

HISTORY OF EDUCATION & CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

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Al prof. Giorgio Chiosso dell'Università degli Studi di Torino, studioso tra i più brillanti e raffinati della storia dell'educazione e della scuola nell'Italia dell'Otto e del Novecento e maestro di diverse generazioni di ricercatori, in occasione dei suoi settant'anni.

To the Professor Giorgio Chiosso of the University of Turin, one of the most brilliant and refined scholars of the history of education and of Italian schools in the nineteenth and twentieth century and teacher of several generations of researchers, on the occasion of his seventy years.

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*Nineteenth- and twentieth-century schools as
a laboratory for the promotion of national
identity and citizenship education / Part Two
Call for Papers for the 10th anniversary of the
journal «History of Education & Children's
Literature» (2006-2015)*

edited by
Roberto Sani

German youth in Czechoslovakia and the «struggle» for a «new person and a new society» *

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ABSTRACT: The study deals with the analysis of the programmes, beliefs and aims of two significant representative German youth groups in inter-war Czechoslovakia – the Sudetendeutsche Wandervogel and the leading Socialist youth group (Sozialistischer Jugendverband in der CSR) in the Czechoslovakian Republic. The basis of the educational endeavours of these youth groups is viewed in the context of the contemporary debate, attempts to reform life and create a «new person». The study shows that despite the efforts to unify German youth in the socialist camp, even in the federal urban conservative youth, the «victory» of the unifiers was never achieved. However, it is still possible to analyse the crystallisation of the educational theories operating in both groups aimed at the development of the «new person» as a basis of a new socialist society or the revival of a fundamental collective idea of an organically held nation. The study shows that, despite the heterogeneity of the aims and programmes of the chosen groups, we can still find similarities in the educational tools they used in the every-day life of youth. Their meanings were, however, interpreted differently by those young people according to which goals they were being managed towards.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Youth Movement; Wandervogel; Scouting; Ethnic Group; Socialism; Internationalism; Nationalism; Czechoslovakia; XIX-XX Centuries.

* This study originated thanks to the support of the Grants Agency of the Czech Republic (GAČR) as part of the project *Education Programmes and concepts of German pedagogical organisations in inter-war Czechoslovakia* reg. no. 13-18725-S.

Introduction

Czechoslovakia became one of the successor states after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 when the monarchy, which sided with the old world order, lost the First World War. From the point of view of the political scene it meant the birth of a parliamentary democratic republic. The creation of Czechoslovakia was based on the peace treaty of Versailles, particularly on the agreement of Saint Germain and Trianon. The main architects in the founding of Czechoslovakia were the victorious European powers and the USA, whose politicians were encouraged by the exiled Czech political representatives, at the forefront of whom was the subsequent first Czechoslovakian President, T.G. Masaryk (1850-1937) who persuaded them of the legitimacy and viability of an independent Czechoslovakian state.

The new state lay geographically in the very centre of Europe, but it was not endangered solely because of its geography, but mostly because it contained in its very inception the inflammable issue of the inter-war period – the key question of national identity. Czechoslovakia was not the state of one nation, but it was a national state. The state attempted to encourage the concept of Czechoslovakism – meaning the state of the Czechs and Slovaks together – which was to be legitimised by the Czechoslovakian language. In reality the Czechs and Slovaks were nations with different (although relatively close) languages, different cultures and history as well as with (thus far) different political traditions. Slovakia was, until the advent of Czechoslovakia, a part of northern Hungary and controlled by Transleithania laws. On the other hand, the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) were under the political influence of Vienna and were administered by laws from Cisleithania. Two politically and culturally different countries had commonality in their languages and a Slavic sense of belonging, but to succeed with a political union it was not enough to be simply physically joined together. This was shown after 1918 when Slovaks were happy to be freed from strong Hungarian control, however, they expected this to be replaced with greater autonomy and the ability to organise their own national interests¹.

Czechoslovakia had in its independent origins not only the issue of Czech-Slovak, but also in the Czech lands, the question of Czech-German. After the breakdown of attempts by Czechs and Germans to resolve the national positions and achieve ‘equalisation’ of both groups before the First World War, they failed to prevent what was known as the «battle» between Czechs and Germans in the areas of schools and wider education². They could not prevent the natural

¹ The destruction of Czechoslovakia in 1939 was caused, amongst other things, by strong forces demanding an independent Slovakian state at the cost of strengthening an authoritarian political system in an independent Slovakia and its subjugation to the Nazi influence of Germany.

² For more details see T. Kasper, D. Kasperová, *Die berufliche und nationale Emanzipation der tschechischen Lehrerschaft im letzten Drittel des 19. Jhrs. Motive, Ziele, Erfahrungen und*

competition between the two sides³ and the world conflict saw an escalation of the Czech and German ethnic dispute, and with the founding of an independent Czechoslovakia the situation became even more radicalised. The creation of the state was not initially welcomed by the large majority of German political representatives in Czechoslovakia and they supported attempts to separate the German-speaking areas from the new country to an affiliation in the North and West of Czechoslovakia with Germany and in the South with Austria. It is clear that Czech politicians could not contemplate breaking the historic borders of the Czech lands and they refused to acknowledge the idea that the «national revolution» – having resulted in the formation of the Czechoslovakian state – could be undermined and weakened by anyone. German political representatives were only gradually reconciled to the new state which was more acceptable as an intellectual construct than a voluntarily acknowledged political decision (even though the Czechoslovakian Republic offered an alternative to the reparation-bound Weimar Republic and an ‘island’ of economic and political stability). The 1920s (the Golden Age of Czechoslovakia) brought about the establishment of co-operation between Czechs and Germans in a joint state, but already by 1933 – under the influence of the international situation and Hitler’s rise to power – there had begun the radicalisation of nationalistic and non-democratic political elements in Czechoslovakia which found a place in the hearts and minds of the German-speaking population. The political crisis of 1933 began the ‘journey to catastrophe’ which culminated in 1938 and 1939. At the same time it is important to say that non-democratic elements emerging after 1933 had already formed in the period between 1918 and 1933 and the German youth movements in the Czechoslovakian Republic were schooled in the manner of the way of life expected of German youth as the foundation for a new society – as an elite, non-democratic movement whose model should offer a way forward for all Germans in Czechoslovakia. Many key figures in these youth movements were active political leaders and after 1933 they stood at the forefront of the non-democratic political groups in Czechoslovakia. Prior to this time the accepted boundaries between politics and education continued to exist, but this division was broken and education became a tool to achieve

Reflexionen, «History of Education & Children’s Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 181-198.

³ For more on the problem of creating the national identities of Czechs and Germans in the Austro-Hungarian empire, the fight for nationhood, not only in cultural and educational areas, problems in constructing the new nation and questions relating to the activities and views of nationalist activists, as well as the creation of the instruments of national life see: M.P. Judson, M. Rozenblith (edd.), *Constructing nationalities in East Europe*, New York, Berghahn Books, 2005; M.P. Judson, *Guardians of the nation: activists on the language frontiers of imperial Austria*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2006; Id., *Die Schutzvereine und das Grenzland: Aktivitäten zur Realisierung von ‘Imagined Borderlands’*, in P. Haslinger (ed.), *Schutzvereine in Ostmitteleuropa. Vereinswesen, Sprachenkonflikte, und Dynamiken nationaler Mobilisierung 1860-1939*, Marburg, Herder-Institut, 2009.

political, mostly non-democratic ends⁴. For this reason the following analysis concentrates on the period between 1918 and 1933 which was characterised by the beginning of an independent Czechoslovakia, the disorientation of German educators and later by the search for a programme to ensure the survival of Germans in Czechoslovakia or for a scheme to ensure «life-reform» and to create a «new person».

1. The struggle for the «new person» – the aim of education for German youth

One of the major themes, which strongly influenced the educational debate in inter-war Czechoslovakia, was nationalism. Its intensity varied according to individual national groups and, of course, in their terms this phenomenon subsumed many social, political and cultural elements. Certainly in the area of German middle-class youth in inter-war Czechoslovakia it was the key issue, which, not only co-created the specifics of the debate but also the establishment of methods to achieve the fundamental educational aim – the «salvation» of the German nation as a «nationally endangered» people in Czechoslovakia. If in the last third of the nineteenth century the national battle between Czechs and Germans was a characteristic feature of political and cultural life in the Czech lands, then after 1918 the intensity of the struggle was even stronger. The Czechoslovakian state was for many German youth leaders a purely political creation which endangered their «national existence». Feelings of danger and threat intensified the existing irrational rhetoric of German youth leaders, creating the belief that only education could supply the political elements beyond mere party politics to ensure the unity of all Germans in Czechoslovakia. The organic idea of the nation supported this belief amongst conservative German youth that education was the means to ensure German unity. German educators worked through education to develop a sense of identity for German youth, based on the premise of «Völkisch education» which was founded on the idea of an organic core of the nation, defined tribally on the racially-pure blood of the German people⁵. This identity was to be the basis of the new person

⁴ For more details see J. Reulecke, *«Ich möchte einer werden so wie die»: Männerbünde im 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, Campus Verlag, 2001.

⁵ The term «Völkisch» education is a specifically German term and refers to the teaching of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1777-1852) – the founder of the German sporting movement (*Deutsche Turnkunst* 1816; *Deutsches Volkstum* 1810) which was a tool of German youth education in the early nineteenth century. Jahn's idea of the nation as a racially-defined society (Volkskörper) created by unity based on national specification and German distinctiveness (Volklichkeit), it was developed and enhanced by Greater German, anti-Slavic, pan-German and anti-Semitic ideas. The most important proponent of the ideological theories of the «Völkisch movement» (Völkische

working towards national unity and guaranteeing the only possible way for the survival of Germans as a nation endangered by Czechoslovakia. To make the ‘German action’ successful, national unity could not be disrupted by anything. The struggle was led against liberalism and socialism, invoking German social and non-political unity, which it was intended would precede the unification of all areas of life – and as an example the most important of these areas was seen an education.

The concept of a harmonious united national association without political or social differences was the subject of the struggle between conservative leaders who were opposed to the cooler national views of the German Catholic youth groups and even more so against the views of socialist education groups. At the same time the socialist leaders of Left-leaning youth movements in Czechoslovakia did not lack their own fighting rhetorical slogans for a «new youth and a new person» and were working towards «a new order in a new society». The goal of German socialist youth leaders in Czechoslovakia was not education for national unity, but it was for international-socialist unity with no regard to state boundaries and national needs. Although after 1918 the Left wing youth camp faced many disagreements and a division developed between communist and social-democratic camps, the leaders mostly of the social-democratic youth groups continued their efforts to internationally unite all those socialist groups which refused to follow the diktat of the Third Communist International. This also helped German socialist youth groups in Czechoslovakia create greater co-operation with Czech organisations. A more dangerous enemy for German socialist education leaders was not their Czech colleagues and ‘comrades’, but nationalistic fascist members and leaders of youth organisations – Czech or German in Czechoslovakia.

As will be seen, it was German socialists, nationalists and conservative youth in Czechoslovakia who ‘engaged in the struggle’ – national and social. From this point of view, both contrary camps led demands for a «new society». For the socialists it was a question of international unity based on the «socialist revolution», whilst on the nationalist conservative side it concerned national unity along racial and national lines. This struggle for the new person even if it was differently focused – stood as the main social target of all sides in the

Bewegung) was the Austrian leader of the German nationalist movement (deutschationale Bewegung) in Austria Georg von Schönerer (1842-1921) who, particularly after 1870, influenced the rhetoric and ideology (even in socialist groups) by which subsequently many of the German youth leaders recruited in the Czech lands of Austro-Hungary and later Czechoslovakia. For more on the theoretical perspective on Völkisch education and the Völkisch movement see: U. Puschner, W. Schmitz, J.H. Ulbricht, *Handbuch zur völkischen Bewegung 1871-1918*, München, K.G. Saur Verlag, 1996; U. Puschner, *Die völkische Bewegung im wilhelminischen Kaiserreich. Sprache-Rasse-Religion*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001; and S. Breuer, *Die Völkischen in Deutschland. Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008.

different youth movements⁶. The achievement of the goals should also be led by educational instruments and be the main focus of the various youth movements even if these educational tools were aimed at achieving different end results.

2. *German youth movements in Czechoslovakia – education or a social-political platform?*

German youth groups were a specific phenomenon of cultural and social life in the German-speaking areas. On the one hand, it is important to understand it as a part of the broader development of youth organisations in Europe and the USA after 1900, however, the German youth groups were always portrayed as different and specific in comparison with other European states and America⁷. Specifically «the third way» of German organisation placed emphasis on national educational targets and, because of this, their activities and programmes were very nationalistically inclined. An important place in the discussion was occupied by anti-Slavic and anti-Semitic attitudes. It was mainly the middle-class part of the movement that was typified by these strong nationalistic tendencies. It was not only a question of unambiguous nationalism fed by the results of contemporary anthropological research and eugenics, educational leaders also tried to accentuate the specific elements of German culture which differed from French, Anglo-Saxon and American culture and sought to avoid rationalism, liberalism and the wider concept of civilisation. Against this it was argued, German culture should pay specific attention to the development of concepts of an organically-understood nation united as the face of a highly cultured and valued society (Gemeinschaft) standing against the beliefs of modern society (Gesellschaft). German reaction to the intensive process of modernisation, democratisation, urbanisation and the industrialisation of society in the final

⁶ For more on the issues of German youth movements in Czechoslovakia see: P. Nasarski, *Deutsche Jugendbewegung in Europa*, Köln, Verlag Wissenschaft und Politik, 1967; J. Stauda, *Der Wandervogel in Böhmen 1911-1920*, herausg. von K. Obbendorffer, Waldkraiburg, Harwalik, 1975; P. Becher (ed.), *Deutsche Jugend in Böhmen 1918-1938*, Benediktbeuern, Rieß, 1993.

For the history of German conservatively orientated youth groups see T. Kasper, *Pädagogik und Nationalismus: Das Beispiel der sudetendeutschen Jugenderziehung*, «Zeitschrift für pädagogische Historiographie», vol. 12, n. 1, 2006, pp. 19-31; Id., *Deutsche reformpädagogische Vereine in der Tschechoslowakei 1918 bis 1933 als ein Beispiel der pädagogischen Vernetzung*, in H.U. Grunder, A. Hoffmann-Ocon, P. Metz (edd.), *Netzwerke in bildungshistorischer Perspektive*, Bad Heilbrunn, Klinkhardt, 2013, pp. 197-202; Id., *Der völkische Diskurs im Deutschen Turnverband in der Tschechoslowakei*, in H.H. Hahn (ed.), *Hundert Jahre sudetendeutsche Geschichte*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang Verlag, 2007, pp. 173-192; Id., *Einige Merkmale sudetendeutscher Jugendbewegung*, «Brücken», vol. 13, 2005, pp. 167-182; Id., *Vychova ci politika (Education or Politic*, Praha, Karolinum, 2007.

⁷ For more see B. Stambolis (ed.), *Jugendbewegt geprägt*, Göttingen, V&R unipress Verlag, 2013, pp. 14-15.

part of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century was, for the main conservative part, to view it as an unwelcome diversion from the enlightened ideas of science and political freedom and a denial of the opportunity to develop a society based on open citizenry. «Our own German way» it was argued should be developed as a display of a higher spirit which ‘dismisses’ the idea of modern society and negates its developments⁸. The idea of a harmonious united association of spirit was the same for many leading members of German conservative youth and it was finally these people who stepped forward to respond to the call for socialisation created by the criticism of the German middle-class in the final third of the nineteenth century. The German bourgeoisie at this time reacted to the loss of their dominant social position not by their ability to change their life routines, traditions, ideas and aims, but they immersed themselves in culturally-critical discussions against modernisation which was impossible for them to prevent or suppress. German society at the end of the nineteenth century (including the educational groups), on one side revealed unusual developments by applying the results of science, whilst on the other it did not have the courage to understand the world of ‘mere rationality’ as a distinctive and fully-fledged area for the life of an individual and it sought an ‘exit’ from dynamic modernity into pre-Modern forms of an organically-constructed society. In addition, the socialist element of the German youth movement was searching for the way to create the «new person» and a «new order of society». The socialist way was not based so strongly on criticism of Modernity, but on sharp hatred of capitalist society which socialist leaders perceived and understood as a society of evil, a society exploiting the working-class and one based on the inherent inequality of the capitalist system.

In the search for the «new person» – ethnically pure and nationally German-conscious, socialistic, Christian etc. – often joined youth groups with seemingly contradictory programmes⁹.

⁸ German youth movements should be understood as a part of the debate regarding what was known as life-reform (Lebensreform), which at the cusp of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and in the early years of the twentieth century influenced ideas about the social and political order of society. Efforts to achieve life-reform can be understood as evidence of attempts to find a ‘third way’ (affirming or refusing changes in society in terms of their modernisation). Ultimately it was usually about the specific form of anti-modernising efforts which were styled as «a new way». For more on this see K. Buchholz, R. Latocha, H. Peckmann, K. Wolbert (edd.), *Die Lebensreform. Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Leben und Kunst um 1900*, Darmstadt, Häusser Verlag und anabas Verlag, 2001, and D. Krebs, J. Reulecke, *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen: 1880-1933*, Wuppertal, Hammer Verlag, 1998.

⁹ In summarising the work devoted to the German youth groups (Jugend der Weimar Republic) in 1974, the author Rudolf Kneip highlighted a total of 45 different German youth groups in Czechoslovakia whose specific programmes were extremely varied. In this respect it is important to emphasise that we cannot summarise the issue of German youth groups as a single unified concept, but we must analyse the aims and concerns of individual youth organisations, their main concerns and demands, ways of thinking and assertions regarding education, rather than taking a general view of the youth movements.

The following study specialises in the analysis of educational programmes of two chosen youth groups representing the essential divisions in German youth groups in Czechoslovakia – the middle-class conservatives (Sudetendeutsche Wandervogel) and their socialist counterparts (Sozialistischer Jugendverband in der CSR).

3. *The aims of the programme of the Sudetendeutsche Wandervogel*¹⁰

Sudetendeutsche Wandervogel was founded in 1919 as a response to the Deutschböhmischer Wandervogel, which began following the model of German groups in the Czech lands of the empire in 1914 and was part of the Österreichischer Wandervogel. Ideologically the group identified itself with the German Wandervogel movement and was different from the Austrian counterpart in that it claimed a higher sensibility and placed a greater emphasis on nationalism which was the most pressing issue of the day facing the German population in the Czech lands of the empire.

Analysing the main demands in the programme of this group in the years between 1918 and 1933 we are confronted by two distinct factions which were represented by different members of the association. On the one side were gathered the «old guard» (represented by K. Metzner and R. Staffen) and on the other side were the «young ones» (led by H. Rutha and K. Henlein). It was not simply a question regarding the age of these chosen leaders but more of an issue of their allegiance to one of the two main schools of thought regarding the future direction of the group. The old guard was convinced, even after 1918, that in terms of teaching they should abandon and refute politically-focused education aimed at preparing young people to achieve political targets. In this respect education should, according to their views, still endeavour to achieve the 'Völkisch' targets and through them consolidate the position of German youth and the wider German population in Czechoslovakia. They also felt that borders between education and politics should not be swept away, but should be respected. This is why the older faction focused on and encouraged *Home-education* or *Heimatbildung*¹¹ which had been developed by many other organisations and which was supported by a magazine of the same name published since 1919 by the leading member of the German Völkisch movement in Czechoslovakia, Emil Lehmann (1880-1964)¹². In the pages of

¹⁰ For more on the analysis of German bourgeois youth in Czechoslovakia see T. Kasper, *The German youth group Deutschböhmischer Wandervogel and Sudetendeutscher Wandervogel as an example of a national pedagogical concept*, «Rivista di Storia dell'educazione», n. 1, 2015 (in press).

¹¹ *Heimat* is a German word with no English equivalent; it denotes the relationship of a human being towards a certain spatial social unit.

¹² Emil Lehmann worked between 1906 and 1928 as a high-school professor. Subsequently

the *Heimatbildung* magazine, which was aimed at adult readers and those leading the education of the bourgeois youth groups, the publishers encouraged Völkisch awareness as a basis for wider educational reform: «New education should bring us united, happy beliefs, Völkisch morally-agreed knowledge which we do not have at present [...] most of all, school and education must be permanent advocates of specific education in the spirit of the common good»¹³. *Home-education* was seen as a key tool in the creation of the «new person» as described in the programme commentary from 1933 for the *Sudetendeutscher Front*:

We need new people who will be enthused by a new understanding of the nation's existence and growth and turn their thoughts to the nation's survival and the development of life-laws [...] they [scil. «the new people»] will not see in the nation something which was comprised of individuals: the old individualism and liberalism will be left behind them¹⁴.

As is clear from the quotation, it did not mean that *Home-education* was seen as an example of education as a democratic concept. It can also be seen that such a philosophy was opposed to the introduction of state civil education in Czechoslovakia in terms of the newly-introduced compulsory subject of Civic Education, first begun in Czechoslovakian schools in 1919. Above all there was no place for non-German ethnic groups in *Home-education*. *Heimatbildung* was not only anti-Slav and particularly anti-Czech, but also anti-Semitic. It achieved a significant influence not only amongst the leaders of the youth groups, but also in the areas of adult education and German universities.

Although the concept of *Home-education* was successfully propounded and intensified in the *Sudetendeutscher Wandervogel*, it failed to unite the whole movement. In one camp were the very active 'young' wing which naturally adhered to the concept of Völkisch and only partly accepted the ideas of *Home-education*. On the other side, there was a developing focus on what became called nationalist political education which aimed to prepare young people to be active in the national political struggle and to be determined to engage politically «for the nation». This view was developed by the charismatic leader of the 'young' wing, Heinz Rutha (1897-1937)¹⁵. He pushed in a «regenerating direction» from the congress in 1918 where he defined the target

he became a leading figure in the society dedicated to enhancing Völkisch education (Gesellschaft für deutsche Volkserziehung), which had been established in Liberec (German town in the North of Bohemia – Reichenberg) in 1925. In his publishing and lecturing career he often placed himself in conflict with the law as he spoke against the democratically ordered Czechoslovakian Republic. In 1935 he was convicted for his activities, by the Czechoslovakian authorities, but he escaped to Dresden from where he continued to develop his ideas on homeland-education.

¹³ H. Wulsen, *Zur Neubegründung der sudetendeutschen Volkserziehung*, «Heimatbildung», n. 3, 1922, pp. 123-127.

¹⁴ E. Lehmann, *Sudetendeutsche Front*, Reichenberg, Kraus Verlag, 1933, p. 18.

¹⁵ M. Cornwall, *The Devil's Wall – The Nationalist youth Mission of Heinz Rutha*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2012.

of Sudetendeutsche education as the realisation of national unity based on race, racial-selection and strong leadership (Fuhrertum). Rutha based his theories in strong leader, obedience to that leadership and the concept of «general basic education» (Gesamterheizung) led by national political targets (volkspolitische Ziele):

The nation is disoriented and disorganised, it misses the spiritual clarity and internally organised order. Völkisch life (Völkisches Leben) is mindless and is typice of the leaders of many such creations organised for their own benefit. The nation misses a group of real leaders and that is why its ideal is a pleasant comfortable life¹⁶.

The direction taken by Rutha was in line with the teachings on discipline and leadership established by the nationalist conservative, Professor Othmar Spann (1878-1950) and his theory of the corporate state as well as the Rutha's findings from discussions with youth groups where fellowship was propounded as the highest form of the core social life and the foundation of a new nationalist community. This stood against the 'traditional form' of society and the 'lack of spirituality' in liberalism.

