: Which goals did the individual associations want to achieve with their activities? What was the curriculum of the schools formed by individual associations? Which target groups did the individual associations focus on?

RESEARCH METHOD

To get these questions answered, we compared women's associations which in the second half of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century focused on women's education in the Bohemian lands. The study is carried out using historical-pedagogical research, the method of content analysis of documents was used. Normative materials, archival documents and scientific articles were used.

RESULTS

Women's education in the second half of the 19th century

In the 19th century, especially in its first half, the deeply rooted view in society was that the role of women was limited to the role of mothers and wives, which was reflected in the education of girls; teaching skills that were practically useless in the labour market. When it came to the education of girls from higher social classes, it was believed that the education of these girls should lead to them becoming representative wives, good mothers and great housekeepers, therefore, the education of girls from these social circles focused on housework, foreign language teaching, mainly French, playing a musical instrument, singing, dancing, artistic activity. The education which would provide useful qualifications to girls was understood as helping the poor and unmarried girls who had to make a living. Therefore, the studies of upper-class girls were viewed with distrust, and society had long held the view that girls in this class do not need to study to obtain a specific qualification and instead they were viewed as taking place of those who need such education. Moreover, there was an opinion in society that if a woman holds a paid job, she only holds it until the wedding, then her life goes in the direction of *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* ("children", "kitchen", "church"). Many educated and emancipated women, such as Magdalena Dobromila Rettigová, also perceived the role of a woman in this way, and the role of education as a preparation for the role of a model mother, perfect housekeeper and representative wife, who could thus be an equal partner to her husband and earn greater respect and esteem in society (Rettigová, 1840). Owing to these qualities, in the opinion of Rettigová, a woman would find it easier to tie her husband to the family and he would not escape from his family to his negative hobbies, i.e. alcoholism or prostitution (Malínská, 2005). The goal described above was the goal of home schools for lower-middle-class girls, which Rettigová founded in most places where she lived. This position of women was reinforced by the General Civil Code, which had been in force since 1812, which stipulated that in personal circumstances, a woman is subordinate to a man. However, this notion of the female role gradually changed during the second half of the 19th century, various types of girls' schools emerged, which provided qualifications and enabled women to enter the labour market, thus, disrupting the then established notion of the only provider – the man. Women from higher classes were engaged in patriotic activities, association activities, charity, and attended educational events (Bahenská, 2005).

The development of girls' education in the Bohemian lands is usually associated with the names Karel Slavoj Amerling and Bohuslava Rajská and with the Budeč school, which was established in Prague in 1842 (Spěváček, 1977). However, institutionalized girls' education was introduced earlier already.

On 6 December 1774, the General School Regulation for German normal, main, and trivial schools was issued, which introduced a general compulsory ed-

ucation for children aged 6 to 12. Exceptions were available for children aged 9 to 12, especially girls and rural children. The Regulation shows the importance of German in school teaching, which in the opinion of the queen should play the role of a centralizing state language, which should achieve a more efficient unified state administration and effective control over the operation and development of the monarchy (Kasper and Kasperová, 2008), which, in turn, should help national economies to flourish and raise the living standards of the population (Zormanová, 2017). The General School Regulation introduced the following types of schools:

1. Trivial schools were mostly one-class or two-class schools for the village and urban poor. Taking the needs of pupils into account, they were focused mainly on practice. The curriculum included reading, writing, basics of arithmetic, in the villages also the basics of field farming and in the cities the basics of industrial production. The girls were engaged in handicrafts, which had an important position in the curriculum. Trivial schools were the only way for lower-class girls to get a basic education.

2. Main schools already had three or four grades and were established in all regions, always in large cities. The content of the teaching included religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, basics of Latin, geography, history, natural history, diction, drawing, geometry, basics of economics and industrial education. The main school was also focused on the development of language skills in the German language. In the first grade, the teaching was still conducted in the mother tongue, but in the second grade it was partly in German, and in the third only in German. Although girls theoretically had the opportunity to attend all four grades, in practice the girls' schooling ended after the end of the second grade, only boys attended the third and fourth grades.

3. A normal school has been established in the capitals of the country or province. The content of teaching in a normal school was identical to the content of teaching in a main school, but the teaching took place only in German, starting from the first grade. Within these schools, there were preparatory courses for grooming teachers of trivial and primary schools.

Within main and normal schools, girls' wards were set up if the situation allowed, the content of teaching was very different from the content of teaching in the boys' ward. In the girls' ward, there was a strong focus on handicrafts, whose time allocation was very high. From the schedule of the girls' ward of the Prague's normal school in 1788, we learn that the teaching focused mainly on manual work – 12–17 hours per week, then naturally the so-called *trivium* – reading 2–5 hours per week, writing 3–4 hours and arithmetic 2–3 hours per week and teaching religion – 3 hours per week (Bahenská, 2005).

Most girls were educated in co-educational schools because setting up special schools for girls was too expensive. For this reason, it was necessary to create a specific curriculum for girls, which would be in line with the education of women as

wives, mothers and housekeepers and could be taught in co-educational schools. That is why the so-called industrial teaching was created, in which the girls learned women's handicrafts and the domestic economy (Šafránek, 1897). The special departments for newly consolidated industrial teaching had to be set up in schools. Industrial teaching was taught only by female teachers. Among other things, this led to a more significant strengthening of girls' education and the breakdown of traditional prejudices that girls do not need education, which eventually led to the demand for higher girls' education and the need for vocational training from the late 1860s (Dvořáčková and Kaněčková, 2020).

In the middle of the 19th century, an interesting article was published in the pedagogical press, the author of the article is a high school teacher. This article reflects the conviction about differences between girls and boys that existed in society at the time. The author of this article was convinced that there were innate differences between girls and boys that affected their ability to learn. The author of this article was convinced that the boys thought about things, while the girls only remembered things. That is why girls cannot learn as many things as perfectly as boys (Bída, 1848).

Girls' higher education

An important year for girls' education was 1848 when many positive changes were achieved during the Springtime of Nations – including the field of education. At the legislative level, the intention to establish Czech girls' schools was supported, and the Outline of Basic Principles for Public Education in Austria was announced, which encompassed the obligation of the state to take care of educating young people of both sexes. In reality, however, girls' education was far less developed than boys' education. The education of girls was mainly supported by associations, so it was a private activity. Owing to the associations' activities, numerous vocational schools for girls and higher general education schools for girls were established in the second half of the 19th century. Since the 1860s, the notion of girls' education had been slowly changing, as it began to be perceived as a path to skilled work (Horská, 1983).

Educated emancipated women (e.g. Magdalena Dobromila Rettigová, Bohuslava Rajská, Věnceslava Lužická Srbová, Eliška Krásnohorská), who fought for the development of the Czech language and culture and, together with patriotic interests, also promoted the interests of the feminist movement, realized that the education they received from private teachers, at boarding schools or convent schools, was at a much lower level and had a very limited scope in comparison with the education that boys received as part of institutionalized forms of education. Aware of this shortcoming and its negative impact on the personality of girls, they aimed to facilitate access to quality education for future generations of girls. They were aware that girls from the lower classes needed qualifications for a specif-

ic profession, which would allow them to earn better earnings and free them from complete dependence on their husbands. Therefore, federal schools of practical focus were established for girls from lower classes. Education was also considered important for middle- and upper-class girls. Owing to better education, they would achieve the possibility of self-realization, they would be able to find a job on the labour market, they could break free from the subordination of the husband who controlled the woman. In the society of the time, we encounter many widows because there was frequently a large age difference between the spouses, as the man who wanted to marry was expected to be able to provide materially for the family. These widows, similarly to unmarried women, found themselves without resources and had to seek help from relatives. Providing for unmarried women and widows was a challenge for middle-class families, and these women played the role of unpaid household power and were a burden on the family budget. This demographic situation had also been an impetus for the development of middle-class girls' education. This situation was pointed out by emancipated and educated women, representatives of the women's movement, who called for the development of girls' education leading to a qualification, as women should be able to provide for themselves and their families if necessary (Bahenská, 2005). However, due to their social status, middle-class women could not do the same work as lower-class women, who always had to contribute to the family budget, and as vocational training for girls from middle-class families was insufficiently developed, these women had very limited opportunities to enter the labour market. Only a small percentage of women worked as teachers (since 1806, women could teach handicrafts at girls' private schools and from 1869, they could teach at lower girls' and boys' schools; before then they could only be private teachers), *modiste*, seamstresses or merchants. It was, therefore, necessary to ensure the possibility of obtaining a professional qualification that would correspond to this group of women (Malínská, 2005). Thus, grammar schools for girls and higher schools for girls were established for girls from the middle and upper classes. However, the goal was set much higher – with quality secondary education allowing girls to access university education.