In the 1920s Rutha became increasingly popular amongst the Sudetendeutscher Wandervogel, but he was still unable to achieve his main target by his own endeavours; namely the total federation of all non-socialist German youth in Czechoslovakia¹⁷. To achieve his goals Rutha needed a strong partner. This partner came from the German Sports Association (Deutscher Turnverband in der Tschechoslowakei – DTV) at the head of which in 1931 was Konrad Henlein (1898-1945) who was a close friend of Rutha and those who propounded the teachings of O. Spann. Konrad Henlein reformed the German Sports Association in Czechoslovakia according to the 'regenerating' actions of Rutha and he linked the Wandervogel with the DTV. In this way he created an organisational structure which helped to strengthen the ideas of the 'young' element and pushed forward Spann's thoughts on education and nationalist political education into the wider sphere of the German middle-class youth movement before the beginning of the political crisis in 1933.

¹⁶ H. Meier, *Der Weg der Jugend*, «Junge Front», 1934, p. 5.

¹⁷ Already by 1922 the connection between non-socialist German groups was established through the Sudetendeutsche Jugendgemeinschaft. However, in terms of the group's ideology and its programme of aims we cannot say that this group was at all successful. It achieved more through the informal organisational links it established rather than putting forward a programme of unity which could serve as a model for the unification of all the German population in Czechoslovakia. In the 1930s Sudetendeutsche Gemeinschaft combined into a single organisation with up to 50,000 members which was a high number in comparison with organised German youth in the communist and social-democratic groups in Czechoslovakia.

4. *The programme targets of the socialist German youth groups in Czechoslovakia*

The history of the socialist youth groups in Czechoslovakia (Sozialistischer Jugendverband in der CSR) truly began in December 1920. Before this time there was a rich tradition of German working youth (Arbeiterjugend) in the Czech lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The industrialised parts of the Empire were the lands where the social question was developed in addition to labour youth associations. This took place until the beginning of the twentieth century¹⁸. At this time the question of education and the resolution of the difficult social situation facing young apprentices was the main issue in the programme of labour youth groups. After the experiences of the First World War, the programme of working youth concentrated its main energies against militarisation and resolving social concerns facing working-class youth. The image of the First World War as one of the most strategic moments in world history was clearly evident in associated publications in the first four years after the founding of the new state of Czechoslovakia: «The war left only wreckage, it particularly left painful footprints on our bodies and as well as on the souls of thousands of our group's members»¹⁹. The year 1918 heralded the beginning of the Austrian and Czechoslovakian republics, but it also saw the important strengthening of social-democratic political groups which highlighted the needs of working-class youth. After 1918 the priorities of the programmes of German working-class groups in Czechoslovakia were partially altered, but the main changes occurred in the organisations' structure. The key reason for this was strong disagreement between the communist and social-democratic wings of the movement. Social-democrats were concerned by the focus of the communists on the Internationale and its attendant philosophy when it became clear that communist youth wanted to be the sole guarantors of the ultimate victory of socialism and they created conflict within their own ranks when they unjustly accused others of being betrayers or those who failed to understand the need for the real fight for socialism²⁰. This struggle culminated in a split in the ranks of German labour youth groups in 1920. Unity between communist and social-democratic youth was absent during the inter-war period both in Czechoslovakia and in other European groups. Against strong calls for international unity the two groups stood in opposition to one another with regard to their views as to

¹⁸ The first labour youth group was founded in Vienna in 1894. At the beginning of the twentieth century many such groups were founded in the Czech lands which led to the beginning of the Reichs association Verband der jugendlichen Arbeiter Österreichs 1903. German groups in the Czech lands took important positions and co-created the programme and key activities of the movement.

¹⁹ [Anonym], *Konstituierung der sozialdemokratischen Jugendorganisation*, «Die junge Welt», vol. 1, nn. 1-2, 1919, pp. 4-6.

²⁰ [Anonym], *Internationale Jugendbewegung*, «Die junge Welt», vol. 1, nn. 1-2, 1919, pp. 5-7.

how to solve the social questions facing young people, as well as on other key concerns. While the German communist youth groups wanted to solve matters in a ‘revolutionary way’, German social-democrats in Czechoslovakia called for gradual progress towards emancipation through cultural and educational work: «The programme of Internationale youth is built on a wrong premise – that youth is the most active element and the most revolutionary part of the proletariat. However, it expects political work which should not place in youth movements [...]. There should be on the first position in youth organisations a focus on education and schooling»²¹.

This can be seen in the regulation of the association which stated that members of the group should strive to reach the social and economic aims by using the following tools; conferences, discussions, printing publications and books, the foundation of libraries and organising social and cultural events²². Group publications put forward the message that the aim of the association was to create a sense of belonging linked to the values and programmes of the group, to embed knowledge and understanding of socialism and prepare young members in physical, spiritual and ethical ways for the struggle for socialist virtue and values:

You, boys and girls, who have to stand so early in working life and feel the shackles and horrors of the capitalist order. You would all like to improve this situation and to change it to a better one. You would all like to be free and to free others. The way for such freedom is through education. Would you like to be free? Learn!²³

Ernst Paul was the first chairman of the group and he summarised the philosophy thus: «If we are to achieve these targets then we are doing important work, not only for the spiritual and economic freedom of our young people, but also to win freedom for all the proletariat, we are participating in building socialism»²⁴. This work in the socialist struggle was not only endangered by ideological attacks from the communist camp, but also by conservative nationalist youth groups: «We want to be the combative youth. The youth of the proletariat who realise their own class-identity which is closely linked with the fighting organisations of the proletariat. Working-class youth should not be linked to organisations which do not stand in the class-struggle»²⁵. At the same time this shows that middle-class youth was perceived as blindly nationalistic and devoted to the ‘indulgences’ of capitalism and capitalist economics. Communist youth were viewed by the social-democrats as betrayers in their own ranks and they felt it was impossible to share the same language

²¹ E. Paul, *Zum Anschluss an sie kommunistische Jugendinternationale*, «Die junge Welt», vol. 2, n. 11, 1920, p. 2.

²² For more see regulations of the group preserved in the archive of the Prague city Federal fund.

²³ [Anonym], *Jetzt lerne*, «Die junge Welt», vol. 1, nn. 1-2, 1919, p. 15.

²⁴ E. Paul, *Was will der sozialistische Jugendverband*, «Sozialistische Jugend», vol. 2, 1922, pp. 5-8.

²⁵ [Anonym], *Die Bodenbacher Tagung*, «Sozialistische Jugend», vol. 3, 1923, pp. 180-181.

or beliefs with them²⁶. The only solution for social-democratic youth was to be found in the education of the socialist spirit: «The target, the aim of our organisation is to convince boys and girls aged 14-18 of the ideas in the social world, arouse in them recognition of social differences and train them for the class-struggle»²⁷. With this goal social-democratic youth believed they would abandon not only the social, political and economic shackles of the old world, but also the spiritual obstructions created by the old order. The way to achieve these targets was via proven forms – schooling, education and cultural work, enlightenment and lecturing activities, publishing socialist periodicals, the founding of socialist libraries of classics, socialist enlightenment in politics and social economics and understanding a socialist view of the world. Concretely this meant the advancement of a model of a united school system, the removal of inequality and non-democratic approaches to the education of working-class children, removing the compulsory subject of Religion from schools, advancing the reform of apprentice schooling and generally improving the social standing of apprentices, support for the education of girls, support for physical education, the introduction of ethical education and support for student self-government»²⁸.

If we can see what kind of tools were used to reach chosen targets and by which means it was believed the class struggle should be won, leading to the victory of socialism, then it can be shown that there were forms which were widespread in the ranks of all the German youth movements, not only on the Left wing. As is evident in analysis of printed material, particularly in the magazine *Socialist Youth* (Sozialistische Jugend) from the period in question, is the part played by certain educational activities and forms; hiking in nature, reading recommended ‘ideologically-sound’ literature and printed material, being a member of recommended conferences and debates, singing chosen ideologically-correct songs, nurturing a sense of belonging and friendship in the ranks of boys and girls or co-educational groups. At the forefront of the discussion also stood opposition to a consumer life-style – in the socialist camp there was a rejection of visits to the cinema, reading of ‘ideologically-unsound’ literature, also forbidden was the consumption of alcohol or visits to pubs, dancing, distractions and other entertainments. These were all seen as part of the temptation of capitalism which tried by these tools to ideologically and physically corrupt and endanger socialist youth in such a way as to make the victory of socialism impossible.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-181.

²⁷ [Anonym], *Die Jugendinternationale*, «Die junge Welt», vol. 2, n. 11, 1920, pp. 1-3, here p. 2.

²⁸ [Anonym], *Unser Program*, «Sozialistische Jugend», vol. 11, 1931, p. 2.

Conclusion

If we examine the specific programmes and the main targets of the two key groups of German youth in Czechoslovakia, it can be seen how the nationalist conservative and the socialist youth groups used very similar educational tools to achieve their chosen targets. We should also point out that the organisation of the youth movements were extremely similar in their programmes, despite their ideological differences.

In both camps belief in the need to struggle to create a «new person» were aroused. On the Left wing this focused on the class struggle to achieve socialism, whilst in the nationalist conservative camp were concerned with attempts to achieve non-party political unification of all non-socialist groups in the spirit of nationalist political education – an extremely non-democratic educational concept.

The period between 1918 and 1933 saw the German youth movements in Czechoslovakia fail to overcome the illusions of the struggle of youth, either to save the German nation or to achieve the victory of socialism.

Building the Nation. Schools and Constitution Day in Milan in the aftermath of Italian Unification

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ABSTRACT: A law issued on 5th May 1861 established Constitution Day (*Festa dello Statuto e dell'Unità nazionale*) as a mandatory holiday, set on the first Sunday in June. The main and opening event of the *Festa* was the military parade, aimed at exalting the contribution of the various branches of the armed forces to the national Risorgimento. The legislation also provided for the holding of school prize giving ceremonies on the same day. This was intended to draw attention to the role of schools, complementary to that of the army, in constructing national identity, and to promote the value of merit as opposed to a notion, typical of the past, of education as a privilege. To date few studies have set out to reconstruct the role of schools in the Constitution Day celebrations of individual municipalities. It is the aim of this paper to partly fill this gap, by investigating Milan City Council's progressive involvement of the municipal schools in the Constitution Day celebrations from the early 1860s onwards. Specifically, from 1862, the Council established that on Constitution Day prizes should be given out to the pupils of the municipal night schools, both secondary and primary. The prize giving was later extended, although only for a few years, to the female students of the Sunday primary schools. From 1864, the boys' primary schools were also involved in the celebrations by having the pupils give public gymnastics displays at the Arena. The current investigation does not stop at describing the Constitution Day initiatives that involved the Milanese municipal schools, but also explores underlying educational models promoting a sense of national belonging. Of particular significance, in this regard, are the speeches given by the municipal and school authorities to mark the prize-giving and gymnastics events. The research is based on print and archive documents from the period under study, such as records of City Council debates, prize giving booklets, and articles from a number of authoritative educational journals, such as «Patria e Famiglia» and «L'Educatore Italiano».

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Nationalization; Public Education; Prize-Giving; Italy; XIX Century.

Introduction

A law issued on 5th May 1861 established Constitution Day (Festa dello Statuto e dell'Unità nazionale) as a mandatory holiday. With this measure, Italy's ruling class laid «another cornerstone in the construction of the national community». The holiday undoubtedly bore great symbolic significance, designed as it was to involve the entire country, from north to south, in a single commemoration of national unity, marked by a shared ritual¹. However, as has been observed by many scholars, the effective impact of the event fell short of expectations, due amongst other reasons to the limitations of the law establishing it: state-driven and imposed from on high, Constitution Day was made the responsibility of the municipal authorities, charged with organizing and funding it. For this reason, the outcomes varied from one place to another, in line with the specific policies adopted by town or city councils and the political leanings of the local élites. The general population had little active involvement in the festivities, attending them more as onlookers than as participants.

Constitution Day, set on the first Sunday in June, opened with a military parade celebrating the contribution of the various branches of the armed forces to the Risorgimento and Italian Unification. This event, with its colourful uniforms, music and stirring displays, was the highlight of the day, and was aimed at exciting and impressing the public. An additional and novel feature of the holiday was the holding of school prize giving ceremonies. A move that was clearly intended to draw attention to the role of schools, complementary to that of the army, in constructing national identity, and to promote the value of merit as opposed to a notion, typical of the past, of education as a privilege².

¹ I. Porciani, *La festa della nazione. Rappresentazione dello Stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia Unita*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1997, p. 34. There is a vast literature on the construction of national identity in post-unification Italy. Here by way of example we cite: B. Tobia, *Un patria per gli italiani*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1991; U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Torino, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1992; I. Porciani, *Stato e nazione: l'immagine debole dell'Italia*, in S. Soldani, G. Turi (edd.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*. Vol. I: *La nascita dello Stato nazionale*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, pp. 385-428; E. Gentile, *La Grande Italia. Il mito della nazione nel XX secolo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2006; A.M. Banti, *Sublime madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2011.

² On the involvement of schools in the Constitution Day celebrations cf. Porciani, *La festa della nazione*, cit., pp. 97-108. Concerning the role of schools in the construction of national identity, see also: F. Tianiello, *Nazione e storia nelle proposte educative degli ambienti laici di fine Ottocento*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali tra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999, pp. 61-91; M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003; A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004; P.L. Ballini, G. Pécout (edd.), *Scuola e nazione in Italia e in Francia nell'Ottocento. Modelli, pratiche, eredità. Nuovi percorsi di ricerca comparata*, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2007; S. Soldani, *L'alfabeto morale delle scuole per il popolo e il «risorgimento della*

The City Council of Milan was proactive in involving the city's students in the various Constitution Day proceedings, displaying exceptional zeal in this regard with respect to a more disappointing trend at the national level³. This may be attributed to the «awareness of their educational role» shown by the successive local administrations that governed Milan over the first thirty years of national unity. The impact of such an awareness on the organization of urban space, place names and the occupation of symbolic spaces, has been widely documented⁴. To date however, little has been written about Milan City Council's progressive involvement of the municipal schools in the Constitution Day celebrations from the early 1860s onwards. The holiday programme featured two events for schools: prize-giving ceremonies for night school students and gymnastics displays by primary school pupils. The current paper provides a reconstruction of these specific events.

1. *The student prize-giving ceremonies*

In its opening edition of January 1861, the educational journal «Patria e Famiglia» (Nation and Family), published by the Associazione pedagogica di Milano (Pedagogical Association of Milan) under the direction of Giuseppe Sacchi, announced that the Interior Minister had presented a bill in Parliament instituting Constitution Day, and had appealed to local authorities to use the occasion to mark student achievement⁵. The periodical praised this initiative, inviting Milan City Council to take up the government's recommendation and to follow the example of Turin City Council in distributing prizes as a means of encouraging working class students who had excelled at school. In Milan, the

nazione», in M.L. Betri (ed.), *Rileggere l'Ottocento. Risorgimento e nazione*, Torino, Carocci, 2010, pp. 147-168; G. Chiosso, *Libri di scuola e mercato editoriale. Dal primo Ottocento alla Riforma Gentile*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2013, especially Chapter Three entitled *La formazione del piccolo italiano nei libri di lettura*, pp. 83-108.

³ Cf. Porciani, *La festa della nazione*, cit., pp. 99-100.

⁴ B. Bracco, *Tendenze educative e istanze politiche della classe dirigente milanese: i luoghi dell'identità nazionale nella toponomastica del capoluogo lombardo dall'Unità alla Grande Guerra*, in L. Cavazzoli, C.G. Lacaita (edd.), *Riforme e istituzioni fra Otto e Novecento*, Manduria, Lacaita, 2002, pp. 395-426 (the reference here is to p. 404); see also Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani*, cit., on the peculiar case of Milan, where after Unification a balance was achieved, more so than in other cities, especially Rome, between «pedagogical intent and cultural development» in the construction of the new urban space (p. VII).

⁵ Cf. *Gli istituti educativi alla nuova festa dello Statuto*, «Patria e Famiglia» (henceforth PeF), vol. 1, 1861, pp. 23-25. On «Patria e Famiglia», see S. Chillè's description in G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia (1820-1943)*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997, pp. 484-485. On G. Sacchi, cf. the recent scholarly biographical entry by S. Polenghi in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. II (L-Z), pp. 448-449.

journal suggested, where it was already customary to invite schoolchildren to civic festivities, the pupils of the lower and upper classical secondary schools, upper technical schools and boarding schools, who received training in military exercises, could take part in the military review alongside the National Guard. The periodical's invitation was not just addressed to the city of Milan, but extended to the rural centers of population, called on to avail of Constitution Day to solemnly inaugurate new or renovated infant schools, educational and charitable institutes, or primary schools. In the view of «Patria e Famiglia», Italy would do well to follow the example of other countries such as Germany and England by instituting a holiday for children, and linking the celebrations into the commemoration of national unity:

it is beyond belief – the journal argued – how much the people may be brought to love the free regime, when they are allowed to celebrate that which they hold dearest in the world, their own offspring [...]. We hope that Constitution Day [...] may assign a key part in the public rejoicing to the new generation called to follow us. They have not suffered as we have and they have the right to smile before us and we might say almost to console us on a day that reminds us of the end of our past tribulations and announces to our children a future that will never fade⁶.

The public holiday was intended to consolidate the creed of nationhood among all social classes and for this reason, the journal observed, should represent an opportunity to review not only «the people that is armed» but also «the people that is educated». The sense of national identity transmitted by Constitution Day should comprehend the value of solidarity among the different social strata.

We hope – «Patria e Famiglia» explained – that the infant school and primary school children, the orphans, the destitute, and the elderly residing in public hospices may also be called to take part in the festivities and may parade in orderly groups behind the banners of the workers' associations, with the participation of women as well as men. All of the nation's social classes must be invited to take part in the public celebrations on that day. The nation on that day must recognise itself, see itself, embrace itself⁷.

Milan City Council heeded the journal's appeal. On the first Sunday of June 1861, in Piazza d'Armi, the military parade was followed by a review of the students from the upper classical secondary schools, public and private boarding schools, and the boys' orphanages. The students had matched «the veterans decorated for their service in Crimea and in the campaigns for national independence», and were greeted with enthusiasm by the officiating authorities

⁶ *Gli istituti educativi alla nuova festa dello Statuto*, cit., p. 25.

⁷ *Gli istituti educativi alla festa dello Statuto*, PeF, vol. 4, 1864, pp. 303-306 (the passage cited here is on p. 306).

including General La Marmora⁸. The following year, in 1862, the Council extended the Constitution Day festivities to include the giving out of prizes to the most deserving pupils attending post-primary courses at the municipal night schools. The prize giving was subsequently also offered to the night school pupils taking primary school courses⁹.

The night schools had been set up by Milan City Council in the context of the ongoing reorganization of the city's school system. The moderate administration that took over the governance of Milan after the liberation from Austria, displayed particular commitment to providing primary school education for the working-classes, then the responsibility of the municipal authorities¹⁰. In the eyes of the Milanese ruling class, this level of education not only fulfilled a practical function (making the population literate) but also a cultural, moral and political one. School was the place in which all social classes, particularly the more disadvantaged, were to be integrated into the new nation. It was also hoped that the schools would contribute to boosting Milan's prestige within the new Kingdom.

At the initial presentation of the Council's schools programme in May 1860, the city councillor with responsibility for Education, G. Visconti Venosta¹¹ pointed up the critical issues of the old school system inherited from the Habsburg Empire¹², while also speaking out against the limitations of the Casati Law on education, issued by the Piedmontese government in 1859

⁸ *Gli Istituti Educativi alla festa nazionale del 2 Giugno*, PeF, vol. 1, 1861, pp. 133-134 (the current reference is to p. 134).

⁹ Cf. *Scuole serali comunali di Milano. Prima solenne distribuzione de' premi fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 1 giugno 1862*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.]; *Gli istituti educativi alla festa dello Statuto*, cit., p. 303.

¹⁰ On this theme see: L. Finocchi, *Edilizia scolastica a Milano dal 1860 al 1885*, «Storia urbana», n. 6, 1978, pp. 88-129; I. Giustina, *Istruzione, cultura, assistenza. La nuova architettura pubblica della città*, in G. Rumi, A.C. Buratti, A. Cova (edd.), *Milano nell'Unità nazionale 1860-1898*, Milano, Cariplo, 1991, pp. 193-228; C. Ghizzoni, *Scuola e lavoro a Milano fra Unità e fascismo. Le civiche Scuole serali e festive superiori (1861-1926)*, Lecce-Rovato (BS), Pensa Multimedia, 2014, pp. 21-39, 69-83.

¹¹ Cf. *Proposta pel riordinamento della pubblica istruzione comunale. Commissione degli studi*, in *Atti del Municipio di Milano, annata 1860, seduta del 4 maggio 1860*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], p. 63.

¹² On the school system in Milan during the Habsburg period, see: *Problemi scolastici ed educativi nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento*. Vol. I: *L'istruzione elementare*, Milano, SugarCo, 1977; X. Toscani, *Scuole e alfabetismo nello stato di Milano da Carlo Borromeo alla Rivoluzione*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1993; Id., *La politica scolastica nel Regno Lombardo-Veneto (scuole elementari)*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Chiesa e prospettive educative in Italia tra Restaurazione e Unificazione*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1994, pp. 317-353; A. Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento. Lombardia, Veneto, Umbria*, 2 vols., Brescia, La Scuola, 2007; S. Polenghi, *La formazione dei maestri nella Lombardia austriaca*, in Ead. (ed.), *La scuola degli Asburgo. Pedagogia e formazione degli insegnanti tra il Danubio e il Po (1773-1918)*, Torino, Sei, 2012, pp. 45-89; Ead., *Elementary school teachers in Milan during the Restoration (1814-1859): innovations and improvements in teacher training*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 147-166.

and afterwards extended to the other regions of Italy¹³. The main criticisms targeted at the new law concerned the fact that the curriculum for technical education was considered too generalist and inadequate to the task of training future leaders to guide the nation's growth; the fact that it did not provide for secondary level education for girls; and some aspects of its legal and economic treatment of teachers. The Council ruled, in line with the proposals of its Executive Committee, to set up a Schools Commission with responsibility for overseeing the reorganization of the Milanese school system as required by the Casati Law, while also driving the introduction of additional reforms deemed necessary to cover the areas not catered for by the national legislation¹⁴. In the view of the Executive Committee, priorities included investing in school buildings; setting up additional institutions providing literacy training and post-primary education for working youths (both men and women) to supplement the existing state school system; forming a body of motivated and adequately legally protected teachers to staff the municipal primary schools; reforming primary schooling not merely to meet the minimum requirements of the Casati Law but with a view to enhancing educational and methodological approaches.

As already mentioned, one of the first educational reforms approved by the Council was the setting up in 1861 of secondary night schools for boys and young men. The aim was to provide post-primary education and vocational training for the trades, industry, commerce and office employment to youths and adults who were already working. Over a three-year cycle, students were taught: Italian language and literature, geography, general history, Italian history, physics and natural history, arithmetics and accounting, morals and civic rights and duties, calligraphy and drawing. Immediate and long-lasting was the success enjoyed by these schools among the population of Milan, as reflected in the excellent student numbers¹⁵.

¹³ For criticisms regarding the education law of the newly united state, see: *Relazione della Commissione civica per gli studi sul riordinamento dell'istruzione comunale letta nella seduta del 6 maggio 1861 del Consiglio municipale*, [Milano], Pirola, [s.d.]. For a more general overview of the objections raised against the Casati law by Lombard intellectuals and politicians, cf. M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003, pp. 331-340.