Women's associations and the development of girls' higher education

Since the 1860s, women's associations had played a major role in the feminist movement and the development of the education and employment of Czech women. Their activities were mainly associated with patriotic efforts. Initially, the association's activities were mainly practised by the wives of well-known, especially politically active, and financially secure men, later women from the middle classes also took part in this activity. For women from the middle classes, this activity was a matter of prestige, because of which they were able to broaden their horizons and establish social contact (Bahenská, 2005).

The association's activities first began to develop in Bohemia. The first women's association, the Slovanek Association, was also established here in 1848 (Zíbrt, 1850), unfortunately, it did not last long (Skryjová, 1998). Women's associations were founded in Moravia later. The Moravian countryside did not begin to awaken nationally until the 1860s, and Moravian towns began to awaken nationally only later, which had been caused by the significant German influence prevailing there.

Until the end of the 1850s, women's associations could only function as free associations. Only after 1867, when a new federal law was passed, women's associations started to have statutes, regulatory bodies and to influence the public life in matters of culture, public education, or charity; however, not politics since the condition of approving the statutes by the official authorities required the women's associations to be apolitical. In the 1850s and 1860s, it was characteristic of women's associations that they were completely dependent on the person who founded them (Bahenská, 2005).

One of the first women's associations in Bohemia was the Association of St. Ludmila associated with the name of Marie Riegrova-Palacka, which had existed since 1851. Until the mid-1860s, it was practically the only women's association in Bohemia. Marie Riegrova-Palacka was not a supporter of the radical emancipation of women (Červinková-Riegrová, 1892). According to her ideas, the woman was to be the support of the man. The mission of the Association of St. Ludmila was the education of poor girls, which would bring them the opportunity to work and earn (*Stanovy pražského spolku sv. Ludmily*, 1866). The students first received a one-year preparatory class, in which they learned the basics of sewing, counting, drawing, calligraphy and trade documents. After this preparatory year, the students could choose a certain field according to their abilities and interests: tailoring, trade bookkeeping and accounting, graphic work (calligraphy and drawing), painting on glass and porcelain, bookbinding, straw making, braiding (*Jednatelská zpráva spolku sv. Ludmily za rok správní 1869–1870–1871*, 1872). Only girls from demonstrably poor conditions were admitted to a federal industrial school, so no tuition fees were paid here, on the contrary, the girls received a salary for their work at the school. However, the problem was finding a job for school graduates, as there were prejudices against the employment of women in the public sphere. There was only interest in dressmakers and seamstresses (Lenderová, 1999).

Similarly to Prague's St. Ludmila Women's Association's role, there was the Ladies' Association of Ludmila in České Budějovice, which was dedicated to charitable activities and the establishment and maintenance of girls' schools and boarding houses. At the birth of the Ladies' Association of Ludmila, which dates back to 1855, was August Zátka, who together with the director of a Czech real grammar school Josef Mrňávek, established a continuing school for girls in 1887. The school's goal was to provide girls with an education that would enable them to pursue a particular profession and provide a livelihood for poor girls. That is

why the girls learned knitting, crocheting, embroidery, sewing, drawing, counting, bookkeeping, religion and upbringing, and from 1890/1891 also foreign languages (French and German), Czech, history and geography (*Výroční zpráva dámského spolku „Ludmila“ v Českých Budějovicích za rok 1904, 1905*). In 1903, the Ladies' Association of Ludmila established Girls' Lyceum and the Continuing Industrial School, which focused on teaching sewing, cut drawing, embroidery or ironing, Czech and German, geography, history, education, religion, health sciences, economy, arithmetic. Concurrently, a cooking school (later a cooking and housekeeping school) was set up at the Continuing Industrial School, which prepared girls for the professions, as well as a business school and various courses, such as a course for teachers for women and language courses (*Výroční zpráva dívčího lycea spolku Ludmila 1903–1939, 1939*). In 1911/1912, a Continuing Vocational School for apprentices in women's clothing industries was established (*Výroční zpráva ženské školy průmyslové spolku „Ludmila“ v Č. Budějovicích za školní rok 1913/1914, 1914*), and in 1916, it became an independent two-year institute (*Výroční zpráva dámského spolku „Ludmila“ za rok 1916–1917, 1917*).

Women's Production Association of Czechia, which was founded in 1871 by Karolína Světlá, focused on enabling the economic independence of women from all social classes (*Devatenáctá výroční zpráva Ženského výrobního Spolku Českého v Praze za rok 1889, 1890*). The school offered the following fields of study: business school, industrial school with three fields (drawing, engraving, women's work), language teaching (English, French, German and Russian), hair styling, course for nurses (*Pamětní zpráva o dvacetiletém působení ženského výrobního Spolku Českého v Praze, 1891*).

Several important women's associations operated in Moravia as well. One of them was the Dobromila Charitable Women's Association (founded in 1897). The main goals of the Dobromila Charitable Association included charitable activities, education, and work with the youth. In 1901, the Dobromila started a continuing school for girls. Dobromila's Continuing School included the industrial school and later also the culinary School. Courses focused on housekeeping, sewing clothes and dresses, development of artistic skills (batik, arranging, tapestry creation, painting on glass and porcelain, etc.), courses focused on dining and working with cooking appliances were also implemented at these schools. There were also courses for kindergarten teachers and preparatory courses for handicraft teachers (Matulová, 1907).

Another well-known association was the Charitable Association of Ladies and Girls of Libuše in Přívoz together with its Family School Libuše in Přívoz. The content of teaching at this school was Czech and documents, civics, trading arithmetic, calculations and trade accounting, materials and food science, household management, health sciences, cut drawing, physical education, singing, education, embroidery (*Rodinná škola Libuše v Přívoze 1919–25*).

In the second half of the 19th century, there was a more significant strengthening of women's handicrafts, which became the basis of girls' education, both within elementary schools and higher education. As a teaching content, industrial education was a part of girls' education at primary and middle schools, a part of girls' education at industrial continuing schools, and housekeeper's schools (Lužická, 1896). Women's handicrafts became a field of activity where private training was no longer enough (Melišová-Körschnerová, 1864), this educational area required not only practical experience but also theoretical knowledge (Lužická, 1872). In 1883, the first housekeeper's school was established in Kroměříž and a year later, the the same kind of school was established in Prostějov (Adámek, 1887). In 1904, there was established the most famous culinary school founded by Domácnost (household) association (*O činnosti spolku Domácnost: první česká kuchařská škola v Praze: za rok 1904*, 1904). This school usually offered several monthly courses focused on cooking and dining (Lužická, 1896).

One of the associations that most significantly affected girls' education was Vesna in Brno. In 1855, when Eliška Machová became the association's director, the association's goal was to establish a girls' school, and in 1886, the First Czech Girls' Continuing School in Brno was established (Nováková and Kalinová, 2007). In the First Czech Girls' Continuing School, four fields were taught: language, continuing, production and drawing. Vesna's continuing school was also aimed at helping girls from poorer social backgrounds, as it did not place great demands on the conditions from which the girls came or on their study performance. The only condition for the admission of a pupil was the completion of primary school (Mareš, 1896). During the 1890s, Vesna also began to give lectures for women workers and maids, and set up a library and reading room (*Sborník Vesny*, 1932). After the First World War, Vesna's education system consisted of 13 schools: a girls' lyceum, a burgher's school, a three-class college for women's economic professions, a two-year business school, an institute for teacher training for girls' industrial schools, an institute for teacher training for culinary and housekeeper schools, a two-year industrial school, embroidery school, one-year housekeeper's school, five-month housekeeper's school, two-year continuing school, music school and kindergarten (Mareš, 1900). Following the example of the Vesna in Brno, the Silesian Vesna was also established in Opava (Herešlová, 1928).

Girls' education gradually grew; in Olomouc, owing to Count Pötting, the Pöttingeum association was created following the example of Vesna. This association operated the Industrial School, the Girls' Higher Continuing School, the Two-Year Institute for the Education of Kindergarten Teachers, the Two-Year Family School, the Five-Month School for Housekeeping (culinary and household management school), the Continuing Trading School, typewriting, shorthand and accounting, language courses, evening courses for sewing clothes and dresses, and cooking, ornamental wood-burning course, dance courses, language courses, music courses

with singing lessons, piano, guitar and violin lessons. The aim of the Pöttingeum schools was to ensure that their female graduates could take care of themselves if necessary and become self-confident teachers of patriotic love to their children (Pötting, 1935).

In Velké Meziříčí, Světlá girls' institute began working under the care of the women's department of the National Unity, within the institute the School for Women's Professions and the Culinary School operated. Additional courses were also implemented at these schools: two-year institute for kindergarten teacher training, two-year family school, trade offices, one-year family school, five-month school for housekeeping (culinary and household management), three-month courses for home cooking, school of speech, music school, typewriting course, shorthand and accounting, continuing vocational trader school, continuing girls' trivial school, evening folk courses, art-industrial course (*Ročenka veřejných vyšších dívčích a odborných škol a vychovatelstvího ústavu „Světlá“ ve Velkém Meziříčí*, 1929).