¹⁴ The Commission was composed of both council members and outsiders and, in the period stretching from 1860 to 1868, included authoritative representatives of the political and intellectual scene in Lombardy, such as Giovanni Visconti Venosta, Paolo Belgioioso, Carlo Tenca, Giovanni Cantoni, Cesare Correnti, Luigi Rossari and Giuseppe Ambrosoli, the last-mentioned later being substituted by Francesco Rodriguez. Cf.: *Proposta pel riordinamento della pubblica istruzione comunale. Commissione degli studi*, cit., pp. 67-68; *Nomina della Commissione per gli studi*, in *Atti del Municipio di Milano, annata 1861, seduta del 4 luglio 1861*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], pp. 246-247.

¹⁵ For further background on these schools, I would refer the reader to Ghizzoni, *Scuola e lavoro a Milano fra Unità e fascismo*, cit.

In founding these evening secondary institutions, Milan City Council not only intended to emancipate working youths who had broken off their studies after primary school by enabling them to continue their education, but also to guide their moral development at the delicate juncture of Lombardy's transition from Austrian domination to the freer regime offered by a united Italy. To this end, in 1862 it also set up a surveillance committee for these schools. Made up of «excellent citizens», the committee's role was to ensure that «the fruits of education should not [go] to waste [...] and that this bright and hardworking youth [...] [might find] in the assiduous and affectionate patronage of authoritative personages a guard and a defence against seductions and deviations». Underpinning the setting up of this body was the conviction that if the aim was to have «sensible and moral populations, able to benefit from, without abusing, freedom, [it was necessary to] educate and guide them»¹⁶.

It was not a coincidence that the first civic institutions to be involved in the Constitution Day celebrations were the secondary night schools¹⁷. In selecting the students of these schools as the beneficiaries of the earlier-mentioned Constitution Day prize giving, Milan City Council had two aims. First, it set out to encourage these youths, who were making significant sacrifices to go back to school, to be constant in their attendance and efforts. There were various levels of prize, consisting of savings deposits of £. 20, 30 or 40 at the Cassa di Risparmio di Milano, and honorable mentions¹⁸. They were distributed at

¹⁶ *Rendiconto e proposte della Commissione per gli studi*, in *Atti del Municipio di Milano, annata 1862, seduta del 2 luglio 1862*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], pp. 198-199.

¹⁷ It is worth pointing out that the primary school students received prizes at other times of the year: see, for example, *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni ed alunne delle scuole comunali elementari e festive nel R. Palazzo di Brera il 19 agosto 1875*, in *Atti del Municipio di Milano, annata 1874-1875*, Milano, Pirola, 1875, Parte II, pp. 183-201; *Alunni e alunne delle scuole elementari e festive premiati o distinti con menzione onorevole. Anno scolastico 1877-78*, in *Atti del Municipio di Milano, annata 1878-1879*, Milano, Pirola, 1879, Parte II, pp. 21-41, in this school year the prize giving ceremonies were held in December. To date, the phenomenon of school prize giving ceremonies in this period has not been the object of any dedicated studies. Concerning the custom of giving books as prizes on these occasions, see: E. Marazzi, *Il «libro di premio» nei cataloghi degli editori milanesi del secondo '800, «La fabbrica del libro»*, n. 2, 2011, pp. 12-19; as well as the same author's recent and well-documented *Libri per diventare italiani. L'editoria per la scuola a Milano nel secondo Ottocento*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2014, pp. 215-228.

¹⁸ Cf. *Scuole serali comunali di Milano. Prima solenne distribuzione de' premi fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 1 giugno 1862*, cit., pp. 3-4; *Scuole serali comunali di Milano. Distribuzione de' premi fatta nel Palazzo del Comune il 7 giugno 1863*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], pp. 3-7; *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni ed alle alunne delle scuole comunali serali e festive fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 5 giugno 1864*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], pp. 3-4; *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni ed alle alunne delle scuole comunali serali e festive fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 5 giugno 1865*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], pp. 3-5. A book was the prize given to those receiving honourable mention: cf. *Solenne distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle scuole serali comunali nel salone superiore del R. Ginnasio C. Beccaria in Piazza S. Alessandro il 1° giugno 1890*, Milano, Pirola, 1890, p. 4. It is on record that in the early years of the secondary night schools the book awarded as a prize was A. Manzoni's *I promessi sposi*.

a solemn function, whose ritual varied little over time: it was always attended by the leading city and school authorities, being held in the early years at City Hall, and later in the Salone dei Giardini Pubblici or in schools, and opened with a speech by the Councillor with responsibility for Education, a teacher or a member of the Schools Commission.

Second, by recognising the achievements of these particular students, Milan City Council also hoped to strengthen these younger and more mature workers' bond, not only with the city that had set up these schools for their good, but also with the newly founded nation. The policy of giving out the prizes on national Constitution Day signified that the education offered by the secondary night schools reached beyond the confines of city life to contemplate the individual's responsibility to the nation:

Your and our duty – Giovanni Visconti Venosta claimed in 1863 – is to make ourselves worthy of the new name that we have been able to adopt, that of free citizens. And just as no one of us holds back when called to make the country strong, so no one of us should hold back when given the opportunity to honour it by sowing something good in our minds¹⁹.

The introductory speeches given by the authorities at the prize giving ceremonies abounded with references to the theme of national education. Indeed one of the most frequently recurring themes was the key importance of education for the creation of the new united Italy, which needed educated and competent individuals to contribute to the nation's civil, cultural and economic progress. In his speeches throughout the 1860s, Councillor Paolo Belgioioso constantly drew on examples from the history of Italians and of other peoples to illustrate the value of civic-mindedness and education, the true and great strength of nations at times of crisis.

In an address to students in 1866, he affirmed that:

Just as the man of science in contemplating the heavens does not lose sight of the earth, but learns its dimensions and form; so will it be for you, my young friends. Education will not distract you from your work, but by unfogging your intellect, will bring you closer to God and make you better. And when have come to know about the inventor of the machine that you operate, the improvements that may be made to it, the forces that drive it, your work will no longer seem tedious to you, but will become less disagreeable and more productive. [...]. Man's condition is improved by simple, down-to-earth, and therefore fertile, education, which frees him from the slavery of ignorance and passion²⁰.

The notion of the emancipating force of education was further developed in the self-help literature that appeared in the wake of Unification and was strongly

¹⁹ *Scuole serali comunali di Milano. Distribuzione de' premi fatta nel Palazzo del Comune il 7 giugno 1863*, cit., pp. 9-10.

²⁰ *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni ed alle alunne delle scuole comunali serali e festive fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 3 giugno 1866*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], pp. 13-14.

reflected in the primary school readers of the late 1800s²¹. While in 1864, Paolo Belgioioso drew pupils' attention to the example of the United States, which despite the adverse impact of the civil war, was enjoying rapid industrial growth, in 1868, Councillor G. Piola held up B. Franklin as an example to students who were sacrificing their evening hours of rest to attend school. In 1872, the head of studies at the school in Via Cappuccio, Vincenzo Masserotti, cited G. Stephenson, the father of railway transport, and A. Johnson, president of the United States of America, as examples of men who had reached high positions through study and work²².

Thus these prize giving speeches exalted «workism» in order to reinforce in the youth the idea that they could contribute to the consolidation of the young nation through their personal commitment to their work and studies. It should be specified that the link between education and individual and social growth was framed within an idea of progress that was controlled and subject to the limits of social class. In 1868, for example, Piola reminded the pupils being awarded with prizes that «morality» and «economy» were «the great secret of private and public prosperity»²³, while in 1871 Councillor Sebregondi explained that «the three allies of work and progress [were] knowledge, perseverance and honesty. Let us learn and we will be honest – he argued – let us be honest and we will, to the extent that it is possible, be happy»²⁴. Although it was probable that only a few would leave their mark on the history of science, art, or technological innovation, expounded Councillor Negri in an 1874 speech that also served to curb the dangerous ambitions potentially encouraged by the self-help literature, all those who so willed could contribute to social progress by working hard²⁵.

²¹ On the self-help literature see: G. Baglioni, *L'ideologia della borghesia industriale nell'Italia liberale*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974, pp. 309-365; S. Lanaro, *Nazione e lavoro. Saggio sulla cultura borghese in Italia 1870-1925*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1979, pp. 89-162; Id., *Il Plutarco italiano: l'istruzione del 'popolo' dopo l'Unità*, in *Storia d'Italia, Annali*, Vol. IV, *Intellettuali e potere*, ed. by C. Vivanti, Torino, Einaudi, 1981, pp. 553-587; A. Chemello, *La biblioteca del buon operaio. Romanzi e precetti per il popolo nell'Italia unita*, Milano, Unicopli, 1991. On how the values of «workism» were translated into school books, cf.: M. Bacigalupi, P. Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo. L'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'Unità d'Italia alla Repubblica*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1986, pp. 58-72; Chiesso, *Libri di scuola e mercato editoriale. Dal primo Ottocento alla Riforma Gentile*, cit., pp. 103-108.

²² Cf. *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni ed alle alunne delle scuole comunali serali e festive fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 5 giugno 1864*, cit., pp. 6-7; *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni delle scuole serali superiori e elementari fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 14 giugno 1868*, cit., p. 539; *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle civiche scuole serali superiori ed elementari nel salone ai giardini pubblici il 2 giugno 1872*, Milano, Pirola, 1872, pp. 8-11.

²³ *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni delle scuole serali superiori e elementari fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 14 giugno 1868*, cit., p. 539.

²⁴ *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle civiche scuole serali superiori ed elementari nel salone ai giardini pubblici il 4 giugno 1871*, cit., p. 7.

²⁵ Cf. *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle scuole serali comunali superiori e elementari nel civico Palazzo Marino il 7 giugno 1874*, Milano, Pirola, 1874, p. 9.

The model to be followed was Renzo, the protagonist of Alessandro Manzoni's classic work *I Promessi sposi* (The Betrothed): an example that was socially and geographically close to the night school pupils. Although reading Manzoni's masterpiece represented no small challenge for some, it was recommended to these students both as a source of guidance and as the ideal reading for their leisure time.

Strive, young pupils – admonished Sebregondi in 1871 – to learn as soon as possible to decipher all the treasures contained within that splendid volume [...]. From those pages you will learn the story of the prejudices of two centuries ago, and, looking at yourselves in the mirror of errors that have not completely disappeared, you will find lessons about how to avoid them, and like Renzo you will learn «not to heed bad counsellors», you will learn «that words have one effect in the mouth and another in the ears» and like Renzo, by «thinking more how to do good than how to obtain it», you will «end by obtaining it»²⁶.

During the late 1860s and early 1870s, against a backdrop of heightened social conflict that led to a series of strikes in Milan amongst other places²⁷, the speeches laid even stronger emphasis on the fact that there were natural and social limits to the youths' legitimate aspiration to improve their own condition and that of their families, which had prompted them to go back to school by night, and which, if maintained at an appropriate level, would contribute to consolidating the nation.

Remember – Negri urged them in 1874 – that [...] measured and cautious must be the step with which you advance, tenacious must be your will, and incessant the work of your arms and minds, and do not be deceived into thinking that violence of any sort will allow you to instantly leap forward to your goal. [...] the arms that will gain you victory are not those of violence and tyranny. These may one day allow you to enjoy a false triumph, soon to be followed by cruel disillusionment and ruinous falls. Let your arms be the honesty of your souls, the strength of your faith and the cultivation of your intelligence²⁸.

Furthermore, the education provided by the secondary night schools was intended to exercise a controlling function over freedom: if unregulated, freedom would cease to be good, actually becoming «a danger» if given to a people lacking in a sound education, comparable to giving a weapon to an «inexperienced boy»²⁹. Thus, in the new free and united Italy, schooling could no longer be viewed as a privilege available to few, but was to become a necessary asset for all, teaching that freedom consisted of «the power of all to

²⁶ *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle civiche scuole serali superiori ed elementari nel salone ai giardini pubblici il 4 giugno 1871*, cit., p. 12.

²⁷ On this theme, see A. Nascimbene, *Il movimento operaio lombardo tra spontaneità e organizzazione*, Milano, SugarCo, 1976, pp. 110-138.

²⁸ *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle scuole serali comunali superiori e elementari nel civico Palazzo Marino il 7 giugno 1874*, cit., pp. 7-8.

²⁹ *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni delle scuole serali superiori e elementari fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 14 giugno 1868*, cit., p. 538.

do good», liberating individuals from the tyranny of prejudice and passion and helping them to understand that they could contribute to the common good from «any position» in life³⁰.

The repeated appeal to the students at the municipal night schools to avail of this educational opportunity to improve themselves and therefore to contribute to strengthening the nation was naturally complemented by the call to love the country which had their best interest at heart and which was providing them with an education for the sake of their own good. In the words of Councillor Francesco Sebregondi, speaking at the prize giving ceremony for the 1870-1871 school year: «Today, dear pupils of these schools, you can see the great interest and great love that your country bears for you, in that it has found no better way of celebrating its most solemn holiday than by calling you to receive your reward». «The nation – he went on to explain – wishes to emancipate you from the languid torpor of ignorance and misery; you in turn pay back this great effort, this great investment, this great trust by building the nation through the vigor of your work, by your firm commitment to the principles of law and order, and by your readiness to make the harsh sacrifices demanded by her laws of freedom»³¹.

A similar bond was to be formed between the pupils and the City Council, to which the students owed gratitude for having founded the night schools and because it watched over their studies and progress in life «with the eyes and heart of a mother»³². It should be said that in the various speeches made to mark the giving out of prizes to the night school students on Constitution Day during the late 1800s, this theme was only barely touched on, and very discretely at that, by the Councillors and Schools Commission members, while it was far more strongly emphasized by the teachers and heads of the schools. Students' duty to be grateful to the local administration for providing for the education of the working classes with «judicious generosity»³³, even going beyond the minimum requirements imposed by the Casati Law, was in any case intended to be a key theme of the moral instruction imparted by the night schools, as is documented for example by the essay question proposed for a night school exam paper by Luigi Rossari³⁴ to Councillor Belgioioso during the 1860s. After explaining that the question was somewhat long because the essay

³⁰ *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle civiche scuole serali superiori ed elementari nel salone ai giardini pubblici il 2 giugno 1872*, cit., p. 6.

³¹ *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle civiche scuole serali superiori ed elementari nel salone ai giardini pubblici il 4 giugno 1871*, cit., p. 9 e pp. 10-11.

³² *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle scuole serali comunali superiori e elementari nel civico Palazzo Marino il 7 giugno 1874*, cit., p. 5.

³³ *Distribuzione dei premi agli alunni delle civiche scuole serali superiori ed elementari nel salone ai giardini pubblici il 2 giugno 1872*, cit., p. 11.

³⁴ On Rossari, a retired teacher and member of the Schools Commission, as well as a close friend of Alessandro Manzoni's, see the biographical entry in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 431-432.

question was also designed to test «the candidate's skill or difficulty in taking down the dictation», he suggested the following text:

Dialogue between Pietro and Carlo.

Pietro: I am so happy that they have opened these schools that allow us to get a proper education while leaving us free to work during the day! I must confess Carlo that I would dearly love to go and thank the City Council...!

Carlo: What are you thinking of? You would have to go to the Lord Mayor, to the Councillors with special responsibilities, to all 60 ordinary Council Members ... you would never manage all that! And neither would they who have so much to do, if we were all to go to thank them in person! There are many ways to give thanks...

Pietro: For example...?

Carlo: I think the thanks they would like best would be...

(The candidate presents his own ideas)³⁵.

It is worth pointing out that this insistent reference to the new conviction that education was no longer a privilege reserved for a minority but an opportunity and a duty for all in the interests of consolidating the nation, co-existed with the older idea of education as «*beneficence*», as the granting of a benefit, in this case by the City Council to the working classes.

With regard to the involvement of Milanese schools in the Constitution Day festivities by organizing of prize giving functions, there is one final aspect to be noted: the participation of the female pupils of the municipal Sunday schools. Alongside the secondary and primary night schools for boys and working men, in 1862 Milan City Council set up Sunday schools for girls and women in order to fill a gap that was only partly catered for by private charitable institutions³⁶. These schools offered a two-year cycle of education to younger and older women already in paid employment. The curriculum included «the principal rudiments of education, including Italian, calligraphy, arithmetic, the metric system, basic geography, key notions of national history, and home economics»³⁷. The key importance attached by the Council to this branch of education³⁸ too is clearly documented in the first *Avviso* (Notice) announcing the opening of these schools in 1862, in which the local administration entrusted

these schools to the dedication and interest of heads of family, store and workshop managers and all those whose position requires them to oversee and desire the education of their women dependents or employees. It [the Council] is persuaded that all parties will cooperate

³⁵ L. Rossari to P. Belgioioso, [1867], in *Carteggio Luigi Rossari*, Civiche Raccolte Storiche – Museo del Risorgimento, Milan (henceforth *Carteggio Rossari*).

³⁶ Cf. *Rendiconto e proposte della Commissione per gli studi*, cit., p. 199.

³⁷ Giunta Municipale della Città di Milano, *Scuole festive femminili. Avviso*, 24 settembre 1862, in *Atti del Municipio di Milano*, annata 1862, Parte II, *Pubblicazioni del Municipio di Milano*, cit., p. 471.

³⁸ See Ghizzoni, *Scuola e lavoro a Milano fra Unità e fascismo*, cit., pp. 69 ss.

to ensure that student attendance reflects the importance of these institutions, so that no segment of the population may miss out on the benefit of education, and so that our city may be ever more deservedly proud of its material and civic progress³⁹.

The response from Milanese women was hugely positive. In the very first year of the schools' operation, the City Council was obliged to open two more than the six originally planned for. Furthermore, the excellent progress made by some of the students and their evident desire to continue their education prompted the Schools Commission to introduce a «finishing course» after the primary cycle⁴⁰. As explained by the Commission in its report on the years 1865-1867, this was «a first experiment in secondary education, initially confined to the core subjects and to the duration of only one year»⁴¹. The course was frequented by pupils who had displayed good aptitude and interest in continuing their studies beyond the primary level. By the 1870s the original one-year cycle had been extended to the three-year format of the existing secondary night schools. It should be observed that while with the introduction of the «finishing course», the City Council certainly intended to raise educational standards for women and to compensate for a gap in the Casati Law⁴², it was nonetheless, just as in the case of the secondary night schools, also concerned with orienting the moral training of working class women and girls towards healthy values and the familial and social duties of women.

This perspective helps to shed light on the City Council's decision to include the pupils of the Sunday schools in the Constitution Day festivities of the mid-1860s. In 1864 the prize giving was extended to the pupils of the all-female Sunday schools. Councillor Belgioioso, in his introductory speech, observed with «pride» that Constitution Day could finally be considered complete now that it also included women, «the cornerstone of the family», the «first educators of humankind», and those who laid the foundations for the proper development

³⁹ Giunta Municipale della Città di Milano, *Scuole festive femminili. Avviso. 24 settembre 1862*, cit., p. 472.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Guida di Milano per l'anno 1866*, Milano, Bernardoni, 1866, p. 311; *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni ed alle alunne delle scuole comunali serali e festive fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 3 giugno 1866*, cit., p. 5; *Relazione della Commissione degli studi concernente gli anni 1865-1866 e 1866-1867, e proposte*, in *Atti del Municipio di Milano, annata 1868, seduta del 25 maggio 1868*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], pp. 174-175.

⁴¹ *Relazione della Commissione degli studi concernente gli anni 1865-1866 e 1866-1867*, cit., p. 174.

⁴² As is well known, the Casati Law did not mention secondary or third-level education for girls. It made no provision for technical or classical secondary education for girls, nor for university education for women. On this topic see: S. Soldani (ed.), *L'educazione delle donne. Scuole e modelli di vita femminile nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989; Ead., *S'emaparer de l'avenir: les jeunes filles dans les écoles normales et les établissements secondaires de l'Italie unifiée (1861-1911)*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 40, nn. 1-2, April 2004, pp. 123-142; C. Ghizzoni, S. Polenghi (edd.), *L'altra metà della scuola. Educazione e lavoro delle donne tra Otto e Novecento*, Torino, Sei, 2008.

of the younger generations⁴³. The female pupils of the Sunday schools took part again in 1865 and 1866, but from 1868 they were no longer involved in the Constitution Day rituals. The Council had decided, as Councillor Piola would explain, that it was inappropriate to forego a day of school for the prize giving and that lessons should continue uninterrupted up to the end of the school year, and therefore at least until the last Sunday in June⁴⁴.

There is no reference in Piola's speech to the appropriateness or otherwise of involving the female students in the celebrations marking national unity. Nonetheless, it is clear that the presence of women at the Constitution Day festivities did not go unnoticed, given that in March 1866 we find Rossari writing to Belgioioso in the following terms:

I am told that the music teacher is telling the girls that they may be singing at the Arena on Constitution Day. It seems to me that he is over-hasty in promising things that are not his to decide and that could give rise to criticisms that would further undermine the already woefully undermined good will of the educated public towards the poor Commission⁴⁵.

The gymnastics displays at the Arena, which we discuss in the next section, were indeed accompanied from 1865 onwards by the singing of patriotic anthems by the primary school students. «Patria e Famiglia» praised the initiative, but expressed the hope that the female students, who were now finally taking part in the Constitution Day prize giving ceremonies, might also join in the school choirs. «We would not like to think – the magazine went on – that the City of Milan should hear no female voices other than those of our orphans at the Stella, who accompany funeral processions in song». The city should not be alarmed at the idea of «seeing its dear female students who are so well able to enliven the noble feast day of thought by singing in public», as used to be the custom in Ancient Rome⁴⁶. However, the journal's hope was destined to remain unfulfilled: with the exception of the aforementioned period during the mid-1860s, the Sunday school students received their prizes together with the primary school pupils during or at the end of the school year and no longer on Constitution Day⁴⁷. In this regard, Milan was fully in line with the rest of the country, in which women were «distanced» from the celebration of national unity up until the Italo-Turkish war and the major events organized

⁴³ *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni ed alle alunne delle scuole comunali serali e festive fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 5 giugno 1864*, cit., p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Distribuzione de' premi agli alunni delle scuole serali superiori e elementari fatta nel palazzo del Comune il 14 giugno 1868*, cit., p. 538.

⁴⁵ L. Rossari to P. Belgioioso, 20 marzo [18]66, in *Carteggio Rossari*.

⁴⁶ *Le scuole primarie di Milano alla festa dello Statuto*, PeF, vol. 6, 1866, p. 250. Concerning the Female Orphanage of the Stella, referred to in the journal, cf. E. Baio Dossi, *Le Stelline. Storia dell'Orfanotrofio Femminile di Milano*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1994; *La città delle Stelline*, Milano, Fondazione Stelline, 2000.

⁴⁷ See the documentation cited earlier in note 17.

to commemorate the first 50 years of Italian unity⁴⁸. This distancing was an expression of the exclusion of women from the places in which the rights of citizenship were exercised.

2. *The Gymnastics Displays at the Arena*

The City Council's involvement of the municipal schools in the Constitution Day programme in order to build national feeling was not confined to the prize giving ceremonies for the students of the secondary night schools and, if only for a few years, the female pupils of the Sunday schools, but was also extended to primary school children. Specifically from 1864 onwards, these younger students became the protagonist of another of the Constitution Day celebrations: the gymnastics displays at the Arena.

In the context of the Council's earlier mentioned drive to improve the quality of primary education in the city, Councillor Visconti Venosta suggested to the Schools Commission that it would be appropriate to introduce physical education classes, previously excluded from the primary curriculum, to both recreational and educational ends. Visconti Venosta stressed the value of physical exercise, in that «by alternating the long hours of school, [it rested] the children's minds, [strengthened] their slender limbs and early [endowed] them with the discipline of courage, thereby [teaching them] to be men of honor in their country's hour of need»⁴⁹.

The Schools Commission took the recommendation on board and proposed to the Council to introduce physical education into both girls' and boys' primary schools. The proposal was approved at the Council meeting of 31 May 1861. The documentation from the period provides some information, though sketchy, about the local administration's reasons for wanting to bring gymnastics into Milanese schools, despite the fact that it was not required under the terms of the Casati Law⁵⁰. First, as may be inferred from the comments of some of the councillors, such as the pathologist Paolo Mantegazza⁵¹, the decision seems to have been informed by medical science, which claimed at the

⁴⁸ Cf. Porciani, *La festa della nazione*, cit., pp. 88-95.

⁴⁹ Proposta pel riordinamento della pubblica istruzione comunale. Commissione degli studi, cit., pp. 64-65.

⁵⁰ It is important to note that the Casati Law did not provide for physical education in primary schools, which only became obligatory with the De Sanctis Law of 1878. Concerning physical education in Italy in the 1800s, see: G. Bonetta, *Corpo e nazione. L'educazione ginnastica, igienica e sessuale nell'Italia liberale*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1990; P. Ferrara, *L'Italia in palestra. Storia, documenti e immagini della ginnastica dal 1833 al 1973*, Roma, La Meridiana, 1992.

⁵¹ On this topic, see C. Ghizzoni, *La ginnastica nelle scuole primarie milanesi nel primo decennio postunitario*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 9, n. 2, 2014, pp. 549-577.

time and continued to claim for many years afterwards, that physical education was critical to improving public health.

Furthermore, the Milanese interest for physical education dated back to the first half of the 1800s. As early as 1819 articles on the topic had been published in Federico Confalonieri's *«Il Conciliatore»* (The Mediator). The journal compared the educational systems of a number of countries with those in force in the various regions of the Italian peninsula, warning of the negative consequences associated with an education predominantly focused on the intellectual and spiritual development of the younger members of the Italian ruling class, who were less robust and less well-prepared to meet the challenges of life than their English peers who practiced sport⁵². In 1825, again in Milan, the director of the Royal College of Military Orphans, Colonel E. Young⁵³, had published the book *Ginnastica elementare o sia corso analitico graduato degli esercizi atti a sviluppare ed a fortificare l'organizzazione dell'uomo estratto dalle opere di autori di ginnastica professori Clas e Guts-Muths* (Basic gymnastics or an analytical course of graduated exercises for developing and fortifying the human organism drawn from the work of gymnastics professors Clas and Guts-Muths). The manual did not stand out for the originality of its thinking, being based on the theoretical reflection of two leading contemporary experts on the topic. It was successful however both at home and abroad because of its easy-to-use format and its translation of gymnastics into a course of progressively more difficult exercises that was useful for teaching purposes. The positive reception of the book reflected a «background of cultural and social renewal in Milan that [was giving rise to] increasing demand for physical education, which [was] by then widely present in educational and intellectual settings»⁵⁴.

In sum, the Milanese intellectual circles who had taken part in the Risorgimento and some of whose members governed the city in the period following Unification, were not only convinced of the power of education to improve the condition of the individual and to culturally and economically strengthen society, but also of the formative value of physical education per se. Gymnastic exercises were seen as resting the mind from intellectual fatigue, fortifying the body and – where boys were concerned – preparing them for the duty of defending their country.

⁵² Cf. Bonetta, *Corpo e nazione*, cit., pp. 52-54. The interest displayed by *«Il Conciliatore»* in physical education is to be viewed in the context of the broader concern with educational issues that characterized political and cultural journals during the Risorgimento in general: cf. V. Mazzucchelli, *L'educazione popolare. Dibattiti e strutture*, in *Problemi scolastici ed educativi nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 9-92; D. Maldini Chiarito, *Scuola, insegnanti e programmi nei fogli scolastici di Milano*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989, pp. 63-85.

⁵³ Concerning the Collegio di San Luca, where Young worked also, see S. Polenghi, *Fanciulli soldati. La militarizzazione dell'infanzia abbandonata nell'Europa moderna*, Roma, Carocci, 2003, pp. 151-171.

⁵⁴ Bonetta, *Corpo e nazione*, cit., p. 54.

The Council's plans however came up against some practical difficulties. Not alone was there no national legislative framework for the provision of physical education, but the schools were lacking in suitable spaces and in appropriately trained teachers. After a failed attempt to recruit teachers via a public competition, the Schools Commission sought assistance from the leading authority on physical education at that time present in Italy: R. Obermann⁵⁵. Resident in Turin since 1833, Obermann ran a training course for physical education teachers to be placed in Italian schools of all levels. The course had been set up by the Education Ministry in 1861 at the instigation of the Turin Gymnastics Society⁵⁶. Thanks to this partnership between the Education Ministry and the Society, Obermann's method of teaching physical education became that mainly adopted in Italian schools for at least the following two decades. His method was informed by the work of the German A. Spiess and it involved the gradual introduction of a series of floor exercises, group and synchronized calisthenics, and exercises with equipment to be carried out in gymnasiums. The adjustments made by Obermann, who had further developed the educational dimension of the exercises, however, did not completely cancel out their strongly Prussian military character, functional in any case to the nationalisation of the masses and the formation of good soldiers, as well as good citizens, pursued by the ruling class of the Italian Liberal State.

In July 1862, Milan City Council approved a proposal by the Schools Commission to subsidize four young men, preferably primary school teachers, to go to Turin and attend Obermann's course for three months from August to November, with the aim of having them «return [...] ready to profitably teach physical education in [...] schools»⁵⁷. This allowed Milan to become one of the few Italian cities in which physical education was taught in municipal primary schools by the 1862-1863 school year⁵⁸. The four teachers who had trained in Turin began to teach physical education using Obermann's method at the

⁵⁵ On the Swiss-born physical education expert, cf. the biographical entry by A. Magnanini in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 249-250.

⁵⁶ This was the first Gymnastics Association to be set up in Italy. It was founded in 1844 in Turin by Obermann together with members of the Piedmontese nobility: cf. *Monografia della Società ginnastica di Torino e statistica generale delle scuole di ginnastica in Italia anno 1871-1872*, Torino, Botta, 1873; R. Gilodi, *La Reale Società Ginnastica di Torino. Sport e cultura nel tempo*, Torino, MAF Servizi, 1994.

⁵⁷ *Rendiconto e proposte della Commissione per gli studi*, cit., p. 194.

⁵⁸ The enterprising approach of Milan City Council to the introduction of physical education in municipal schools immediately after Unification was recorded, in those same years, by the Istrian G. Draghicchio, a prominent figure in Italian and European gymnastics in the 19th century: cf. G. Draghicchio, *Impressioni e note sullo stato della ginnastica in Verona, Milano, Torino, Piacenza e Firenze*, Trieste, Apollonio e Caprin, 1874, pp. 16-27. On Draghicchio, see the biographical entry by N. Močinić in *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, cit., Vol. I, p. 498. Concerning Milan City Council's efforts to introduce gymnastics as a school subject in the city's schools, an area that has been little explored to date, see Ghizzoni, *La ginnastica nelle scuole primarie milanesi nel primo decennio postunitario*, cit. On the Council's initiatives from

primary schools that had a yard big enough to accommodate «the lining up and simultaneous manoeuvres of a sizeable group of children»⁵⁹. The scheme initially involved four of the six boys' schools then offering the full four-year cycle of primary education⁶⁰. Although these schools were lacking in most of the necessary equipment⁶¹, thanks to the «dedication» and «technical competence» of the teachers, the outcomes exceeded expectations, according to the Schools Commission's report to the Council in September 1863. This document emphasized both the physical and moral benefits of the new discipline:

Whoever has seen these children, in their modest canvas uniforms, making the most challenging and graceful of moves and executing manoeuvres with the ease and precision of experienced men, cannot but have wondered at the alacrity impressed in their young bodies and the intelligence awakened in their minds of the kind of movements to be executed. The greatest benefit derives from the discipline [required], which is the more likely to be observed the more it is seen in an educational light, given that gymnastics is closely related to pedagogy, and aims not only to strengthen the limbs but to also to educate the soul to a sense of order and harmony⁶².

By subsidising the teachers who wished to receive special training in the teaching of gymnastics once again in 1863 and 1864, the Council was able to offer this subject in all six of the full-cycle primary schools by 1864-1865. In the boys' lower primary schools (which offered only the first two years of primary education), physical education was introduced in the 1868-1869 school year, although initially in only one of the six schools then operating in Milan.

Although the Council was very keen to introduce the teaching of gymnastics into the girls' primary schools also, this proved more challenging⁶³. After a series of unfruitful attempts in the period between 1862 and 1864 to persuade Obermann to come to Milan to train some female physical education teachers, a solution was only finally identified in 1867. In that year, Turin City Council asked the local Gymnastics Society to hold a first training course for female physical education instructors, which was also attended by five women teachers

Unification up until the 1878 education law, brief mention may be found in Bonetta, *Corpo e nazione*, cit., pp. 78-81, 95-96; Ferrara, *L'Italia in palestra*, cit., pp. 40-60.

⁵⁹ *Relazione della Commissione civica per gli studi letta nella seduta del Consiglio municipale del 25 settembre 1863*, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], p. 5.

⁶⁰ Cf. L. Rossari to P. Belgioioso, Milano 24 luglio 1863, in *Carteggio Rossari*.

⁶¹ On the theme of the design and production of physical education equipment for the schools, see D.F.A. Elia, Giuseppe Pezzarossa's (1880-1911) gymnastics equipment workshop, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 7, n. 1, 2012, pp. 465-484.

⁶² *Relazione della Commissione civica per gli studi letta nella seduta del Consiglio municipale del 25 settembre 1863*, cit., pp. 5-6.

⁶³ On physical education for girls in 19th century Italy, cf. A. Teja, *Educazione fisica al femminile. Dai primi corsi di Torino di ginnastica educativa per le maestre (1867) alla ginnastica moderna di Andreina Gotta Sacco (1904-1988)*, Roma, Società Stampa Sportiva, 1995, pp. 9-27; D. Di Ferdinando, *Contro le bugie del cosmetico. Alle origini della ginnastica femminile, «Lancillotto e Nausica»*, vol. 7, nn. 1-2-3, 1990, pp. 42-49.

from Milan. As I have illustrated elsewhere, the interest of Milan City Council was one of the factors that led to the setting up in Turin – cradle of the national gymnastics movement – of an ad hoc training programme for female physical education teachers⁶⁴.

Meanwhile the Council had also been active in producing regulations for the teaching of physical education in schools. In 1864 it issued the *Discipline per le civiche scuole elementari* (Disciplinary Code for Municipal Primary Schools), which, in the section on special subject options, laid down the rules for gym classes⁶⁵. Gymnastic exercises could be done «during recreation; in the hours preceding or following classes in other subjects, and on holidays». Each class was required to have at least two gymnastic sessions per week, within the «school grounds». It was forbidden to go on walks, and if it was necessary to bring the pupils to a venue outside the school premises, permission had to be sought from the school superintendent's office, which would then establish how and when this was to be done. Parental consent was required for the pupils to take part in gymnastics classes⁶⁶. In sum, it is evident that the Council wished to establish clear and strict rules, reflected in the decision to ban walks (although they were part of the programme recommended by Obermann) and to confine gymnastics activities to the school premises.

However, in contrast with these regulations, as early as 1864 gymnastics left the «school grounds» to enter the arena of public space. From that year onwards, the Council established that gymnastics displays by the primary school students were to be a part of the Constitution Day ritual. With this initiative, the local administration intended to reinforce the role of primary schools in forming a sense of patriotism in their pupils and in the population at large. Holding the public display on the holiday designated to celebrate national unity pointed up the educational goal underpinning the teaching of gymnastics, that is to say, to prime young Italians to take up their duty as soldiers, an aim reflected in the military character of Obermann's approach and replicated by Milan's first primary school gym teachers⁶⁷.

On the morning of Constitution Day in June 1864, some 3,000 primary school boys were gathered in the Arena and, with their families as spectators,

⁶⁴ Ghizzoni, *La ginnastica nelle scuole primarie milanesi nel primo decennio postunitario*, cit., pp. 571-572.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Discipline per le civiche scuole elementari di Milano*, 29 ottobre 1864, in *Atti del Municipio di Milano, annata 1864*, Pubblicazioni del Municipio di Milano, Milano, Pirola, [s.d.], pp. 524-533.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 531.

⁶⁷ This approach is documented by the manual drawn up in the early 1860s by Paolo Martinelli, one of the first teachers to provide physical education instruction in Milanese schools and chosen by the Council to attend Obermann's teacher training course in Turin: P. Martinelli, *Breve guida ai primi esercizi ginnastici con tavole relative aggiuntavi La teoria per la Scuola di Pelottone e di Compagnia del maestro Paolo Martinelli allievo del professore Cav. Obermann di Torino*, Milano, Gnocchi, [s.d.].

this «small army» executed «every kind of gymnastic feat». The display was testament to the Milanese school system's emphasis on educating the body as well as the mind, so to prepare the youth for the «future titanic struggles of the nation»⁶⁸. The pedagogical journal «L'Educatore Italiano» (The Italian Educator) observed that the exhibition had provided confirmation of what was already clear to some: gymnastics was key to promoting agility, «strengthening of the limbs» and a sense of harmony and order, and therefore to forming youths «ready to uphold the dignity of the nation through the vigor of their arms and their minds»⁶⁹.

The display itself had two educational objectives: validating the new discipline of gymnastics in the eyes of the population, and firmly instilling into the pupils, who had spent the whole year preparing for the event, and into the audience the concept of the nation and its founding values. The pedagogical connotation of this particular Constitution Day event was taken up and drawn out even further by a series of articles in Milanese educational journals that were strongly imbued with civil religion⁷⁰. «L'Educatore Italiano» commented enthusiastically on the 1865 gymnastics display in the Arena:

Anyone who saw with their own eyes the movements and exercises of that swarm of youngsters, certainly leaped even further ahead in their imagination. If all Italians were as united in will and indeed as synchronised were the movements of those nearly three thousand feet, which advanced as though they were a single foot, now to the right and now to the left, of a similar number of hands which all clapped together in the same instant; now one saw all the foreheads, now all the profiles, in this wide variety of exercises for the upper and lower limbs, gymnastics manoeuvres, rhythmic steps and handling of rods, which concluded with a general drill⁷¹.

Similarly to the military parade, the choreography of the gymnastics display was designed to evoke the image of the nation by emotionally arousing the audience. This aim was further reinforced, from 1865 onwards, by the introduction of singing to accompany the gymnastics exhibitions⁷². Having choirs sing alongside the performing gymnasts had the educational objectives of enhancing the team spirit, making the execution of the drills and manoeuvres

⁶⁸ *Gli istituti educativi alla festa dello Statuto*, cit., p. 304.

⁶⁹ *L'istruzione ed educazione nella festa nazionale*, «L'Educatore Italiano», vol. 9, n. 23, 8 giugno 1865, p. 181.

⁷⁰ On this theme, in addition to the works cited in footnote n. 1, see: E. Gentile, *Le religioni della politica. Fra democrazie e totalitarismi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2001.

⁷¹ *L'istruzione ed educazione nella festa nazionale*, cit., p. 181.

⁷² Cf. the article cited in the previous note and *Notizie scolastiche. La festa delle scuole nella solennità nazionale a Milano il 2 giugno*, «L'Educatore Italiano», vol. 9, n. 23, 6 giugno 1867, p. 181; I. Cantù, *La Festa della Nazione a Milano*, *ibid.*, vol. 13, n. 23, 10 giugno 1869, pp. 177-178; *Notizie scolastiche. Milano. Le scuole nella festa della nazione*, *ibid.*, vol. 14, n. 23, 9 giugno 1870, p. 179.

more harmonious and furthering the moral aims of gymnastics⁷³. Specifically, the displays at the Arena in Milan were introduced by patriotic anthems, as recommended by Obermann, with the clear aim of consolidating national identity. The anthem most frequently sung at the various Milanese displays was *For our country! Song of the Gymnastics Pupils*, set to music by Carlo Rovere and written by Giulio Carcano, writer, poet and, up to 1865, Milan's Commissioner of Education. The words of the song featured themes that were typical of the patriotic anthems of those years, such as exalting the sacredness of the nation, sacrificing one's own existence for the good of the nation and filial devotion to one's country⁷⁴. It proclaimed that:

Perils are the joy of the strong;
 Harsh the path over the airy mountains.
 With ardour let us rise! Happy is the morning,
 And brilliant the star of the future.
 Thus rejoicing did the sons of Greece
 From their taxing games head for the field:
 Their proud mothers, to the flash of spears,
 Saw the brave band take its leave.
 Let them lay aside the lighter arts;
 War demands vigour of temperament.
 The land of our fathers is not ours,
 As long as any piece of it is not ours.
 Those who divided it out amongst them
 Like a torn cloak, are still here:
 We bear the hardship of our brothers:
 One is our country, as one is the altar!
 Our sacred homeland, whose name is Italy,
 From her crown of Alpine peaks,
 Along the green flanks of the Apennines
 Meets the sea's double embrace.
 We all love her, like the mother
 That once watched over our cradle:
 Oh Italy! Oh, mother free and one,
 You are the country God gave us⁷⁵.

The pedagogical goals of the overall choreography of the display were correctly interpreted by «Patria e Famiglia» who described the 1866 event in the following terms:

⁷³ Regarding the spread of choir singing in Italian schools after Unification and the associated educational goals, see: Bonetta, *Corpo e nazione*, cit., pp. 193-201.

⁷⁴ On recurrent themes in national-patriotic discourse throughout the 1800s, see Banti, *Sublime madre nostra*, cit., pp. 3-93.

⁷⁵ Per la patria! Canto degli alunni ginnasti, in *L'istruzione ed educazione nella festa nazionale*, cit., p. 181.

Our young gymnasts who received their teacher training at Obermann's school in Turin excelled in aligning the numerous regiments of our pupils, leading them to match the impressive manoeuvres of our army veterans. At a single trumpet call, we saw the instant formation off ordered lines making up a thousand combinations and figures. Now they simulated a circle, now a square, now a star. Never immobile, but with coordinated and rhythmic steps, now they marched and clapped their hands, and now turned away in seeming flight. And that flight which at first gave an impression of disarray, soon recomposed itself into new lines and flexibly ordered groups. There was a moment in which these thousands of boys lined up in such a magical way as to represent with their own bodies the gigantic letters of that sacred word *Italy*. And no sooner had that word been formed than three different sectors raised three types of ribbon reproducing the three colours of the nation.

The representation of Italy played out by the young primary school students had amazed and moved the spectators: the journal felt that thanks were due to the «capable educators» who had «been able even through the medium of bodily movement to touch the deepest and noblest fibres of the Italian soul»⁷⁶. In sum, the display at the Arena, instituted by the local political and school authorities, completed the educational design that had led the City Council to introduce physical education into schools: in bringing the pupils of the municipal primary schools out into public to exhibit their gymnastic exercises, the Council in reality aimed to reinforce national identity and love of country in all the citizens of Milan.

Conclusion

Almost a decade after Unification, the authoritative educational periodical «*Patria e Famiglia*» once more published an article on the Constitution Day celebrations. The civil religion, already present in the articles of the previous years, took on critical tones towards the Church which was hostile to the national holiday⁷⁷. The journal held up schools as the «temple» in which to celebrate Constitution Day. «*Patria e Famiglia*» praised those local authorities which, like Milan, had decided to mark the occasion «by calling like the Divine Master all the children to itself to examine their progress in their studies and reward them»⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ *Le scuole primarie di Milano alla festa dello Statuto*, cit., p. 249.

⁷⁷ On the attitude of the Church to Constitution Day, cf. Porciani, *La festa della nazione*, cit., pp. 169-192. Specifically in relation to the situation in Milan, see B. Ferrari, *Dalla rivoluzione francese alla morte dell'arcivescovo Calabiana: l'età del Risorgimento*, in A. Caprioli, A. Rimoldi, L. Vaccaro (edd.), *Storia religiosa della Lombardia. Diocesi di Milano, Brescia, La Scuola*, 1990, II Parte, pp. 655-708.

⁷⁸ *Le nuove feste della Nazione*, PeF, vol. 10, 1870, pp. 356-357; see also, *Le feste educative in commemorazione dello Statuto celebrate a Como ed a Milano*, *ibid.*, vol. 11, 1871, pp. 308-318.

However, the strong emphasis laid by «Patria e Famiglia» on the role of schools in enhancing the commemoration of national unity must not lead us to overestimate this role. Studies on the contribution of the schools to the construction of national identity have pointed up both the potential and the limits of this contribution⁷⁹. Specifically, further research is required to assess the effective level and nature of students' and their families' participation in the Constitution Day celebrations. Nonetheless, whether or not the emphasis is justified, the words of «Patria e Famiglia» accurately reflect the effort made by Milan City Council in the period immediately following Unification: to bring the primary and workers' schools to play a leading role in the celebration of nationhood, thereby developing the students' national feeling, not only through the subjects taught at school but also through active participation in the high point of the liturgy of nationhood.

⁷⁹ See again the studies cited in footnote n. 2.

Literature for primary school and education of republican citizens, in the «Revista de Ensino» (SP-Brazil) – 1902-1918*

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ABSTRACT: Aiming to contribute to the understanding of unexplored aspects of the history of children's literature, of the history of the teaching of reading, and of education in Brazil, this paper focuses on the section «Children's Literature» (or similar names) of the «Revista de Ensino» (*Journal of Teaching*), published between 1902 and 1918, by the Beneficent Association of Public Teachers of the State of São Paulo (Brazil). By analyzing the configuration of the texts published in this Section and to be used mainly in primary schools, it is concluded that the translations/adaptations, paraphrases or original texts of Brazilian or foreign authors/signers (many of them originally not aimed at children or for teaching) that were published in the Section characterize a precursor *corpus* within the process of the constitution of Brazilian children's literature; and this Section contributed to the dissemination, from the early decades of the twentieth century, of a conception of children's literature that oscillates between didactic and literary genres, but always articulated with the purposes of school teaching and education of the citizens, in line with the function assigned to the primary school, under a republican political project of social and cultural modernization of the Brazilian nation under construction at that time.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Teachers' Organization; Periodical; Children's and Youth Literature; Language Teaching; History of Education; Brazil; XX Century.

* With adjustments and updates, this text (unpublished until this date) results from research completed in 1993 and is included in the set of research developed at GPHELLB – Research Group «History of language and literature teaching in Brazil», created in 1994 and based at UNESP – Campus de Marília (São Paulo, Brazil).

Introduction

With the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic, in 1889, the process of organizing the public instruction system¹ started, to be conducted by state governments in order to realize the aspirations of the republican project for the nation.

During the First Republic (1889-1930) especially, the concern with teacher training, the expansion of the network of primary schools and the contributions of pedagogy and psychology to the design of childhood, among many other innovations, brought the need to standardize and improve teaching methods and, in particular, those related to reading and writing.