In most federal schools, teaching focused on the practical needs of female pupils. For this reason, general education subjects were kept to a minimum and the teaching was focused mainly on the practical field, many hours were devoted to practical training in federal premises or related companies. In federal schools, the teachers were mostly women (teachers of handicrafts and foreign languages) and there was cooperation with teachers from boys' schools or girls' burgher school (Burešová, 2001). The federal schools were aware that female graduates would face labour market obstacles and prejudices when looking for a job, so they also helped their former students find a job, sometimes also employing them at the school or association. The easiest to find a job were the graduates in the field of sewing clothes and linen, who could work in households, factories or sell their products directly. Graduates of the field of bookkeeping and accounting were the least successful at finding a job (Bahenská, 2005).

Minerva

Compared to the other associations, the Minerva association pursued a completely different goal; it founded the first Minerva girls' grammar school in 1890 with the aim of preparing girls for university studies. Minerva girls' grammar school was established by the writer Eliška Krásnohorská, who founded the Association for Women's Studies Minerva in 1890. She was a critic of society's entrenched prejudices against women and the generally traditional concept of femininity. According to her, it was unfair that women were "pushed away from work" (Krásnohorská, 1973). Krásnohorská wanted to provide women with such a quality education that "women participate in mental work and in all activities of our time" (Krásnohorská, 1877). The idea of secondary school and university female students seemed almost heretical to most of the society, and it was highly challenging to defend the idea of higher education for girls in front of the contemporary bourgeois society. In most

families, the preference was still given to sons when enabling their studies, who, thanks to the acquired qualifications, were to take care of their sisters in the future. The decision of girls to truly study, not simply to learn women's handicrafts or business skills, met with conflicting responses in the second half of the 19th century or until the 1890s (Bahenská, 2005). Krásnohorská recalls that

there were also quite a few stubborn adversaries in the very circles of our intelligentsia, sometimes even among the teaching profession. For example, the teacher of the State Institute for Female Teacher Education, Dr Hrys, when he met me on the waterfront, stopped me, and raised his hand: "If you persist in making Czech girls more sick, you will be cursed!" And the venerable, benevolent, elderly Mrs Pevlofová, the mother of two esteemed female teachers in Prague, hurried from the Lažanský Palace to the National Theatre, ignoring the wagons dangerously crossing there, to tell me: "We must admonish you, miss! (...) and God must punish you, and you will be punished, you'll see". And she threatened me with her hand so that people looked at us in astonishment. (Krásnohorská, 1928)

Plans for the establishment of a girls' secondary school had been in preparation by Krásnohorská since the mid-1880s and originally envisaged the involvement of the Czech Women's Production Association in their implementation. However, she met with strong opposition from Karolína Světlá, who rejected the proposal to establish a preparatory class for further studies and remained true to the original mission of the federal school. Krásnohorská began to act independently and, with the help of the lawyer Bárta, achieved the establishment of the Minerva Association, which managed and financed the girls' grammar school (Smiříčková, 1990). On 11 March 1890, MP Karel Adámek, supported by Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and Josef Herold, applied at the Imperial Council for the permission to establish the Minerva grammar school. All three MPs were among those who very actively promoted the modernization of girls' and boys' education (*K 50. výročí založení ústavu 1890–1940*, 1940). The Minerva Grammar School was opened in September 1890 and 51 pupils enrolled in its 1st year. The school was divided into a two-year preparation for supplementing the curriculum from primary schools and four classes of the grammar school (*1. výroční zpráva soukromé střední školy dívčí spolku Minervy v Praze*, 1891).

Unfortunately, the institute did not have the right to issue secondary school state exam certification at the beginning; its graduates took it at the state boys' grammar school. It was not until 1907 that girls were able to graduate from their institute; but as early as 1901 the graduation certificate contained a clause entitling female students to enrol at a university (*Osmnáctá výroční zpráva soukromé střední školy dívčí spolku Minervy v Praze za školní rok 1907/1908*, 1908). Among the first graduates of Minerva and later university students were, for example, Anna Honzáková and Rosalie Machová (Honzáková, 1930). After taking the school-leav-

ing examination, the girls wanted to start their university studies. Initially, they were denied access to universities, so they left their homelands to study abroad (Bahenská, 2005). In the struggle to enable higher education for women, a large petition arose in 1889, which was joined by the Women's Production Association of Czechia, Vesna, etc. (Adámek, 1931).