The need for texts was also evident (mainly written by Brazilians and about Brazilian themes, to replace adaptations and translations of children's books and inadequate literary classics for adults, that were common until then), to be read by Brazilian children in Brazilian primary schools, in order to offer them models of reading and writing as well as behaviors of morality and civility aligned with the republican ideals and the project for the construction of the desired nation.

Connected with this need, texts that were written specifically (or not) for children and used at primary schools characterized one of the supporting privileged aspects of the new concept of education, for the promotion of national identity and citizenship in line with the political, social and educational emergencies at that time. This «school literature»² played an important role in the historical process of the constitution of models of school education and teaching of reading and writing, as well as in the constitution of the Brazilian children's literature itself.

Thus, by the end of nineteenth, there were a few books (with or without instructional purposes), textbooks and school newspapers. In these 'supports', texts translated/adapted³ or written by Brazilian or Portuguese writers were published, in addition to those published in the original extension and languages (French, Spanish, Italian, English). «School literature» was thus characterized

¹ In this English version, I tried to keep semantic proximity to the terms used in the documents originally written in Portuguese and referring to specific contexts of the historical time on study. I also chose to use a free translation for Brazilian institutions names and quotations of texts excerpts originally written in Portuguese. Regarding the titles of works, texts and magazine sections under analysis, when they are first cited, I chose to use the titles in Portuguese followed by a suggested translation into English in parentheses. Other times, I only included the suggested translation.

² L. Arroyo, *Literatura infantil brasileira: ensaio de preliminares para sua história e suas fontes*, São Paulo, Melhoramentos, 1968.

³ This term is used in this paper to refer to short version (abridged) of texts or to different forms of adaptation, such as replacement of words or mere deletion of snippets.

as «[...] a curious mixture of works with school character and purely fictional, some even by classical authors»⁴.

For these reasons, «school literature» corresponds, as a precursor *corpus*, to one of the «stages of the evolutionary process» of Brazilian children's literature, which appears as such – i.e. «as full and defined gender» – from the publication of the book *Narizinho Arrebitado* (Upturned little nose) (1921), by the Brazilian writer José Bento Monteiro Lobato (1882-1948)⁵, whose literary work for children incorporated the (aesthetic) quality absent in the «school literature», which was merely didactic and educational⁶.

Thus, in the study of the history of Brazilian children's literature, its close relationship with the history of Brazilian education should be considered⁷. In fact, in the last three decades, in this field⁸, studies on different aspects of the history of reading and writing and its teaching⁹ have been broadened, as well as of children's literature in its relationship with the school¹⁰.

⁴ Arroyo, *Literatura infantil brasileira*, cit., p. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ This interpretation of Lobato's work as a 'founding act' of Brazilian children's literature itself was finally sedimented from the 1980s, with the book by M. Lajolo and R. Zilberman *Literatura infantil brasileira: história & histórias* (1987), whose point of view is centered in Literary Studies. This book has established itself as a founding act of the field of studies on the subject, having decisive influence until today. In recent years, some researchers on history of education have questioned this interpretation and have defended the point of view that the founder of the genre was the book of 1919 *Saudade* (Longing), by teacher and writer Thales de Andrade (1890-1977). However, beyond the chronological precedence of this book, from the point of view of history of education, other aspects of the interpretation of Arroyo as well as of Lajolo and Zilberman have not been questioned, such as, for example, the aesthetic quality of Lobato's work. It is thus not exactly a dispute of interpretation according to the same criteria, but the proposal of a new vision, from the characteristics assumed in the historical movement of children's literature throughout the twentieth century, when its insertion into schools and its direct relationship with them was becoming desirable (not more questionable). Perhaps, in the current political and social context of Brazil, it might not make much sense to discuss the aesthetic characteristics as a determinant of children's literature quality, or, perhaps, from the point of view of the history of education, it is not considered important to take into account the interdisciplinary characteristic of these texts nor the corresponding need for an interdisciplinary approach to the studies on it. Although relevant, such questions do not fit the scope of this paper. They will be discussed at another opportunity.

⁷ It can also be shown in the editorial trajectory of the book by Arroyo: its first edition, in 1968, was published by Ed. Melhoramentos, in the series *Grandes Textos* (Great Texts) in the collection *Biblioteca da Educação* (Education Library), directed by M.B. Lourenço Filho, the author of the preface *Um livro básico sobre literatura infantil brasileira*.

⁸ Also in other fields of Education and Literature/Language, especially Educational Psychology and Literary Studies, there is much Brazilian research on children's literature.

⁹ See M.R.L. Mortatti, *Os sentidos da alfabetização: São Paulo – 1876/1994*, São Paulo, Editora UNESP; and Ead. (ed.), *Alfabetização no Brasil: uma história de sua história*, São Paulo, Editora UNESP, Marília/SP, Cultura Acadêmica, 2011.

¹⁰ See, for example, M.R.L. Mortatti, *Literatura infantil e/ou juvenil: a "prima pobre" da pesquisa em Letras?*, «Guavira Letras», vol. 6, 2008, pp. 43-65.

However, in the documentary *corpus* collected by Arroyo many sparse texts were not included¹¹, especially those published in the Section «Literatura infantil» (Children's literature) (or similar titles, or even without explicit title) in the «Revista de Ensino» (Journal of Teaching), edited between 1902 and 1918 by the Beneficent Association of Public Teachers of São Paulo State, created in 1901.

Although in recent decades different aspects of this Journal have been studied by Brazilian researchers, the mentioned Section was still unexplored¹², perhaps because they are less visible texts, with regard to their form of circulation. But their study can contribute to the understanding of important aspects of the histories of children's literature, of teaching of reading and of education in Brazil. Thus, through the presentation of documentary and bibliographic research results, the purpose of this paper is to analyze the principal constitutive aspects of the configuration¹³ of the texts published in the mentioned Section.

The analysis is based on the assumption that, with this Section, the «Revista de Ensino» contributed to disseminating and consolidating a conception of children's literature in Brazil as a didactic genre (subsumed in it their literary genre condition) and as a branch of Pedagogy (subsumed in it their belonging to the branch of Literature/Language). Through the publication of translated/adapted, paraphrased or original texts, the editors have empirically defined a way of understanding children's literature, from the point of view of education and school purposes, in line with the development of the Brazilian publishing industry, leveraged by the publication of textbooks and always directly related to the education of the citizens, a function which was assigned to the primary school, under a Republican political project of construction and modernization of the nation.

¹¹ In fact, Arroyo warned about inevitable limitations and incompleteness of its pioneering research, as indicated, for example, in the subtitle of the first edition of his book.

¹² In N.N. Coelho, *Dicionário crítico da literatura infantil e juvenil brasileira*, 4. ed., São Paulo, EDUSP, 1995, there is the classification «precursor period» in the history of Brazilian children's literature, referring to the period 1808-1919 that the author named «pre-Lobato period». She cites some authors that also published in this section of the Journal, but their texts in the Journal are not mentioned.

¹³ For further information about the concept of 'textual configuration', see Mortatti, *Os sentidos da alfabetização*, cit. p. 30.

1. The children's literature Section in the «Revista de Ensino»¹⁴

The «Revista de Ensino» was widely circulated and widely accepted, especially among teachers of São Paulo state, with 64 issues referring to the volumes from April 1902 to December 1918¹⁵.

In line with the political, social and educational context of that historical time, the aim of the Journal was to contribute to consolidating the public instruction system, through the fulfilmen of:

[...] a dual function in relation to teachers: that of guiding (means of pedagogical suggestions and teaching methods appropriate to the reality of public schools) and that of defending (representative of the needs and rights of teachers)¹⁶.

Directed by renowned educators of the time – most of them teachers educated at the *Escola Normal de São Paulo/Escola Normal da Capital* (Teacher's College of São Paulo), the Journal played its dual function through many initiatives, among them the organization of public teachers and the dissemination of official programs and new teaching methods for public instruction.

Over the 16 years of the Journal's life cycle, with bimonthly or quarterly issues, it went through three different stages and sponsorships, official or not. The first phase – April 1902 to December 1904 – was characterized by independence of point of view, even when it was printed by the typography of the «*Diario Official*» (*Official Gazette*) of São Paulo state and under the auspices of the General Directorate of Public Instruction. The second phase – February 1905 to March 1910 – was characterized by the absence of official subsidy, during which it was printed at the Association's expense, by different printers in São Paulo – the capital. In the third phase – June 1911 to December 1918 –, the official grant returned with printing by the «*Diario Official*».

Among the editors and contributors of the Journal, in its different issues and sections, there were teachers graduated from the Teacher's College of São Paulo and other such schools in inland and coastal towns of the state, that were established since the late nineteenth century, integrating the republican reform of public instruction of this state that started in the 1890s.

Establishing themselves as an 'intellectual elite' (and recognized as such), these teachers thematized educational problems relevant at that time, such as:

¹⁴ In this topic, brief information selected from the consistent studies which have been published in recent decades in Brazil is presented. For further information about the Journal, see especially the pioneering and detailed study by D.B. Catani, *Educadores à meia-luz. Um estudo sobre a «Revista de Ensino» da Associação Beneficente do Professorado Público Paulista: 1902-1918*, Tese de Doutorado em Educação, São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo-Faculdade de Educação, 1989.

¹⁵ The volume corresponding to the four issues (June to December) of 1918 was published in the following year.

¹⁶ Catani, *Educadores à meia-luz*, cit., p. 113.

professional and salary issues related to public teachers and philosophical, sociological and psychological foundations of education and programs and teaching methods, especially the analytical method to the teaching of reading¹⁷.

Many of them were also translators/adapters/paraphrasers or authors/signers of the texts published in the Section and a few of them became professional didactic writers, having published textbooks for different scholar subjects, including primers and reading books as well as books of children's literature¹⁸.

As announced in the Editorial of Issue n. 1 (April 1902)¹⁹, «Children's literature» was the third among the eight sections of the Journal:

- I – General matters, including development of theses on educational matters, that the Association provides;
- II – Practical Pedagogy;
- III – Children's literature – Children's tales and selection of poems, dialogues and small comedies for recitation;
- IV – Critique on school work;
- V – School Hymns;
- VI – Associative movement;
- VII – Official acts;
- VIII – News and announcements²⁰.

With variations and explicitly or not, this Section remained in 62 of the 64 issues published over the Journal's life cycle.

The Section underwent changes²¹ in its title, number of occurrence and number of pages, as shown in Table n. 1. Its contents were, however, relatively similar, which allows considering that it is the section on analysis, even if the titles seem distanced from the proposal announced in Issue n. 1 of the Journal.

¹⁷ Mortatti, *Os sentidos da alfabetização*, cit.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ The editorial team consisted of: Editor-in-Chief: A. de O. Barreto; Editor-in-Registrar: R. Puiggari; Editors-effectives: L.J. de Brito, J.P. e Silva, J.L. Rodrigues, A.B. da Silveira, E.M. Arantes, R.R. Dordal, J.C.B. dos Reis Junior.

²⁰ «Revista de Ensino», vol. 1, n. 1, 1902, p. 4.

²¹ There are orthography oscillations of the word *literatura/litteratura* due to the orthographical reforms in the written Portuguese language that took place between 1904 and 1911, when it was implemented officially in Portugal. In Brazil, however, it was implemented slowly and with comings and goings, until 1938, after which there were other orthographical reforms.

Table 1. *Occurrence of the Section titles over the «Revista de Ensino»'s life cycle*

| Section title | Number of occurrences | Period | Minimum and/or maximum number of pages | Journal phase |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|-----------------|
| Lit(t)eratura Infantil (<i>Children's Literature</i>) | 26 | April/1902 to Dec. /1904 | 3;19 | 1 st |
| | | Sept./1913 | 5 | 3 rd |
| | | June/1914 to Dec./1915 | 1; 13 | 3 rd |
| | | March/1917 | 28 | 3 rd |
| Li(t)eratura (<i>Literature</i>) | 23 | April/1905 to March/1908 | 2; 10 | 2 nd |
| | | Sept./1908 to Dec./1910 | 4;13 | 2 nd |
| | | March/1913 | 2 | 3 rd |
| | | Dec./1917 to March/1918 | 30 | 3 rd |
| Untitled | 5 | Feb./1905 | 10 | 2 nd |
| | | June/1908 | 3 | 2 nd |
| | | Dec./1913 | 30 | 3 rd |
| | | Sept./1916 | 8 | 3 rd |
| | | June and Sept./1917 | 48 | 3 rd |
| Leituras Supplementares (<i>Supplementary Readings</i>) | 4 | March/1912 | 9 | 3 rd |
| | | Sept. and Dec./1912 | 13 | 3 rd |
| | | March/1914 | 5 | 3 rd |
| | | June/1912 | 46 | 3 rd |
| Lit(t)eratura Didactica (<i>Didactic Literature</i>) | 1 | Dec./1911 | 10 | 3 rd |
| Variedades (<i>Varieties</i>) | 1 | June/1913 | 2 | 3 rd |
| Divagações (<i>Ramblings</i>) | 1 | June/1916 | 5 | 3 rd |
| Diversos (<i>Miscellaneous</i>) | 1 | Dec./1916 | 10 | 3 rd |

Source: «Revista de Ensino» (1902-1918).

As also shown in Table 1, the most frequent titles of the Section are «Children's literature» (26) and «Literature» (23), followed in decreasing order of occurrence by: untitled sections (5); «Supplementary Readings» (4); «Didactic Literature» (1); «Varieties» (1); «Ramblings» (1); and «Miscellaneous» (1).

It is worth noting the recurrence of «Children's literature» in the early years and its predominance in the final years of the Journal. «Literature», in turn, predominates in the intermediate years, when the presence of other titles is also observed.

This Section does not appear in the issues of June and September 1911 and March 1916, coinciding with the transition period of the titles, respectively: «Literature» to «Didactic Literature» and «Children's literature» to «Ramblings». It does not appear in the issues from June to December 1918 either. The untitled sections are in the issues published in February 1905, June 1908, December 1913, September 1916, June and September 1917, coinciding with the transition of titles, respectively: «Children's literature» to «Literature»; «Children's literature» to «Supplementary Readings»; «Ramblings» to «Miscellaneous»; and «Children's literature» to «Literature».

In general, the number of pages occupied by the Section varies between 2 and 48. However, its length increases in the issues published in the third phase of the Journal, when there was also a greater variation of titles as well as more diversity in the content of the texts.

Considering only the sections (with or without title) that are possible to identify as of «children's literature», 318 texts were published. Those published in issues where the Section does not appear explicitly, but where the texts and their selection indicate similarity with the announced objectives of the Section, can be added to this total. Those are: a) texts under the title «Educação cívico-literária» (Civic-literary education) (vol. 4, n. 5 and n. 6, March and May/1906, pp. 816-819; 853-856), written by students of primary school annexed to Teacher's College of São Paulo; b) texts by the Brazilian poets Alberto de Oliveira (1857-1937) and Casimiro de Abreu (1837-1860) as well as the Portuguese poet, Guerra Junqueiro (1950-1923)²², among others. These sets of texts are presented as «literary work – unpublished ones, known others – that make up a collection for the Festival of Trees [...].» (vol. 10, n. 1, June 1911, pp. 7-58); c) several poems in exaltation of the Brazilian flag (vol. 10, 2, Sept. 1911).

Through the intersecting data presented here, some important considerations are possible. The absence of the Section or of its title (at moments of 'transition'), the variation of its titles and the increasing of its length (both occurring predominately in the third phase of the Journal) indicate, on the one hand, the constant oscillation, in regard to the classification of the texts and their purposes, related in some way to the objectives of the editorial team, as well as of each phase of the Journal and its functions, especially that of guiding primary school teachers by means of pedagogical suggestions and teaching methods. On the other hand, the intersection of these data also indicates the way the 'original link' between children's literature and school purposes was being constituted into school practices in Brazil.

²² Note that these are reproductions/transcriptions of texts published in other media and have not been originally written for the «Revista de Ensino».

2. *Some characteristics of the texts published in the Section: authorship, themes and contents, types of texts*

In the texts of the Section, it is not always easy to define the authorship, which, in most cases, relates only to the ‘signer’ of the text, indicating at least two conditions: the author itself, of an original text (or «unpublished» as informed in the text), some of them translations into French (by Hippolyte Pujol) of Brazilian and Portuguese poets’ texts; and the author of free translation, adaptation, paraphrase or «imitation» (as informed in the text).

As shown at Table n. 2, the texts are mostly signed by primary school teachers in São Paulo state, followed, in order of occurrence, by Brazilian and foreign writers, students at teacher’s colleges, a librarian and a philologist.

Table 2. *Name, main occupation, number of occurrences and types of texts, relating to the authors/signers that appear more than once in the Section*

| <i>Name and main occupation</i> | <i>Number of occurrences</i> | <i>Type of text</i> |
|--|------------------------------|---|
| Antonio Peixoto - teacher | 30 | Prose (short story); poetry; Children’s comedy; song; hymn |
| Francisco F. M. Vianna - teacher | 15 | Poetry (unpublished and translated) |
| Romão Puiggari - teacher | 13 | Poetry (2 adaptations, 2 unpublished) Prose (short story) trans./free adaptation/paraphrase |
| Pedro de Mello - teacher | 11 | Poetry |
| Arnaldo de O. Barreto - teacher | 10 | Prose (5); Poetry (5) |
| Zalina Rolim - teacher and writer | 10 | Poetry (9); Short story (trans.) (1) |
| José R. Escobar - teacher | 10 | Poetry |
| René Barreto - teacher | 9 | Poetry (7); Prose (1); Hymn (1) |
| Carlos A. G. Cardim - teacher | 8 | Comedy (5); Drama (1); Monologue (1); Prose (1) |
| Ernestino Lopes - librarian | 7 | Prose |
| Hippolyte Pujol * | 7 | Poetry |
| G. Junqueiro - poet | 5 | Prose (3); Poetry (2) |
| Isabel V. de Serpa - student at Teacher’s College of São Paulo | 5 | Poetry |
| Octaviano de Mello - teacher | 5 | Poetry |
| J. Soares Barbosa - philologist | 5 | Analysis of <i>Os Lusíadas (The Lusiads)</i> |
| Jenny Maia (pseudonym) | 4 | Prose |
| Luiz de Campos - teacher | 4 | Prose (2); Poetry (2) |
| José B. Coelho - teacher | 4 | Poetry |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Coriolano Martins - teacher | 4 | Poetry |
| Theodoro de Moraes - teacher | 3 | Prose |
| Arthur Segurado - teacher | 3 | Poetry |
| Dr. José de Freitas * | 3 | Poetry |
| Cortez Franco - teacher | 3 | Prose (2); Poetry (1) |
| Vera Cruz * | 3 | Poetry (2); Hymn (1) |
| Oscar Brisolla - teacher | 3 | Poetry (3) |
| João Köpke - teacher | 2 | Hymn |
| J. Pinto e Silva - teacher | 2 | Poetry |
| Carlos Ferreira - teacher | 2 | Hymn |
| Leon Tolstoi - writer | 2 | Prose (trans. R.Puiggari) |
| Damasceno Vieira* | 2 | Poetry |
| Saturnino Barbosa - teacher | 2 | Poetry |
| Arlindo Leal - teacher | 2 | Vaudeville (2); Allegory 1) |
| Augusto R. de Carvalho - teacher | 2 | Prose |
| Ricardo Gonçalves - teacher | 2 | Poetry |
| Francisco Gaspar - teacher | 2 | Poetry |
| Manoel dos Reys - teacher | 2 | Poetry |
| Casimiro de Abreu - writer | 2 | Poetry |
| Alberto de Oliveira - writer | 2 | Poetry |
| Gustavo Kuhlman - teacher | 2 | Poetry |
| Mattos Moreira - teacher | 2 | Comedy |

*Until this date, accurate data about these authors/signers have not been found.

Source: «Revista de Ensino» (1902-1918).

Some texts signed by primary school teachers are their own, but there are many free translations, adaptations, paraphrases or «imitations» of texts by renowned writers.

It is important to highlight that many of the most recurrent Brazilian authors/signers were graduates from the Teacher's College of São Paulo, having integrated into the 'intellectual elite' of public instruction in this state; somehow and at some period of the Journal's life cycle – especially when their texts were published – they were linked to the Beneficent Association of Public Teachers of São Paulo state or to the editorial team of «Revista de Ensino»; and most of them are repeated in successive issues, such as, for example: Antonio Peixoto, Romão Puiggari, Arnaldo de Oliveira Barreto, José Ribeiro Escobar, Theodoro de Moraes²³.

²³ Because of the limited length of this paper and of the fact that most of the teachers from this 'intellectual elite' are well known at least by Brazilian researchers, biographical data about them

These teachers (and many others) strongly defended the analytical method for teaching reading and writing because – to paraphrase the eminent educator João Köpke (1857-1926) – they believed that the excellence of the analytical method corresponded to the excellence of the republican regime. And, besides having signed other types of texts in several issues of the Journal, these teachers wrote textbooks²⁴ as primers and reading books series that were used for several decades at schools of this and other Brazilian states, due mainly to the «pedagogic missions» through which some of these teachers disseminated the innovations of public instruction whose formulation they had contributed to and implemented in the state.

In the early volumes of the Journal, there are predominately texts (originals or translations/adaptations) signed by well-known teachers who lived in São Paulo – the capital²⁵. In the following volumes, many texts by primary school teachers from inland and coastal towns of São Paulo state were also published. These ones were relatively less well-known and did not have a prominent position in the Journal team or in the administration of public instruction at that time or in later decades. They may be characterized as «writers of circumstance», having produced texts especially for the Journal to be read or recited in school activities.

Certainly, this situation reflected a policy of the Journal, aiming at the valorization of the «common» teachers, thus democratizing their participation in the Association and enabling an enlarging of its circle of influence²⁶.

As for the gender, the authors/signers are predominantly men. There are only five women²⁷ as named below, according to the order of occurrence and

will not be presented. Regarding some of them, lots of information may be found in academic works developed under my supervision at GPHELLB, available at <<http://www.marilia.unesp.br/gphellb>> (accessed: December 11, 2014).

²⁴ Most of them were officially approved for use in primary schools of this and of other Brazilian states.

²⁵ Among the authors cited in Table 2 and besides those referred to in note 25, I highlight J. Köpke, F.M.F. Vianna, C.A.G. Cardim. There are also studies on them developed at GPHELLB.

²⁶ It was not always possible to find professional data for all authors/signers, especially those that appear only once in the Section. But it is important to note that many of them were honored as patrons of public schools in the state of São Paulo.

²⁷ One of the female names, Jenny Maia (4 texts in the Section), is, in fact, a pseudonym used by a male writer, who has also published in the Journal (1902) a deprecative text about teaching work disqualifying women teachers.

amount of text signed by them: Zalina Rolim²⁸ (10); Isabel Vieira de Serpa²⁹ (5); Anna Elisa de Andrada Machado (1); Dulce Carneiro Ferreira³⁰(1); and Luisa Nery de Sousa³¹ (1).

It should be noted that the low participation of women as authors of texts in the Section is also repeated in other spheres related to the teaching profession: although women have been the majority in the teacher's colleges and in public instruction, they did not reach the management of the Beneficent Association of Public Teachers of São Paulo State and only a few of them sent their contributions to the «Revista de Ensino». So, women did not participate in the Association's administration and in the production of «legitimate discourse» for training and instruction of teaching work³².

In comparison, male teachers of that generation actively participated in the management of public instruction in São Paulo state. And despite the low participation of women, Zalina Rolim, Isabel Vieira de Serpa (e Paiva) and Dulce Carneiro stood out in public life due to their literary work.

As for writers of literature whose texts were published in the Section, those mentioned below stand out. They were presented (1903-1904 issues) as writers of «children's literature» (verse and prose) translated/adapted, imitated, paraphrased by Romão Puiggari, who collected these texts under

²⁸ Zalina Rolim (1867-1961) served as Assistant Director of the Kindergarten annexed to the Teacher's College of São Paulo, although she did not have a teaching certificate. In addition to the texts in the «Revista de Ensino», she published verses in newspapers and magazines of São Paulo state and is the author of two books: *Coração (Heart)* (1983) and *Livro das Crianças (Book of Children)* (1897). She was known as one of the first writers of Brazilian children's literature (cf. Coelho, *Dicionário crítico da literatura infantil e juvenil brasileira*, cit.) and was elected patron of the Chair n. 4 of the Brazilian Academy of Children's and Young Adult Literature, founded in 1961. (F.R. Oliveira, *História do ensino da literatura infantil nos cursos de formação de professores primários no estado de São Paulo, Brasil (1947-2003)*, Tese de Doutorado em Educação (Supervisor M.R.L. Mortatti, 2011-2014), Marília, Universidade Estadual Paulista-Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências, 2014.

²⁹ Isabel Vieira de Serpa (e Paiva) (1891-19?) graduated from the Teacher's College of São Paulo. In addition to being a primary school teacher and to the texts in the «Revista de Ensino» (at that time, she was a student at that teacher's college), she published poetry and short stories in newspapers and magazines and many books for school and for children, such as: *Berços e ninhos (Cribs and nests)* (1913), *Poemas cívicos e escolares (Civic and school poems)* (1941), *Pingos d'água (Water drops)* (undated), *Histórias infantis (Children's stories)* (undated) (cf. Coelho, *Dicionário crítico da literatura infantil e juvenil brasileira*, cit.). She was elected patron of the Chair n. 17 of the Brazilian Academy of Children's and Young Adult Literature (cf. Oliveira, *História do ensino da literatura infantil nos cursos de formação de professores primários no estado de São Paulo, Brasil (1947-2003)*, cit.).

³⁰ Dulce Carneiro (1870-1942) was a primary school teacher and a poet, having also published the books *Folhas (Leaves)* and *Lições rimadas (Rhymed lessons)* undated.

³¹ Until this date, no data have been found about: A.E. de A. Machado and L.N. de Sousa, excepted that the first one was a teacher at Kindergarten annexed to the Teacher's College of São Paulo.

³² D.B. Catani, *A participação das mulheres no movimento dos professores e a imprensa periódica educacional (1902-1919)*, «Projeto História», n. 11, Nov. 1994, p. 137.

the classification «Masters of children's literature», although not all of them have written books specifically for children. They are: François Fénelon, Hans Christian Andersen, Jean Pierre de Florian, José Selgas, Thomaz Iriarte and José de Alencar.

Besides those, there are texts by other writers: Léon Tolstoi (presented as "didactic writer"), Hippolyte Pujol (who translated Portuguese poems into French, such as those by Valentin Magalhães and Julio Diniz), Guerra Junqueiro, Filinto de Almeida, Casimiro de Abreu, José de Alencar and Zalina Rolim.

It is important to note that in the 1905 and 1906 issues, when the title of the Section came to be «Literature», analyses elaborated by the Portuguese philologist, J. Soares Barbosa, of the classical epic poem *Os Lusíadas*, by Luiz Vaz de Camões (1524-1580) were published in sequence. This is one more indicator of the oscillation related to a definition on what should be taught as literature for children at school.

Regarding themes and contents, they are relatively diverse, when observing the set of texts published over the Journal's life cycle, particularly when translations, adaptations and transcriptions of texts in verse and prose were more frequent.

However, when it comes to texts written by teachers and students especially to be published in the Journal, there is a tendency to predominate moralizing/philosophical background themes (e.g.: familiar relationship, filial love, love of work and school, praise to teaching and to teachers, cultivation of virtues), civic-patriotic and historical themes (e.g.: love and exaltation of country, national symbols, dates and heroes, tribute to teachers and schools, including lyrics of many school hymns created by teachers and students) and protectionist themes in relation to nature (e.g.: preservation and planting of trees, preservation of birds). These latter groups were directly related to the introduction, at the end of the first decade of twentieth century, of the holidays in the calendar of primary schools.

Listed below are the titles of texts that exemplify some of the above-mentioned themes.

Exaltation of family and working: *Uma carta de meu pae* (A letter from my father), *Uma família feliz* (A happy family), *O dedinho vaidoso* (sentimentos de união e afeto na família) *The vain little finger* (feelings of unity and affection in the family), *Saudades de minha mãe* (Missing my Mother), *Cenas escolares* (School Scenes), *Garrone* (From *Cuore* by de Amicis), *Operários* (Workers), *Fábrica* (Factory).

Exaltation of moral virtues: *Sempre a verdade* (Always the truth), *A moeda* (The coin), *As consequências da vingança* (The consequences of revenge), *O aváro* (The avaricious), *Prêmio da caridade* (Charity Award; unpublished), *A calúnia* (The Slander; unpublished), *Virtude de um lacinho de fita* (Virtue of a little ribbon tie), Auguste Comte, *Sem sciencia não há salvação* (Without

science there is no salvation. From 'Transcendent Poem'), *Flores da alma – Fé, esperança e caridade* (Flowers of Soul – Faith, hope and charity. Made with the end of a poem on the same subject in a poetic tournament – in October 1887), *Amizade verdadeira* (True friendship), *On the altar of Fröbel* (especially for the Journal), *Fé, esperança e caridade* (Faith, hope and charity: allegorical picture, written during the terrible drought in Ceará, in 1900).

Exaltation of school: *O velho mestre* (The old master. Unpublished), *Visitando uma escola* (Visiting a school), *Hymno official do Grupo Escolar* (Official hymn of the School Group) 'Dr. Almeida Vergueiro' of *Espirito Santo do Pinhal, Caminho da escola* (School Way), *À gentil Ceci* (To the gentle Ceci).

Civic-patriotic and historical dates: *A pátria* (The homeland), *Ao Brasil* (To Brazil), *21 de Abril* (April 21: day of Tiradentes, national hero who became the martyr of the Minas Conspiracy), *Descobrimento do Brasil* (Discovery of Brazil: Comedy in one act), *Sete de Setembro* (September 7: child comedy in one act, for the Independence day), *A patria* (The Patria: hymn to the motherland), *Hymno à República!* (Republic hymn), *15 de Novembro* (November fifteen: child comedy in one act, for the date of proclamation of the Brazilian Republic), *Um quadro da escravidão* (A slavery frame: child drama in one act), *Episódio da Guerra do Paraguai* (Paraguay War Episode: for playback in class), *Saudação à bandeira* (Salute to the flag), *Descobrimento da América* (Discovery of America), *O pequeno patriota* (Little Patriot), *Guerra* (War).

Exaltation and defense of nature: *O poema do pé de laranja* (The orange tree poem; unpublished), *Ninhos* (Nests; unpublished), *A história de um grilho* (History of a cricket), *Rio Amazonas* (Amazon River), *Canção das árvores* (Song of the trees), *Meu passarinho* (My little bird. For the Feast of birds), *Utilidade das plantas* (Utility of the plants), *Flores* (Flowers), *Hino das árvores* (Hymn of the trees), *Liberdade dos pássaros* (Freedom of birds: dialogue. For the «Revista de Ensino»).

As for the form, texts in verse predominate (certainly because of its brevity, appropriate to be published in the Journal and to be read by children), among which are included sonnets, funeral orations, lyric or epic poems of fixed or free forms, followed, according to the number of occurrences, by: texts in prose (e.g.: tales, fables, cases, allegories, dissertations); letters of civic and school songs; hymns; text of small plays (comedies and dramas); speeches; analysis of *Os Lusíadas*.

As indicated by the set of characteristics, an important aspect common to all of the texts of the Section is their explicit addressing (not in origin, but in selection, arrangement and function) to schoolteachers, intermediately, and to their pupils, in a privileged way. As for the addressing to the teachers (according to the guiding function of the Journal), to offer them models of teaching was certainly a necessary action at a time when the Brazilian editorial production of textbooks and printed materials adapted to the needs of the Brazilian public schools was still incipient. At the same time, it emphasized the need for reading

meaningfully and for schooling the greatest possible number of Brazilian children or children of immigrants. For students, in turn, due to the gradual increase in concern about childhood and its peculiarities, the direct addressing by means of offering models of behavior and feelings to them can be understood as a commitment to moral, intellectual, emotional and civic-patriotic education of future citizens that the Brazilian republican school intended to educate.

3. *The synthesis by Antonio de Sampaio Doria: didactic literature*

As mentioned, the Section does not appear in volume XVIII, which contains issues 1 to 4, related to the period from June to December 1918. This volume – with which the «Revista de Ensino»'s life cycle was ended – was published after its «momentary disappearance», since March 1917. As reported in the Editorial of this volume, the goal of the «new phase» (which it was intended to begin) was not to transform it completely, but to try to meet «other more practical and useful features» to face «new and pressing needs» created by the development of primary schools, especially considering the difficulties of new teachers and veterans. At the same time, without «despising the past» or the variety of opinions, but concerned about the «dangerous innovations», the editors announced:

[i]t is therefore necessary that the Journal as the only educational body in the [São Paulo] state, carefully takes care of existing and usable assets and indicates even more carefully what are the acceptable innovations, without prejudice to the common work³³.

Despite (or because of?) the absence of the Section, in this volume there is the paper *Methodologia do ensino e literatura didática* (Teaching methodology and didactics literature) (pp. 44-75), written by Antonio de Sampaio Doria (1883-1964)³⁴, an influential politician, jurist and Brazilian educator, who excelled at

³³ «Revista de Ensino», vol. 18, nn. 1-4, 1918, p. 2.

³⁴ Antonio de Sampaio Doria (1883-1964) graduated in 1908 from the Faculty of Law of São Paulo. In 1914, he became professor of Educational Psychology and Civic Education in Secondary Teacher's College of São Paulo. Between 1917 and 1918, he joined the Executive Board and the Commission for Civic Education and Policy of Nationalist League of São Paulo. In 1920, he took over as General Director of Public Instruction of the State of São Paulo. In 1922, he joined the education committee of the Nationalist League of São Paulo and the group of founders of the Society of Education of São Paulo. In 1923, he started publishing texts in the newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* and became full professor at the Faculty of Law of São Paulo. In 1932, he was one of the signatories of the *Manifesto dos pioneiros da Educação Nova* (Manifest of the New Education Pioneers). In 1945, he was appointed judge of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, Minister of Justice and of Home Affairs, during the Presidency of José Linhares, after the fall of the Estado Novo (cf. M.M.C. Carvalho, *Sampaio Doria*, Recife, Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Editora Massangana, 2010, pp. 143-144).

the public instruction of São Paulo state, especially in the late 1910s and from the 1920s, after conducting the educational reform synthesized in Law n. 1750, enacted in 1920.

In the Brazilian educational historiography, the figure of Antonio de Sampaio Doria is closely associated with perhaps the more controversial reform of the São Paulo school system. Implemented in the state of São Paulo, in 1920, the Sampaio Doria Reform, as it became known, reversed the logic that had been guiding the institutionalization and expansion of the school in the state, to put in scene a school inclusion program for marginalized populations so fundamentally committed to two main goals: the eradication of illiteracy and the spread of a school model of basic education that should promote the formation of the republican citizen. Sampaio Doria was the founder and the architect of reform, but not its executor since he stepped down as director of Public Instruction of São Paulo state before its regulation³⁵.

It should be noted that the actions of Sampaio Doria in favor of popular education were directly related to his activities as a militant of the Nationalist League of São Paulo³⁶, which:

[...] took several popular education initiatives and had as an action platform the promotion of campaigns for «moral uplift of nationality», for secret voting, for compulsory military service, for combating illiteracy, for civic culture and for the spread of instruction³⁷.

With this intensive militancy and extensive education, Sampaio Doria stood out in the reformist scene of the late 1910s, having actively participated in the proposing of answers to the problems of public instruction, which led him to develop the Reform of 1920.

At that time, with the great political, economic and social changes in world order, especially those stemming from the 1st World War, social and economic peaceful development aspirations also widened in Brazil, aimed mainly at modernizing and industrializing urban centers (such as São Paulo – the capital) and the incorporation of a large numbers of foreigners who immigrated here, from different countries, in search of better conditions of life and work.

There were many initiatives at the federal and state levels, in all sectors of society, to solve the «new» problems. With respect to the public instruction in São Paulo state, the initiatives carried out by Dr. Oscar Thompson were decisive³⁸. In the position of General Director of Public Instruction of São Paulo

³⁵ Carvalho, *Sampaio Doria*, cit., p. 24.

³⁶ The Nationalist League of São Paulo was founded in Dec. 1916, linked to the secret Society of Patriots of the Faculty of Law of São Paulo (*ibid.*)

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁸ Oscar Thompson (1872-1935) graduated from the Teacher's College of São Paulo in 1891 and served as adjunct professor at the Model School of Carmo (SP – capital) until 1893, when he took over the direction of this school, where he remained until 1898 and where he initiated his long career in the administration of public instruction as well as his activities as 'implementer' of the educational reform in São Paulo state, which started in 1890. Among the

State, he issued the *Carta circular* (Circular Letter) of 1918 and the *Relatório* (Report) contained in the «Annuario do Ensino» (Yearbook of Teaching) of that same year, in which he formulated problems and proposals as well as requested suggestions for solving the problem of illiteracy. Among others, from the first document, the open letter drafted by Sampaio Doria³⁹ was derived, in which

[...] the basis of a plan to make illiteracy extinct was presented, focused on the national emergency of «literate people», to «assimilate the foreign» – «a literate people, in peace, is the national question par excellence» – and aspiring to offer them «three minimum benefits»: to read, write and calculate⁴⁰.

In this effervescent context of reform and connected with other initiatives carried out by this educator, his cited paper was published in the «Revista de Ensino» (1918/1919). In it, he establishes the basis for theoretical reflections on the «genre of literature» (p. 74), but argues in defense of the intuitive teaching method for all school subjects, in particular the analytical method for the teaching of reading.

According to the author⁴¹, following the mental process and the personal activity of the student, at the intuitive march there are «[...] two objects worthy of study: they are these ‘all’, that start knowledge, and these ‘analyses’, that improve them» (p. 63, *emphasis* in original). Therefore, «[...] whether it is primary or higher education, the method is always intuitive-analytical» (p. 68). These principles are also applied to «didactic literature», whose importance the author emphasizes, as follows:

[t]he language of the teacher who speaks or writes is indistinguishable from the common literature, were it not for its intuitive concern, the choice of topics and the way to concatenate and display them. Whoever ventures to write for children, will fail completely in his intent, if all his language is not guided by indications from analytical intuition in spirit, in its course and its purpose⁴².

various positions, his stand-out activities include: Director of the Teacher's College of São Paulo (1901-1920, with interruptions); General Director of Public Instruction (1909-1910/1917-1920); supporter and promoter of the analytical method for teaching reading, primers and reading books and experiences in scientific psychology and in school libraries; creator of general directorate of public instruction (in 1910); and promoter of initiatives that inspired the educational reform carried out by Sampaio Doria in 1920. As a defender of a ‘modern school’, he integrated and lead the ‘intellectual elite’ of his time, who founded a (new) tradition for the teaching of reading and writing (Mortatti, *Os sentidos da alfabetização*, cit.).

³⁹ A. Sampaio Doria, *Contra o analphabetismo. (Carta Aberta ao Dr. Oscar Thompson, em resposta ao seu ofício sobre como resolver, nas condições actuaes, o problema do analphabetismo)*, «Annuario do Ensino do Estado de São Paulo», 1918, pp. 58-65.

⁴⁰ Mortatti, *Os sentidos da alfabetização*, cit., p. 131.

⁴¹ A. Sampaio Doria, *Methodologia do ensino e literatura didática*, «Revista de Ensino», vol. 18, nn. 1-4, jun./dez. 1918, pp. 44-75.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

He also highlights the importance of images and illustrations in textbooks, in order to ensure the clarity needed to present things unknown to the new reader.

The didactic literature (or textbooks or books for children or «teacher language») must first select «[...] among the possible subjects, those that are suited to the reader's age, whom it is designed for. In addition, it must address them in order to maintain, against the ailments of the moment, the pleasure of reading» (p. 72), avoiding trivialities that may importune the reader. Considering that the «[...] nice thrill of reading [...]» competes prodigiously for health and the future [...]» (p. 73) and in attending to the purposes of education, he emphasizes that didactic literature must be enhanced in morality, truth and beauty (p. 73).

Didactics literature cannot make the excuse that art has no eyes on the moral, but in the beauty and grace. It is, by destination, moralizing, and, as it is directed at children, its rigor in this respect has to go beyond common literature⁴³.

So, he points out:

[...] three qualities of didactic literature: «moral correctness» without negativity; fervent worship of the truth; beauty – aesthetics education. [...] Therefore, didactic literature, or the language of the teacher, must be intuitive and analytical, in spirit, in their march and their purposes. Intuitive, in spirit, to give birth to clarity; analytical, in their march, to create and maintain interest; educational in their aims, better moral training, love of truth and devotion to beauty and grace⁴⁴.

It is worth mentioning that, published in the last volume of the Journal, which was consolidated in its guidance functions and organization of the São Paulo teachers, and one year before Sampaio Doria had proposed the reform of 1920, this paper had not only intended to terminate the oscillations around the subject, but also to open up new 'reformists' possibilities, in relation to education as a whole and to children's literature.

It should be also recalled that under the production of (Brazilian) texts of children's literature, in 1919 the book *Saudade*, by Thales de Andrade, and in 1921, the book *Narizinho Arrebitado*, by Monteiro Lobato, were published. And, with regard to the production *about* children's literature, following that of Sampaio Doria, there were important thematizations during the first half of the twentieth century: the chapter of the book *Ensinar a ensinar: ensaios de pedagogia aplicada à educação nacional* (Teaching to teach: essays of pedagogy applied to national education) (1923), by Afrânio Peixoto; the paper *Como aperfeiçoar a literatura infantil* (How to improve children's literature) (1943), by Lourenço Filho (1943); and the paper *Literatura infantil numa perspectiva sociológica* (Children's literature in a sociological perspective) (1952), by Fernando de Azevedo.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

In fact, the considerations formulated by Sampaio Doria came to synthesize ideas and practices that had been usual until then, so consolidating the intimate and ‘promiscuous’ relationship between children’s literature and didactic literature: that one is a literary genre, but the (aesthetic) Beauty must serve the Good and the Truth. It must be remarked that, despite the similarities, this conception of «didactic literature» is not exactly the same as that of «school literature» formulated by Arroyo. This historian emphasizes the school as the place of circulation of children’s literature; Sampaio Doria, in turn, emphasizes teaching as constitutive of its nature, destination and ‘reason for being’.

Thus, the paper by Sampaio Doria can be considered a kind of synthesis representative of discussions carried out by that intellectual elite, in respect of a definition of children’s literature and its function, in line with the Journal. And, in consequence, it can be also considered a kind of synthesis of the place that should be occupied by children’s literature in Brazilian Republican education of students and teachers, especially those of primary school.

Furthermore, as a theoretical synthesis, the paper may therefore be considered the founder of a concept and functions assigned to Brazilian children’s literature, definitively sealing its «founding ambiguity»⁴⁵. Likewise, compared to the sparse texts on this subject – as prefaces and prologues in books for children – that had been published until then⁴⁶, the paper may also be considered the founder of a discourse about children’s literature in which the bases are drawn to organizing a field of studies that was developed and consolidated throughout the twentieth century in Brazil⁴⁷.

Final Thoughts

It can be concluded that the «Revista de Ensino»’s initiative to publish the texts in the analyzed Section contributed to the contemplation of the needs identified repeatedly by intellectuals at that time: the production of books by Brazilian writers and on Brazilian themes to be read at Brazilian school by Brazilian students⁴⁸. And it is possible to consider that the needs and purposes of the texts published in the Section were, more immediately, connected to the

⁴⁵ See especially Mortatti, *Literatura infantil e/ou juvenil: a ‘prima pobre’ da pesquisa em Letras?*, cit.

⁴⁶ M.R.M. Magnani, *Entre a literatura e o ensino: um balanço das tematizações brasileiras (e assisenses) sobre literatura infantil e juvenil*, «Miscelânea», vol. 3, 1998, pp. 247-257.

⁴⁷ In Brazil, this conception of children’s literature became harshly and programmatically questioned from the 1980s, when researchers such as Lajolo and Zilberman began to criticize the «servitude» of children’s literature to school goals as well as to defend the necessary aesthetic condition of this literary genre.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

demands of the desired school routine; and, in a more mediate way, with the constitution of a specific kind of student-reader: the future citizen, integrated with the Republican aspirations for the nation.

What's more, this initiative contributed to the establishment in Brazil of a certain 'operating' concept of children's literature as literature *for* and *at* school, by means of defining it as a didactic gender and a branch of Pedagogy, thus serving the purposes of an education project as an urban phenomenon that required the acceleration of the learning process of those who could constitute a systematic consuming public of this genre. Through this pioneering initiative as a systematic and organized procedure, a new institutional production of texts for children and a new circulation mode appeared – that would later be finally named «children's literature». And another kind of author of texts for children emerged, which would mark the process of education of the readers, of the Brazilian texts of this genre and of the studies about them.

From this point of view, the constitution of Brazilian children's literature is directly related and even conditioned to education at school as a place to educate readers and to circulate texts, from special needs imposed by a republican national project, based upon modernization and focusing on urbanization and education of the 'masses'.

The analyzed Section can therefore be taken as representative of an educational project and its study allows understanding of an important moment in the constitution process of children's literature, both as literary gender and as an object of research⁴⁹, mainly in regard to aspects still unexplored in the history of education, particularly in language and literature teaching in Brazil.

Certainly, there are many ramifications of this research⁵⁰. But the points mentioned here can, at least, help to show a few of the studies developed in Brazil and how fruitful and promising they are, especially if developed as an interdisciplinary task and if it comes to exploiting primary sources that remained marginalized and in silence for so long. Surely they can be as loquacious and as important (as those sources conventionally used in research on children's literature in Brazil), if the effort falls on the possibilities of explanation and understanding rather than on value judgments, based upon nostalgic feelings or silent oblivion of the past.

⁴⁹ This is a relatively new field in Brazil and the researches have indicated another important aspect: even if privileging the literary status of the texts of this genre, to their study interdisciplinary approaches are necessary in order to consider the relationship between children's literature, teaching of reading and school education, not as a disturbing accident to slow the process of 'maturation', but as its inherent condition, which gives rise to «[...] decisively constitutive multiple unit of this genre – both literature and to children» (M.R.L. Mortatti, *Leitura crítica da literatura infantil*, «Itinerários. Revista de literatura», n. 17, 2001, pp. 179-187).

⁵⁰ Among the possible ramifications, I highlight comparative studies between the history of children's literature in Brazil and in other countries, especially Portugal and those in Latin America.

«God and the people»: Mazzini's *Duties of man* in the Italian school system over the period spanning the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries

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ABSTRACT: This paper reconstructs the long-drawn-out and controversial introduction of Giuseppe Mazzini's *The Duties of Man* (1860) into the Italian school system, within the broader context of the clash among different models of national identity and education for citizenship that typified both political and civil debate in Italy during the period stretching from Unification to the rise of fascism. The process leading to the book's entry into schools was slow and gradual. It began with educational initiatives launched from the early 1870s onwards in contexts inspired by the thinking of Mazzini (reading rooms, schools for working-class boys and girls), culminating, in 1903, in ministerial approval – not unattended by controversy – for the publication of a revised edition for use in upper primary and secondary schools. The *Duties of Man* ceased to be a recommended schoolbook with the coming to power of Mussolini.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Educational System; Principles of Education; Nationalisation; Textbook; Italy; XIX-XX centuries.