Minerva can be considered the pinnacle of the struggle for women education, as it helped women achieve the highest goal – opened the way for them to universities. Women in the Bohemia lands gained access to academia in 1869, initially only as hospitants, which meant that although with the teacher's consent they could attend lectures, they had no legal right to take exams, as this was not a proper form of study. As full-time students, women have had access to higher education since 1897, when the Faculty of Arts of Charles-Ferdinand University opened its doors to women (Zormanová, 2013).

However, Vošahlíková adds: "Experience has shown that a university degree or other certificate did not open the way for women to fair employment, as it did for men. In their [women's] case, professionalisation was not only related to the possibility of obtaining the relevant education but also required further legal and social changes" (Vošahlíková, 2007).

The necessary changes are slowly taking place after World War I, during which women had to do all the men's work. After World War I, a number of new girls' secondary schools were established, and many universities and colleges opened their doors to girls. Gradually, women penetrated the male sphere and found employment there.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to present the importance of women's associations in the development of women's education in the Bohemian lands. To answer how the education of women within women's associations changed during the 19th century and in the first decade of the 20th century, we had to answer the following partial research questions: What goals did the individual associations want to achieve? What were the activities of individual associations? Which target groups did the individual associations focus on?

Women's associations, which operated in the Bohemian lands in the second half of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century, played a significant role in the feminist movement. We can say that also thanks to the indomitable work of these associations, women are now present on the campus, they are educated in various fields, and we can see them in non-stereotypical professions.

The women's associations that operated in the studied period pursued various goals, ranging from supporting girls and women to be able to play their tradition-

al female roles of wives and mothers as best as they can. This goal was pursued, for example, by the housekeeper's schools, association Domácnost [Household]. But in the second half of the 19th and 20th centuries, household care and female handicrafts, which formed the basis of girls' industrial education, led to the establishment of industrial schools. Due to the establishment of industrial schools the girls gained a job in the labor market, as seamstresses, cooks, housekeepers. Furthermore, we can perceive women's handicrafts as a significant phenomenon of women's teacher education. Thanks to industrial education, the need for specialized industrial teachers has gradually developed. Industrial teaching was taught only by female teachers. Among other things, industrial education led to a more significant strengthening of girls' education, which eventually led to the demand for higher girls' education and the need for vocational training from the late 1860s (Dvořáčková and Kaněčková, 2020).

Since the 1960s, girls' education has led to employment. At first, it was intended for poor girls. Only later was it intended for middle-class women, especially the unmarried. Therefore, another important focus of women's associations was charitable efforts, helping poor girls to better position themselves in the labour market. This was the focus of the Association of St. Ludmila or the Women's Production Association of the Czechia. The aim of many federal schools providing education for middle-class girls was to ensure that their graduates could take care of themselves if necessary. We can mention, for example, the Silesian Vesna in Opava, the Biennial Business School and the Pöttingeum School in Olomouc or the School for Women's Professions run at the Světlá Girls' Institute.

The third goal of women's associations was general education for girls, which began the struggle for the opening of university education for girls. The most ambitious goals in the field of education, employment and the feminist movement were undoubtedly set by the Minerva association, which prepared girls for university studies at its grammar school.

Focusing on the question "How did the education of women in women's associations change during the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century?", we find that the first associations dedicated to the education of girls usually focused their activities on helping low-income girls to find themselves in a better position on the labour market; e.g. the St. Ludmila Association, whose private production school was founded in 1965. Besides charitable activities, several women's associations in the second half of the 19th century devoted themselves to preparing girls for the traditional female roles of wives and mothers. This goal was pursued, for example, by the association Domácnost. It was not until the end of the 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century that girls' lyceums were founded by associations to enable girls to access university education. An example was the Minerva association. The Minerva Grammar School was founded in 1890, and the Vesna Girls' Lyceum was founded after 1900, as one of Vesna's last schools.