1. *Genesis and contents of the work*

The first complete edition of Giuseppe Mazzini's *The Duties of Man* came out in Lugano in the summer of 1860¹. The book's twelve chapters, put

¹ In reality, the title page erroneously indicated London as the city of publication, while – as we shall see – Mazzini had handed over responsibility for getting the book published to his friend Giovanni Grilenzoni, who in all likelihood gave the commission to the printing press of Giuseppe

together over a long period, had already been published in instalment form, in periodicals or as contributions to anthologies. In 1841 and 1842, the London-based newsletter, the «Apostolato popolare» (The Apostleship of the People), printed the early chapters concerning the concept of God, the foundations and value of the universal law of humanity, as well as the duties of the individual towards the rest of humankind². However the rest of the book did not appear until 1859-1860, when the remaining sections were published by «Pensiero ed azione» (Thought and Action) and «L'unità italiana» (Italian Unity)³. *Prose politiche* (Political Prose), which was brought out in Genoa in 1849, only reproduced the sections earlier featured in the «Apostolato popolare»⁴. It is not surprising that Mazzini took so many years to complete *The Duties* given both his personal difficulties, having been forced into exile in Switzerland and England, and his patriotic endeavours for the Italian cause via his incessant political activity and prolific writing.

The evolving work also reflected Mazzini's unwavering interest in the education of the working classes, as borne out by the setting up in London in 1840 of Hatton Garden, a non-fee-paying school for the children of Italian immigrants. The pupils studied geography, mathematics, physics and industrial chemistry as well as the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic, and, naturally, English; on Sundays, Mazzini himself offered adult education classes in morals, Italian history and astronomy⁵. Furthermore, as early as 1833, the exiled author had appealed to Vincenzo Gioberti to write a treatise along the lines of *The Duties*⁶: nor was he satisfied with that published the following year

Bianchi, Mazzini's usual printer in Lugano along with Fodratti.

² In all, the newsletter hosted four articles, published on 15th September 1841 (n. 3); 1st January (n. 4); 15th April (n. 5); and 15th August (n. 6) of 1842, respectively.

³ Mazzini had the first four chapters reprinted alongside the next six full chapters and part of the eleventh in the fortnightly journal «Pensiero ed Azione» (Thought and Action). The complete version of Chapter 11 entitled *Questione economica* (The Economic Question), along with the twelfth and concluding chapter, was eventually published in «L'unità italiana» (Italian Unity), although the journal mistakenly reversed the order of the two sections. For further background on the development and the different phases of writing of *The Duties of Man*, see V. Parmentola, *Doveri dell'uomo. La dottrina, la storia, la struttura*, in *Mazzini e i repubblicani italiani. Studi in onore di Terenzio Grandi nel suo 92^o compleanno*, Torino, Istituto per la storia del risorgimento italiano, 1976, pp. 374-384.

⁴ G. Mazzini, *Prose politiche*, Genova, funded by G. Grondona, 1849, pp. 103-141. The same text was published again two years later, in a number of issues of the «Biblioteca democratica settimanale» (Weekly Democratic Library), a Genoese periodical set up to disseminate republican propaganda.

⁵ The project was financed by the generous donations that Mazzini received from progressive industrialists, radical intellectuals and middle-class English women including Sara Levi Nathan. Cf. M. Finelli, «Il prezioso elemento». *Giuseppe Mazzini e gli emigrati italiani nell'esperienza della Scuola italiana di Londra*, Pisa, Pazzini, 1999.

⁶ «Write» – we read in a letter addressed to the philosopher from Turin – «a catechism for the people; a republican catechism, an Italian catechism, in which religion is united with *risorgimento*, in which it [the people] is taught that it has brothers, rights, duties, a country and a mission» *Scritti*

by Silvio Pellico, a piece of writing that he dismissed as «mediocre» and a «poor copy» of the ascetic Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*⁷.

Given all of this, Mazzini was naturally favourable towards Giovanni Grilenzoni's proposal, made in 1860, to bring the articles together in one volume with the addition of a preface. As the publication was addressed to the working classes, the author wished it to meet specific parameters: the letter font was to be clear and not too small; the wording «Biblioteca del popolo» (The People's Library) was to appear on the cover; and the terms «God» and «the People» were to be placed in one corner as a motto. Given the type of readership that Mazzini had in mind, a low price was deemed appropriate: 50 cent per copy. It was hoped that such a modest amount would encourage strong sales and that the consequent income would help to set off the costs of printing. Grilenzoni decided to get the book published abroad because of the suspicion with which Mazzini's thinking and political activity were regarded on the Italian peninsula. Significantly, in order to allay his friend's fears, which he himself did not share, Mazzini declared himself willing to make some changes to the text:

If you wish – he wrote – you may put «nor from the monarchy which insinuated itself into our midst in the sixteenth century in the track of the foreigner without a mission of its own». The use of from instead of a and the reference to the sixteenth century give the sentence a historical valence that no one can contradict⁸.

The founder of Young Italy had tried to persuade Grilenzoni that publishing *The Duties in Italy* would undoubtedly have favoured its circulation among the working classes. This could feasibly have been brought about through the contacts and assistance of a devoted Milanese disciple and supporter of Mazzini's, Gaetano Stampa⁹. However, in the end Mazzini had been obliged to accept, as he wrote to Emilia Venturi, that «the edition is not in my hands»¹⁰. The setback proved to be temporary, given that only few months later another edition was published in Naples¹¹. Sales were initially slow due to intimidation

dell'Educazione Nazionale (henceforth SEN), Imola, Tipografia Galeati, Vol. X [1911], *Epistolario*, pp. 76-77.

⁷ Concerning the work of the former Carbonaro, brought out in 1834 by the Turin-based publishing house Bocca, cf. M.C. Morandini, *Religione e amor di patria: I doveri degli uomini di Silvio Pellico*, in Ead., *Punti e virgole, pesi e misure. Libri, maestri e scolari tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 11-39.

⁸ SEN, Vol. LXVIII (1934), p. 114. In this regard, see also G. Monsagrati, *Grilenzoni Giovanni*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (henceforth DBI), Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana Treccani, Vol. LIX (2002), pp. 428-429.

⁹ In this regard, Mazzini wrote in June 1860: «Why do you prefer to have it printed in Lugano instead of Parma or Milan? It would have been infinitely better for circulation [...]. Only some days ago Stampa asked me for permission to get it published in Milan» (*ibid.*, p. 115). Based on this documentation, Terenzio Grandi attributed to Stampa a third 1860 edition that he himself had identified in the possession of Enrico Golfieri, a great scholar of Mazzini.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹¹ In the same period, Mazzini was himself in Naples, with the purpose of following

of the booksellers on the part of the public authorities and the disadvantaged economic status of the targeted readership. Over the following decades however, the book sold well, as is borne out by the many further editions whose circulation was not confined to Mazzinian or republican circles: we will later examine in detail the case of the edition recommended by the Education Ministry for use in schools at the beginning of the twentieth century. Terenzio Grandi calculated that by 1960, one hundred years after the publication of the first edition, over a million copies of *The Duties* had been printed in Italy alone, without allowing for the numerous translated versions and partial reproductions (chapters, extracts, quotations)¹². This figure has grown exponentially since then, given the many more recent editions that have come out up to the present day¹³.

The book represents a valid summary of the religious, ethical, political and socio-economic thinking of the Genoese patriot. The paired concepts featured on the title page, «Thought and Action» and «God and the People», foreshadow others contained in the work: freedom and association; heaven and earth; education and insurrection; independence and unity; interests and principles. Mazzini did not view duty as the antithesis of having rights, but as the condition required for rights to be fulfilled:

Why – the exiled author wrote to the working people – do I speak to you of your duties before speaking to you of your rights [...]? Certainly rights exist; but where the rights of an individual come into conflict with those of another, how can we hope to reconcile and harmonise them, without appealing to something superior to all rights [...]? We have therefore to find a principle of education superior to any such theory, which shall guide men to better things, teach them constancy in self-sacrifice, and link them with their fellow men without making them dependent on the ideas of a single man or on the strength of all. And this principle is DUTY¹⁴.

The duties of man originate in God and in his law, which governs the universe and humanity. This law is continuously and progressively being revealed to humanity, directly, without the need for intermediaries. In this view, although Christianity represents a step forward from pagan religion because it advocates universal brotherhood (all men are children of God), it too is obsolete: Rome, once of the Caesars and later of the Popes, was due to become of the people.

developments ensuing on Garibaldi's actions in the south, a curious coincidence that has led some scholars to surmise that he personally edited this version of the book. However, it is highly improbable that he was in a position to correct the proofs.

¹² For a more detailed analysis, cf. T. Grandi, *La fortuna dei «Doveri» e Mazzini fuori d'Italia*, Milano-Torino-Genova, Associazione mazziniana italiana, 1961. Concerning the various English-language translations, cf. Parmentola, *Doveri dell'uomo. La dottrina, la storia, la struttura*, cit., pp. 386-393 and 416-420.

¹³ According to data drawn from the catalogue of the national library service, from 2000 to date alone, around 15 new Italian editions of Mazzini's *The Duties of Man* have been published, the majority in Rome and Milan.

¹⁴ G. Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, New York, Cosimo, 2005, pp. 7, 11, and 15.

Every individual, Mazzini argued, is bound to carry out his or her own duty in relation to the various contexts to which he or she belongs, ordered from the more general to the more particular: humanity, country, family. These levels of belonging may be conceptualised as concentric circles, with each contributing to meeting the objectives of the level immediately superior to it. Specifically, the family prepares its members to be good citizens, while the country forms human beings. In the family, man and woman enjoy equal rights, although they occupy different roles; in one's country – based on an idea of nationhood that goes beyond the mere possession of a geographical area, and is politically one and indivisible (Mazzini totally rejected any form of federal state) – equal rights and the elimination of special privileges are guaranteed by law («Your Country should be your Temple. God at the summit, a people of equals at the base»)¹⁵. The Ligurian thinker, just as he condemned selfish tendencies in the family context, was critical of nationalism, which he view as an expression of country politics that placed interests before principles.

Mazzini then went on to analyse a person's duties towards him or herself. He identified three such duties, derived from the peculiar defining characteristics of the human being: freedom, education, association. In his view, equal freedom for all may only be achieved through a republican regime, viewed as the «only legitimate and logical form of government». Republican values are not an end in themselves but a means; not the denial of all authority but «the negation of all authority which does not represent the collective purpose of the nation»¹⁶. Hence his emphasis on the need to develop a national education system providing free and obligatory schooling for all citizens and driven by the awareness that a lack of education, similarly to a lack of freedom, undermines subjects' capacity to choose between good (duty) and evil (selfishness) and, consequently, undermines the moral existence of the nation. Thanks to brotherly association, a concept designed to replace the notion of charity, the individual may draw on the multiple strengths and resources required to realize his or her choices. Mazzini was aware however that calling on all members of society to pursue the law of progress by enhancing their intellectual and moral development and exercising their political rights, presupposed helping the working classes to overcome poverty and destitution: thus, towards the end of his essay, he addressed the economic question. His proposed solution was to apply to the firm the same form of government aspired to for the State: in place of a wealth that benefits few, he advocated a «rich nation, manager of its own production and of its own consumption», based on «the union of capital and labour in the same hands». This would imply equal remuneration for all and a distribution of profits based on the quantity and quality of the work carried out¹⁷.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹⁷ For further analysis of the chapter on the economic question and in particular on Mazzini's

2. *The girl's primary school in Trastevere*

The *Duties* was banned from Italian classrooms in the period immediately following on its publication: nor could it have been otherwise given how the Risorgimento was interpreted in the primary and secondary history curricula of the first ten years after Unification¹⁸. Specifically, the school programmes of the day, following the majority of contemporary historiographers, portrayed the process of national unification as moderate and Savoyard-led: the monarchy and Piedmontese diplomacy were presented as having played the most decisive role in bringing about the Kingdom of Italy¹⁹. This explains why the prescribed history textbooks of the period were characterized by the «forced removal» of and «general silence» concerning, the life and work of Mazzini²⁰.

The only exception to this trend was represented by the workers' associations and groups of Mazzini's followers that undertook to disseminate the book via their own educational institutions. At the closing session of their IX General Congress, held in Florence in September 1861, the Italian workers' associations voted for the adoption in their own schools of *The Duties*, viewed as the ultimate educational text for the working classes²¹. This objective was reconfirmed ten years later at the XII General Congress in Rome, when delegates approved the *Patto di Fratellanza* (Pact of Brotherhood) that made the executive boards of the workers' associations responsible for opening popular schools and libraries and for promoting the dissemination of appropriate books among the working classes (Article 7)²².

These moves led to the opening in a number of Italian cities of Mazzinian reading rooms, that is, venues for lectures at which extracts from *The Duties* were

relationship with socialism, see Parmentola, *Doveri dell'uomo. La dottrina, la storia, la struttura*, cit., pp. 366-375.

¹⁸ A detailed examination of these programmes may be found in A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004, pp. 23-34 and 123-143.

¹⁹ Concerning historiographical orientations in the immediate wake of Italian Unity, cf. U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Torino, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1992, pp. 59-63.

²⁰ A. Ascenzi, *Le metamorfosi di uno scomodo «Padre della Patria». L'immagine di Giuseppe Mazzini nei manuali di storia dall'Unità al fascismo*, in Ead., *Metamorfosi della cittadinanza: studi e ricerche su insegnamento della storia, educazione civile e identità nazionale in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2010, p. 39.

²¹ L. Cecchini, B. Di Porto, *Storia del patto di fratellanza: movimento operaio e democrazia repubblicana 1860/1893*, Roma, Edizioni della Voce, 1981, p. 99.

²² The full text of the document was published in the 1st February 1872 issue of «L'emancipazione» (Emancipation). For further background on the Rome Congress and, in particular, on the Pact of Brotherhood, cf. N. Rosselli, *Mazzini e Bakunin. Dodici anni di movimento operaio in Italia (1860-1872)*, Torino, Einaudi, 1967, pp. 313-322; G. Manacorda, *Il movimento operaio italiano attraverso i suoi Congressi. Dalle origini alle formazioni del Partito socialista (1853-1892)*, Roma, Editori riuniti, 1971, pp. 93-99.

read and explained²³. Worthy of particular note is the room inaugurated in Rome in Via Prefetti n. 17 on 10 March 1873, the first anniversary of Mazzini's death. The lectures, held on Sundays from October to July, initially in the afternoon and later in the evening to facilitate a greater turnout, were generally attended by about thirty/forty people of middle-class background (one third women)²⁴. In its ten years of functioning, the room hosted a range of speakers: Maurizio Quadrio, Siro Fava, Giuseppe Nathan and his brother Ernesto, whose approach – regardless of the particular topic in hand – was consistently underpinned by the evidently Mazzinian principle according to which «no general economic progress is possible unless preceded by corresponding religious and political progress»²⁵.

The Roman reading room was part of a broader educational project with the aim of setting up primary schools for working class students. An example was the evening school for boys/youths, opened in the Trastevere district at the headquarters of the Società di Mutuo soccorso della Fratellanza operaia (Workers' Fraternity Mutual Aid Society) in Via Piscinula 23: in 1876, according to a police report, this school had an attendance of about forty pupils, divided into two classes²⁶. By day, the ground floor of the same building housed a primary school for girls of limited means, founded in 1873 by Sara Nathan²⁷. A friend and supporter of Mazzini's work since the time of his exile in London, Nathan shared his concern for, and commitment to, guaranteeing the less well off with the minimum level of education required to sustain democracy²⁸. She acted

²³ The first opened in Milan, in Via Moriggi, in April 1872 thanks to the efforts of Giulietta Pezzi. Other reading-rooms followed in Turin, Pavia, Genoa, Alessandria, Brescia, Pesaro, Bologna, Rome, Forlì, Pisa and Livorno.

²⁴ The Roman Mazzini reading-room changed location twice: it was first moved to Vicolo del Soldato n. 8, a venue shared with the Circolo centrale repubblicano (Central Republican Circle), and subsequently to Via S. Sebastianello n. 16, in rooms that also hosted the Circolo dei diritti dell'Uomo (Circle for the Rights of Man) and the Comitato centrale italiano per la tutela della moralità e dell'igiene pubblica (Central Italian Committee for the Safeguarding of Morals and Public Hygiene). The initiative was kept under constant surveillance by the public security authorities: the district police inspector was required to submit a weekly report to the heads of police and the Interior Minister.

²⁵ A. Levi, *Ricordi della vita e dei tempi di Ernesto Nathan*, Firenze, Tip. Ariani, 1927, p. 51. In the following pages, Ernest Nathan's biographer summarized the lectures he held between 1877 and 1880, as documented by numerous surviving manuscripts. Relevant background is also to be found in R. Ugolini, *La famiglia Nathan e l'istruzione popolare a Roma*, in Id., *Ernesto Nathan tra idealità e pragmatismo*, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 2004, p. 99.

²⁶ For further information, see R. Ugolini, *L'educazione popolare di orientamento mazziniano a Roma: la famiglia Nathan e la scuola «Giuseppe Mazzini» in Trastevere*, in *L'associazionismo mazziniano. Atti dell'incontro di studio (Ostia 13-15 novembre 1976)*, Roma, Istituto per la storia del risorgimento, 1979, p. 55.

²⁷ Mazzini's followers had a habit of referring to all of these educational initiatives (lectures, evening schools, day schools) with the umbrella term «Scuola Mazzini», a factor that makes it more difficult for historians to accurately reconstruct the individual projects.

²⁸ For further detail on Nathan and in particular on her close relationship with Mazzini, cf. S. Pallunto, *Sara Levi Nathan*, Pesaro, Tip. La Pieve, 1993; G. Monsagrat, *Levi Sara*, in DBI, Vol. LXIV (2005), pp. 794-796; A.M. Isastia, *Storia di una famiglia del Risorgimento. Sarina, Giuseppe*,

as both headmistress and teacher, instructing the two upper classes in history and geography; and all four classes in civil morals, a subject imparted via the reading and analysis of Mazzini's *The Duties of Man* (Nathan had summarized and simplified the contents in a pamphlet for her pupils to use as a textbook)²⁹. Significantly, the primary focus of the traditional end-of-year exams was the students' progress in the knowledge of ethics: this reflected «the true aim of the school, that is to say, to educate working-class girls to become good daughters, conscientious mothers, and virtuous citizens» through «the application of *duty* in their practical, real, everyday lives»³⁰.

This institution was to become one of the more incisive instruments for the diffusion of the ideals of the beloved Master: attendance grew year on year, exceeding 100 pupils from 1877 onwards. This was all the more noteworthy given the defamatory campaign directed against the school by local priests: from insinuations regarding the moral dangers associated with attending a school «in the grasp of the devil» and therefore cursed, to the decision to ban the girls whose parents continued to send them to the school from receiving their First Holy Communion³¹. The teaching of *The Duties of Man* continued to be the core educational aim of the school even after Sara's death in 1882. This ideal of continuity was expressed by her son Ernesto in the following terms:

The aim of the founder, which we have inherited, – he wrote in a letter to Minister Ortu – is to assure the daughters of the working classes, outside of and aside from any religious faith, a precise knowledge of the moral principles that must guide their action within the civil consortium; so that pure thoughts and honest actions may be the active prayer of useful existences³².

The areas of moral and civil education were taught by Sara's daughter Adah and granddaughter Liliah in the years before and after the transformation of the primary school into a professional institute (1904-1905), a transformation demanded by the altered educational scenario in the capital city. While this

Ernesto Nathan, Torino, Università Popolare di Torino, 2010, pp. 1-69, 131-154, 160-177, 193-199 and 205-210; P. Morelli, *Levi Nathan Sara*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *DBE Dizionario biografico dell'educazione (1800-2000)*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. II, pp. 33-34.

²⁹ Ernesto Nathan too gave classes to the pupils on *The Duties of Man*, as he himself had occasion to recall: «I tried to teach there, and in teaching I learned; learned above all how difficult it is, despite having faith and knowledge, to communicate them to others, especially to virgin minds, in such a way as to ensure that they are understood and assimilated» (Ugolini, *La famiglia Nathan e l'istruzione popolare a Roma*, cit., p. 99).

³⁰ *Roma. Scuola Mazzini*, «Il dovere», vol. 1, n. 54, 26 marzo 1877, p. 2.

³¹ This matter was the subject of a heated exchange of views, which took place in July 1877, between the religious newspaper «La voce della Verità» (The Voice of the Truth) and the Mazzinian periodical «Il Dovere» (Duty). Cf. Isastia, *Storia di una famiglia del Risorgimento. Sarina, Giuseppe, Ernesto Nathan*, cit., pp. 196-197.

³² Ernesto Nathan to Cocco Ortu, Minister for Agriculture, Industry and Commerce (24th January 1907), in Ugolini, *L'educazione popolare di orientamento mazziniano a Roma: la famiglia Nathan e la scuola «Giuseppe Mazzini»*, in *Trastevere*, cit., p. 154.

change led to a sharp drop in student numbers (from 200 to 50 pupils), it also coincided, as we shall see, with ministerial recommendation of *The Duties* as a textbook for all upper primary and secondary school classes, and therefore with the dissemination of Mazzini's ideas via other and more authoritative channels. A description of the school's educational approach that was prepared for a 1907 presentation of Rome's professional and industrial schools clearly defines the Mazzinian aspect of the curriculum:

For the formation of character – the document reads – civil morals as outlined in Giuseppe Mazzini's *The Duties of Man* are imparted on a daily basis; the simple and gradual teaching of moral truths, abstracted from religions, independent of dogmas and superstitions. In other words, using the Mazzinian handbook as a text book, we teach, in accessible form, duty on earth, an emanation of the supreme law of progress which governs the universe, and which may be summed up in the motto [...] «God is God and Humanity is his prophet»³³.

In 1917 the Mazzini school was recognized as a non-profit organization under the title *Opera Pia Sarina Nathan* (The Pious Work of Sarina Nathan): Article Six of the institution's statute once more confirmed that the teaching of ethics, to be provided alongside professional training, would involve use of *The Duties* as a textbook³⁴.

3. *Introduction into state schools*

The coming into power of the Historic Left in March 1876 coincided with the emergence of a new interpretative stance on the Risorgimento that accorded greater recognition to the role played by proponents of democracy in forming the Kingdom of Italy. A conciliatory interpretation that was national-popular in nature and, in line with an image of the unification process as the outcome of a spirit of agreement and general consensus, now included Garibaldi and Mazzini in the «pantheon» of the fathers of the nation. The latter, however, was made to lose all trace of his «ideological identity in favour of his, far less embarrassing, traits of moral and civil exemplariness»³⁵: suffice it to note that the primary and secondary school history books of the period did not contain any reference to Mazzini's republican ideals, the *leitmotiv* of his incessant conspiratorial activities³⁶. Emblematic in this regard is the brief profile of Mazzini featured in De Amicis' *Cuore*:

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163. The statute and regulations are both included in the appendix to this essay.

³⁵ Ascenzi, *Le metamorfosi di uno scomodo «Padre della Patria». L'immagine di Giuseppe Mazzini nei manuali di storia dall'Unità al fascismo*, cit., p. 48.