REFERENCES

- 1.výroční zpráva soukromé střední školy dívčí spolku Minervy v Praze.* (1891). Spolek Minervy.
- Adámek, K. (1887). *Z naší doby.* J.F. Šašek.
- Adámek, K. (1931). *Z mých styků s Eliškou Krásnohorskou.* *Ženské listy*, 9, 135.
- Bahenská, M. (2005). *Počátky emancipace žen v Čechách. Dívčí vzdělávací a ženské spolky v Praze v 19. století.* Libri.
- Bída, V. (1848). Něco o vychování a vyučování s ohledem na pohlavní rozdílnosti. *Po- sel z Budče, časopis pro učitele, vychovatele a vůbec přátele mládeže*, 18, 290.
- Burešová, J. (2001). *Proměny společenského postavení českých žen v první polovině 20. století.* Univerzita Palackého.
- Červinková-Riegrová, M. (1892). *Marie Riegrová rodem Palacká.* Obec Pražská. *Devatenáctá výroční zpráva Ženského výrobního spolku českého v Praze za rok 1889.* (1890). Dr. J.B. Pichl a spol.
- Drtina, F. (1909). *Dívčí školství u nás a jinde.* Spisy Františka Drtiny. Jan Laichter.
- Dvořáčková, E., Kaněčková, E. (2020). *Výchova dívek v Čechách a na Moravě. Školství v 19. století genderovou problematikou.* Grada.
- Herelová, T. (1928). *Stručná kronika zemské dívčí odborné školy rodinné a živnostenské v Opavě.* Zemský okresní archiv.
- Honzáková, A. (Ed.) (1930). *Československé studentky let 1890–1930.* Almanach na oslavu čtyřicátého výročí založení ženského studia Eliškou Krásnohorskou. Spolek Minervy.
- Horská, P. (1983). K ekonomické aktivitě žen na přelomu 19. a 20. století. Příklad českých žen. *Československý časopis historický*, 31, 711–743.
- Jednatelská zpráva spolku sv. Ludmily za rok správný 1869–1870–1871.* (1872). Spolek sv. Ludmily.
- K 50. výročí založení ústavu 1890–1940.* (1940). Spolek Minervy.
- Kasper, T., Kasperová, D. (2008). *Dějiny pedagogiky.* Grada.
- Krásnohorská, E. (1928). *Co přinesla léta. Druhé knihy vzpomínek svazek I.* Vaněk, Votava.
- Krásnohorská, E. (1873). *Naše Snaha.* *Svoboda*, 3, 33–42.
- Krásnohorská, E. (1877). *Ze vzpomínek Elišky Krásnohorské.* *Ženské listy*, 5, 49–51.
- Lenderová, M. (1999). *K hříchu i k modlitbě. Žena v minulém století.* KOSMAS.
- Lužická, V. (1872). *Žena ve svém povolání.* T. Macourek.
- Lužická, V. (1896). *Deset roku činnosti spolku „Domácnost“: Česká škola kuchařská.* Domácnost.
- Malínská, J. (2005). *Do politiky prý žena nesmí-proč? Vzdělávání a postavení žen v české společnosti v 19. a na počátku 20. století.* Libri.
- Mareš, F. (1896). *První desetiletí škol Vesniných.* Vesna.
- Mareš, F. (1900). *Organizace škol a kurzů na doplnění praktického vzdělávání ženského.* Vesna.

- Matulová, M. (1907). *Zpráva o činnosti Dobromiliny za prvních 10 roků střední školy jejího trvání (1897–1907)*. Spolek Dobromila.
- Melišová-Körschnerová, A. (1864). *Nauka o ženských ručních pracích pro dívčí školy i ústavu*. E. Petřík.
- Nováková, A., Kalinová, L. (2007). *Dcerám českým: brněnský spolek Vesna v letech 1870–1920*. Spolek Vesna.
- O činnosti spolku Domácnost: první česká kuchařská škola v Praze: za rok 1904. (1904). Spolek Domácnost.
- Osmnáctá výroční zpráva soukromé střední školy dívčí spolku Minervy v Praze za školní rok 1907–1908. (1908). Spolek Minervy.
- Pamětní zpráva o dvacetiletém působení Ženského výrobního spolku českého v Praze. (1891). Ženský výrobní spolek český.
- Pötting, E. (1935). *Památník ústavu hraběte Pöttinga v Olomouci, 1895–1935*. Pöttingeum.
- Ročenska veřejných vyšších dívčích a odborných škol a vychovávacích ústavu Světlá ve Velkém Meziříčí. (1929). Ústav Světlá.
- Rettigová, M.D. (1840). *Mladá hospodyňka v domácnosti. Jak sobě počínati má, aby své i manželovy spokojenosti došla*. J.H. Pospíšil.
- Rodinná škola Libuše v Přívoze 1919–25, inv.č. 14. Hlavní katalog pro 1. třídu odborné školy pro školní rok 1919/1920. Zemský archiv v Opavě.
- Sborník Vesny 1932. (1932). Vesna.
- Skryjová, M. (1998). *Spolek Slovanek. Honorata Zapová Wisniowská*. Jihočeská univerzita.
- Smiřičková, H. (Red.).(1990). *První české dívčí gymnázium 1890–1990. Sborník ke 100. výročí založení*. Minerva.
- Spěváček, V. (1977). Karol Slavoj Amerling a jeho díla v literatuře. *Pedagogika*, 5, 596–606.
- Stanovy pražského spolku sv. Ludmily. (1866). Spolek Ludmila.
- Šafránek, J. (1897). *Vývoj a soustava školství v království Českém od roku 1769–1895*. F. Kytka.
- Vošahlíková, P. (2007). Zábava a rozptýlení českých žen v 19. a na počátku 20. století. In *Reflexe a sebereflexe žen v české národní elitě 2. poloviny 19. století*, Sborník příspěvků z konference uspořádána ve dnech 23.–24.11. 2006. AV ČR. (360–368).
- Výroční zpráva dívčího lycea spolku Ludmila 1903–1939. (1939). Spolek Ludmila.
- Výroční zpráva dámského spolku Ludmila za rok 1903. (1905). Spolek Ludmila.
- Výroční zpráva dámského spolku „Ludmila“ v Českých Budějovicích za rok 1904. (1905). Spolek Ludmila.
- Výroční zpráva ženské školy průmyslové spolku „Ludmila“ v Č. Budějovicích za školní rok 1913/1914. (1914). Spolek Ludmila.
- Výroční zpráva dámského spolku „Ludmila“ za rok 1916–1917. (1917). Spolek Ludmila.
- Zíbrt, Č. (1850). „Sestry Slovanek“ čili „Spolek Slovanek“ roku 1848 v Praze. *Květy: časopis věnovaný poučné zábavě i záležitostem národním*, 25–38, 203–215, 375–388.

- Zormanová, L. (2017). Polské školství regionu Těšínského Slezska v 19. a na počátku 20. století. *Historia Scholastica*, 2, 55–69.
- Zormanová, L. (2013). Rozvoj vyššího instucionalizovaného vzdělávání žen v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku. *Lifelong Learning – celoživotní vzdělávání*, 3, 26–41.

WAŻNA ROLA STOWARZYSZEŃ KOBIECYCH W ROZWOJU EDUKACJI DLA KOBIEC W CZECHACH

Wprowadzenie: Artykuł przedstawia rozwój poglądów na edukację dziewcząt w Czechach od jej skromnych początków, sięgających połowy XIX wieku, po umożliwienie studiów uniwersyteckich dla kobiet.

Cel badań: Celem opracowania jest pokazanie znaczenia stowarzyszeń kobiecych dla rozwoju edukacji kobiet w Czechach. Postawiony cel badawczy został osiągnięty. W ramach osiągnięcia celu badawczego zostały postawione poniższe pytania badawcze. Główne pytanie badawcze sformułowano w następujący sposób: Jak zmieniła się edukacja kobiet organizowana przez stowarzyszenia kobiece od XIX do pierwszej dekady XX wieku? Z głównego pytania badawczego wynikają następujące szczegółowe pytania badawcze: Jakie cele starały się osiągnąć poszczególne stowarzyszenia kobiece? Jaki był program nauczania w szkołach organizowanych przez poszczególne stowarzyszenia kobiece? Dla jakich warstw społecznych były przeznaczone szkoły organizowane przez poszczególne stowarzyszenia kobiece?

Metoda badań: Aby uzyskać odpowiedzi na te pytania, porównano konkretne stowarzyszenia kobiece, które w drugiej połowie XIX wieku i pierwszej dekadzie XX wieku koncentrowały się na edukacji kobiet w Czechach. Przeprowadzono badanie historyczno-pedagogiczne, w ramach którego zastosowano metodę analizy treści dokumentów. Wykorzystano materiały normatywne, dokumenty archiwalne i artykuły naukowe.

Wyniki: Stowarzyszenia kobiece zadawały sobie różne cele: wspieranie dziewcząt i kobiet, aby mogły jak najlepiej odgrywać tradycyjne role żon i matek, wspieranie dziewcząt z ubogich rodzin i z klasy średniej w uzyskaniu lepszej pozycji na rynku pracy, przygotowywanie ich do studiów uniwersyteckich.

Wnioski: Stowarzyszenia kobiece odegrały znaczącą rolę w ruchu feministycznym. Dzięki wytrwałej pracy owych stowarzyszeń kobiety mogą dziś studiować różne kierunki i widzimy je również w zawodach niestereotypowych płciowo.

Słowa kluczowe: stowarzyszenia kobiece, ruch kobiecy, edukacja dziewcząt, zawody kobiece, studia wyższe, Czechy.