³⁶ For a review of the history manuals published during this period, cf. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle*

Giuseppe Mazzini, born in Genoa in 1805, died in Pisa in 1872, a grand, patriotic soul, the mind of a great writer, the first inspirer and apostle of the Italian Revolution; who, out of love for his country, lived for forty years poor, exiled, persecuted, a fugitive heroically steadfast in his principles and in his resolutions³⁷.

Nonetheless, the Nathan family did not desist from their efforts to have *The Duties* adopted as a school textbook. The new law on education introduced by the Educational Minister Coppino in July 1877 provided them with an opening, given that for the first time the primary school curriculum was to include notions of human and civic duty³⁸. From the columns of the newspaper «Il dovere» (Duty)³⁹, they made repeated appeals, which went unheeded, for Bellarmine's catechism, used in the schools of the Diocese of Rome, to be replaced by Mazzini's treatise:

In the Bellarmine – the newspaper argued – conservatives know that at whatever the cost they have an extremely powerful aid to demeaning, corrupting and subjugating the people [...]. We ask that it be substituted with a book of morals outlining the duties and rights of man without restrictions; a book that in teaching tolerance and respect for all religious creeds, ennobles and unites them. We hope that the members of the School Boards responsible for choosing textbooks will not be blinded by passion, and will not forget that we have already been given a code of civil morals by the great one who lies in Staglieno⁴⁰.

Not even as late as 1888 could primary school programmes be said to display a cautious openness towards Mazzini's work, although they were now underpinned by a notion of nationhood as «a great and industrious ethical and spiritual principle» that was clearly inspired by the thinking of Mazzini⁴¹. The theme came to the fore once again in 1890 with the presentation of a bill proposing the erection in Rome of a national monument to commemorate the Ligurian

scuole italiane dell'Ottocento, cit., pp. 68-83 and 171-191.

³⁷ E. De Amicis, *Cuore (Heart). An Italian Schoolboy's Journal*, New York, Thomas Crowell, 1915, p. 221.

³⁸ For further background, cf. G. Talamo, *Istruzione obbligatoria ed estensione del suffragio*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla legge Casati al Centro-sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 47-74; G. Bandini, *La politica scolastica del ministro P.I. Michele Coppino e l'editoria fiorentina*, in C. Betti (ed.), *Percorsi del libro per la scuola fra Otto e Novecento. La tradizione toscana e le nuove realtà del primo Novecento in Italia*, Firenze, Pagnini, 2004, pp. 77-95; G. Chiosso, *Coppino Michele*, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE Dizionario biografico dell'educazione (1800-2000)*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 390-391.

³⁹ On the history of the newspaper, cf. G. Monsagrati, *Momenti dell'intransigentismo repubblicano: il gruppo romano del «Dovere»*, in *L'associazionismo mazziniano. Atti dell'incontro di studio (Ostia 13-15 novembre 1976)*, cit., pp. 27-96.

⁴⁰ *Roma. Istruzione elementare*, «Il dovere», vol. 1, n. 212, 2 settembre 1877, p. 3. The editors of the journal had also unsuccessfully invited the public education authorities to include *The Duties of Man* among the prize books annually distributed to pupils at the municipal schools on the anniversary of the plebiscite for the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy (2nd October).

⁴¹ Ascenzi, *Le metamorfosi di uno scomodo «Padre della Patria». L'immagine di Giuseppe Mazzini nei manuali di storia dall'Unità al fascismo*, cit., p. 54.

patriot⁴². In this context, Ernesto Nathan – acting on behalf of the Mazzini editorial commission – offered the education ministry⁴³ two hundred thousand copies of *The Duties of Man* for distribution in classrooms. The commission's thinking was that in place of a «material» form of commemoration, it would be preferable to promote «in the minds and hearts of all Italians», an ethical and national consciousness, inspired by the principles of the esteemed master⁴⁴.

The idea of a school edition only finally took shape in 1901 thanks to the input of Minister Nasi who commissioned an ad hoc version of the text, abridged and enriched with explanatory notes, as recommended reading for upper primary and secondary school students⁴⁵. The minister's decision is likely to have been influenced by his membership of the freemasonry: it should not be forgotten that both the political (Nathan) and moral (Carducci) spearheads of the initiative also had masonic affiliations. This institutional embracing of Mazzini, corroborated by other subsequent acts of the king (from signing a decree providing for the publication of a national edition of the patriot's complete works, to attending a ceremony marking the one hundredth centenary of his birth)⁴⁶, should also be interpreted in light of the altered political and

⁴² The bill was approved by the lower house of Parliament on 15th May 1890 with 182 votes in favour and 43 against. However, the monument was not inaugurated until 1949. For further background, cf. J.C. Lescure, *Les enjeux du souvenir: le monument national à Giuseppe Mazzini*, «Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine», Avril-Juin 1993, pp. 177-201; G. Piantoni, *L'idea di «Rivoluzione» nel monumento a Mazzini di Ettore Ferrari*, in A.M. Isastia (ed.), *Il progetto liberal-democratico di Ettore Ferrari. Un percorso tra politica e arte*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1997, pp. 138-152.

⁴³ On Mazzini's death, Sara Nathan had bought exclusive rights over his published works from the Milanese bookseller Robecchi. She was also active in collecting the Master's autographed letters, notes and cards from among his Italian and international correspondents. This rich material was submitted to a commission, formed by her sons Giuseppe and Ernesto, Maurizio Quadrio, Luigi Castiglioni and Aurelio Saffi, and charged with disseminating Mazzini's thinking via the publication of his writings. On the work of the commission, see M. Finelli, *Il monumento di carta. L'Edizione Nazionale degli Scritti di Giuseppe Mazzini*, Villa Verrucchio, Pazzini Stampatore, 2004, pp. 31-34.

⁴⁴ Levi, *Ricordi della vita e dei tempi di Ernesto Nathan*, cit., p. 94.

⁴⁵ The minister had first expressed this intention, in the months of May and June, during the debate on the education budget. Cf. N. Nasi, *Per la pubblica istruzione. Discorsi*, Roma, Tipografia Cecchini, 1901, pp. 71-72 and 142-143. He reiterated it in Circular n. 26 of 6th March 1903: *Adozione nelle scuole del libro «i doveri dell'uomo» di G. Mazzini*, published in «Bollettino ufficiale del ministero della pubblica istruzione» (henceforth BUMPI), 5 marzo-16 aprile 1903, vol. 2, pp. 417-418. The full text of the document may be found in A. Barausse (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo: la normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, Macerata, Alfabetica, 2008, Vol. I, pp. 482-483.

⁴⁶ After donating all of Mazzini's writings in her possession to the State, Nathan succeeded in obtaining public financing for the complete edition of his works (Royal Decree 13th March 1904). This project was led by a commission, headed up by the Education Minister and comprising eleven members nominated by the king: in practice however the bulk of the work was carried out by Ernesto Nathan and his secretary Mario Menghini. The printing press chosen for the job was Galeati of Imola, which between 1906 and 1943 printed the works of Mazzini in over a hundred volumes. For a detailed reconstruction, see Finelli, *Il monumento di carta*, cit., pp. 59-81. On

cultural context, characterized by the emergence of «a new and younger ruling class, emotionally detached from the battles of the Risorgimento and post-unification periods» and therefore «with fewer strong feelings» regarding the founder of Young Italy⁴⁷. On the other hand the move was balanced by the contemporary adoption of a book by Luigi Morandi entitled *Come fu educato Vittorio Emanuele III* (The Education of Victor Emmanuel III), a celebration of the reigning sovereign designed to show, «simply and directly in characteristic Italian style», «that not only the humble, but all in the world are obliged to equip themselves to fulfil the increasingly onerous duties of the present life»⁴⁸.

The revision of *The Duties* was entrusted to Nathan himself. The new edition of the book, which came out in March 1903, proved to be a good economic investment for the publisher, Sansoni of Florence, given the 20,000 copies sold in the first three months after its appearance⁴⁹. The main novelty vis-à-vis the original version was the substitution of the opening dedication to the working classes with a new preface. This implied leaving out a number of references, contained in those first three pages, to the form of government that Mazzini had aspired to for Italy. Such references included an appeal to his readers to accomplish the «mission of republican progress for all», and a mention of the «republican instincts» of his mother, which had led him to seek among his fellow human beings «the Man, not the merely rich or powerful individual»⁵⁰. The omissions from the main body of the work were few in number but equally significant. Specifically, the seven passages that did not appear in the school edition were those that explicitly condemned a state of inequality among citizens based on a «pretended divine right» or on «a privilege derived from birth or wealth», the very principles legitimating the monarchical regime. It is sufficient to read even one of these censured passages, such as the following from Chapter 8 on the theme of freedom, to grasp the political significance of these ‘cuts’:

Every man called to the government is an administrator of the common will – Mazzini contended – he must be elected, and must be subject to recall whenever he misunderstands

the history of the printing press, cf. A. Grilli, *Paolo Galeati e un sessantennio di vita cooperativa (1900-1960)*, Imola, Coop. Tip. ed. Galeati, 1960 and the entry by M. D'Ascenzo in G. Chiosso (ed.), *Teseo Tipografi e editori scolastico-educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Editrice bibliografica, 2003, pp. 237-238.

⁴⁷ Finelli, *Il monumento di carta*, cit., p. 45.

⁴⁸ See in this regard Circular n. 65 of 23rd September 1903: *Per il libro di L. Morandi «Come fu educato Vittorio Emanuele III»*, BUMPI, vol. 2, 1st October 1903, p. 1679. The text is also reproduced in Barausse (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo: la normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 485-486. Paravia of Turin had published Morandi's 148-page work in 1901.

⁴⁹ The school edition of the *Duties of Men* was reprinted on a number of occasions: in 1905 by the publishing house Civelli in Rome; in 1917 by the Società Dante Alighieri of Albighi and Segati in Milan.

⁵⁰ Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, cit., p. 1.

or deliberately opposes that will. There cannot exist, then, I repeat, a class or family which holds the power by its own right, without a violation of your liberty. How can you call yourselves free in the presence of men who possess the power to command you without your consent? The republic is the only legitimate and logical form of government⁵¹.

Numerous small changes were also made to the text with a view to making it easier to read and to highlighting the main points: for example, longer sentences were broken down into smaller sentences, key sentences were printed in bold and in a larger font. Explanatory notes were also added on civil (declaration of the rights of man) and religious (Protestantism) themes, as well as on events in Italian (the Lombard League) and foreign (the 1830 revolution in France) history⁵². In some cases these explanations were necessary given that the context of the early 1900s was different in some regards to that described in *The Duties*: Italy had now been united at the political-administrative level and more of its citizens were able to take part in public life thanks to the extension of the right to vote to all those who had completed the lower primary school cycle; at the economic and social level there had been significant shifts in the relationship between capital and labour, with cooperation between them no longer a mere aspiration.

Many and strongly expressed were the criticisms of the new school edition that poured in from a diversity of quarters that ranged from republican to socialist to Catholic. The first of these camps viewed the changes made to the text as a deliberate attempt to distort Mazzini's political vision by stripping it of the ideological aspects that were 'embarrassing' for the monarchy. The delegates to the republican party congress, held in Genoa in March 1903, declared themselves «completely indifferent to the political and educational value of the Nasi circular on Mazzini's *The Duties of Man*». Nor did they look kindly on the watered-down version of the text, viewed as the outcome of a blatant government manoeuvre⁵³. The parliamentary deputy Carlo Del Balzo, speaking at question time in the lower house some days later, referred to a «purged edition» and to a text of which «many parts have been mutilated»⁵⁴.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵² For example, a note on the citation from Lamennais' *Les paroles d'un croyant* states: «The booklet, entitled *Les paroles d'un croyant* (The Words of a Believer) by Lamennais, was published in 1834, and enflamed the whole of France. Gregory XVI, then Pope, rushed to condemn it in a famous encyclical, but this did not hold back its diffusion throughout Europe. It was translated several times into Italian and in this language too was appreciated, defended and bitterly criticised. It is not improbable that this work of Lamennais' inspired Mazzini to write *The Duties of Man* (G. Mazzini, *Doveri dell'uomo edizione ad uso delle scuole raccomandata dal ministero della pubblica istruzione*, 14th ed., Firenze, Sansoni, 1903, p. 10).

⁵³ Associazione Mazziniana Italiana, *Il repubblicano di base nella Torino democratica. Vittorio Parmentola (1903-1985)*, Torino, Tip. Subalpina, 1996, p. 181.

⁵⁴ The record of the exchange that took place between Deputy Del Balzo and Minister Nasi in the lower house of Parliament is almost fully reproduced by Grandi, *La fortuna dei «Doveri e Mazzini fuori d'Italia*, cit., pp. 39-46.

Napoleone Colajanni denounced, from the printed page, «the substantial and fundamental alteration of [Mazzini's] thinking», now presented to schoolchildren as «non-republican»⁵⁵. The most unusual stance adopted by a republican was that of Arcangelo Ghisleri, convinced that it was educationally inappropriate to prescribe such a text to school children, given that even the unabridged version was «excessively teleological and dogmatic» and therefore susceptible to «ambiguous or erroneous interpretations»⁵⁶.

The socialists saw the decision to introduce *The Duties* into schools as reflecting the minister's design to undermine the new «evolutionary and positivist morals» with «mystical and authoritarian morals»: according to Leonida Bissolati, director of «Avanti» (Forward), there was no «difference between the maxims of Mazzini and those of St. Paul» urging youths to «serve with trepidation and fervour»⁵⁷. Even Gaetano Salvemini declared his opposition to the introduction of a book that was «dripping with religious dogmatism from beginning to end»⁵⁸.

Equally harsh were the views expressed by the Church, who accused the Freemasonry of using *The Duties* as a vehicle for spreading its own doctrine inside the classroom. «Unità cattolica» (Catholic Unity), in particular, warned against rehabilitating the image of a man who had been «repeatedly found guilty of taking part in acts of attempted regicide» and «against reading material that is all the more dangerous the less it openly presents itself as sacrilegious». In reality, the book promoted a notion of duty that was reduced to «the practice of patriotic fanaticism in the service of an anti-Christian republic» and a conception of God that ultimately equated him with the people⁵⁹. «L'Osservatore romano», the newspaper representing the views of the curia, also called for a formal, as well as fitting and urgent, act of protest on the part of Catholic parents in relation to Nasi's decision. Other Catholics wrote books and articles aimed at refuting Mazzini's arguments in *The Duties*. One such work is *Mazzini e i Doveri dell'uomo secondo il Vangelo esposti alla gioventù cattolica* (Mazzini and the Duties of Man according to the Gospel presented to

⁵⁵ N. Colaianni, *Preti e socialisti contro Mazzini*, Roma, Libreria politica moderna, 2nd ed., 1921, p. 14.

⁵⁶ A. Benini, *Il Mazzini di Ghisleri*, «Bollettino della Domus Mazziniana», n. 1, 1991, pp. 17-18. Similarly to other republicans, Ghisleri did not fail to comment in his journal on the incongruity of making *The Duties* recommended school reading based on the approval of a minister of the monarchical government and «with the corrective addition of Christian Doctrine taught by the parish priest and a mini-guide to the country's history, approved by the royal commissioner, in which it is written that Vittorio Emanuele, Cavour, Garibaldi and Mazzini worked together to achieve Italian unity» (X marzo, «L'educazione politica», vol. 4, n. 78, 15 marzo 1902, p. 97).

⁵⁷ Colaianni, *Preti e socialisti contro Mazzini*, cit., pp. 22-23. On the history of the newspaper, cf. U. Intini, *Avanti! Un giornale d'epoca (1896-1993)*, Roma, Ponte Sisto, 2012.

⁵⁸ A. Galante Garrone, *Salvemini e Mazzini*, Messina, D'Anna, 1981, p. 37.

⁵⁹ Colaianni, *Preti e socialisti contro Mazzini*, cit., p. 33.

the Catholic youth), written by Fr. Antonio Briganti and published in Perugia in 1903. The author made his purpose clear from the outset of the book:

Mazzini's *Duties* – we read on page 10 of the preface – exhorts the youth to wear themselves out in the pursuit of a generic duty, originating in a generic God (atheist duty!) and interpreted by a humanity that is no less generic! Aside from the inadequacy of a book that does not concretely teach any type of morals whatsoever [...] this is a book from which young people will not learn anything useful, little or nothing of good, and much *bad* [...]. It is not surprising – the priest concludes – that we have decided to write about and discuss *the real and true duties of man according to upright reasoning and according to the unalterable principles of Catholic truth, drawn from the infallible, because divine, law of the Holy Gospels!*⁶⁰

The logic behind the revised version of the text may be deduced from the preface to the school edition itself. In this new fore note, the editorial commission explicitly stated its aim of passing on to the new generations the moral force and richness of Mazzini's teachings in the awareness that his political vision appeared to have been superseded, and *de facto* delegitimized, by events that took place later in the unification process⁶¹. An interpretation echoed by Nathan in a speech made to mark the centenary of Mazzini's birth. To those who accused him of betraying the master by omitting phrases such as «the republic is the only logical form of government», he responded by appeal to other passages from Mazzini's writings that he believed to reflect a belief in the sovereign will of the nation, antecedent and superior to trust in any specific political system. This was the faith that in 1861 had induced Mazzini to accept that «the majority of the people were for the formula Italy and Victor Emmanuel» and which after the taking of Rome had found a natural outlet in the patriot's educational activity⁶². Ernesto's strategy of attributing Mazzini's message with an essentially ethical meaning, «to which any political valence – viewed as a possible but not indispensable consequence of a sound moral education – is subordinated»⁶³, is easier to understand, at least in part, in light of the ambitious goal, subsequently attained, of winning recognition for Mazzini as one of the country's fathers on equal footing with Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel II. However, it was also a sign of political evolution, characterized by a gradual and «painful» shift from intransigently republican positions to a radicalism aimed «at uniting all the pillars of democracy under

⁶⁰ A. Briganti, *Mazzini e i Doveri dell'Uomo secondo il Vangelo esposti alla gioventù cattolica*, Perugia, Santucci, 1903, pp. 10-11. In the second part of the text, the Monsignor outlined a category of duties that did not feature in Mazzini's treatise: that of man's duties towards God.

⁶¹ Cf. *Prefazione*, in Mazzini, *Doveri dell'uomo edizione ad uso delle scuole raccomandata dal ministero della pubblica istruzione*, cit., pp. VIII-IX.

⁶² E. Nathan, *Pel centenario di Giuseppe Mazzini. Discorso tenuto il 22 giugno 1905 nell'aula magna del Collegio Romano*, in A.M. Isastia (ed.), *Scritti politici di Ernesto Nathan*, Foggia, Bastogi, 1998, p. 43.

⁶³ Ugolini, *La famiglia Nathan e l'istruzione popolare a Roma*, cit., p. 94.

the banner of concrete secular and progressive reform»⁶⁴; a model that would later be successfully put into practice in the capital city, governed for six years from 1907-1913 by the so-called «blocchi popolari», led by Nathan himself as mayor⁶⁵.

4. A mixed evaluation

In the early 1900s, there were also a number of schoolbooks in use that contained limited extracts from Mazzini's *The Duties*. Of these, the most successful publication was *Doveri e diritti ad uso delle scuole tecniche e complementari con scelti ammaestramenti civili di Mazzini, Pellico e Tommaseo* (Duties and Rights for Technical and Complementary Schools with selected civil teachings from Mazzini, Pellico and Tommaseo), by the Venetian professor Giovanni Battista Marchesini, a prolific author of textbooks⁶⁶. First printed in 1900, a further eight editions of the manual came out over the following twenty-year period⁶⁷. The handbook featured 15 quotations from *The Duties*, of variable length and included, as representative examples, in the appendices to the various sections into which it was divided. Some of these quotations appeared in the section on the duties and rights of the citizen, under the headings «wealth», «education», «life experience», «respect for women», «brotherly love», «country and humanity», «the law» and «government». Others featured in the pages specifically devoted to the duties and rights of the Italian citizen and aimed at making the student more familiar with concepts such as freedom, property, and the right of association⁶⁸. The following extract

⁶⁴ F. Conti, *Nathan Ernesto*, in DBI, Vol. LXXVII (2012), p. 878.

⁶⁵ The Nathan administration, known as that of the «blocchi popolari», was a coalition formed by the constitutional left, republicans, socialists and radicals. For an in-depth reconstruction of Nathan's activity as city counsellor and mayor of Rome, see N. Ciani, *Da Mazzini al Campidoglio. Vita di Ernesto Nathan*, Roma, Edisse, 2007, pp. 145-263.

⁶⁶ On Marchesini see the entry by M. D'Arcangeli, in Chiosso, Sani (edd.), *DBE Dizionario biografico dell'educazione (1800-2000)*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 97-98.

⁶⁷ From the sixth edition of 1919 onwards, the book was given a new title (*Doveri e diritti per le scuole medie e per l'educazione popolare* – Duties and Rights for Middle Schools and Popular Education) reflecting its reorganized contents. The other works on which the textbook was based were the previously cited *Doveri degli uomini* (The Duties of Men) by Silvio Pellico (1834) and *I doveri e i diritti d'ogni buon italiano: memorie e speranze per il popolo* (The Duties and Rights of Every Good Italian: Memories and Hopes for the People) (1871) by Niccolò Tommaseo.

⁶⁸ Cf. G.B. Marchesini, *Doveri e diritti ad uso delle scuole tecniche e complementari con ammaestramenti scelti ammaestramenti civili di Mazzini, Pellico e Tommaseo*, Palermo, Sandron, 1912, 4th ed., pp. 26, 30-32, 43-44, 46-47, 71, 73, 85-87. At the end of the book the author included some detail on the main local and national laws in effect during the period under discussion, as well as the «legge delle guarentigie» (1871 law regulating the relations between State and Church).

from the introduction, which echoes the bases of Mazzini's thinking, provides some insight into Marchesini's approach to the composition of his ethical-civil handbook:

Since it is commonly held that it is of little use to know one's rights if one is ignorant of or neglects one's duties – he stated – I have deemed it appropriate to place almost equal emphasis on notions of duty as on notions of rights. The foremost condition guaranteeing the proper exercise of rights is a sound moral conscience⁶⁹.

A reasonable level of circulation was also attained by *I doveri dell'uomo di Giuseppe Mazzini* adattati all'intelligenza dei fanciulli delle scuole elementari (Giuseppe Mazzini's Duties of Man Adapted to the Intelligence of Primary School Children), a booklet of only 29 pages brought out by the Florentine Bemporad in the months following the publication of the ministerially approved edition⁷⁰. The noteworthy aspects of this textbook, of which a first reprint was commissioned as early as 1904, are its methodological-didactic approach and choice of the specific passages from Mazzini's treatise to highlight to its young readers. The booklet was divided into short chapters summarizing a range of themes related to the pupils' moral and affective sphere, each comprising either a stand-alone citation from The Duties or a citation supplemented by a few additional phrases in italics placed immediately before or after it. The topics covered include the exercise of one's rights, which originate in God and in knowledge of his law, and feelings of love and respect towards one's country, family, relatives, and women⁷¹. Education was the theme most extensively dealt with, with the words «education» or «educate» featuring in three different chapter titles: «Education», «Children's Education», «The Duty to Educate and Instruct Oneself». Page 7 of the manual reads:

Men act in accordance with the education that they have received.

Education must guide men towards the greater good, teaching them to be constant in self-sacrifice, and creating unity among them.

We must convince men that each one of them must live, not for himself, but for others, and that the object of their life is not to be more or less happy, but to make themselves and others better.

Those who take happiness and wellbeing as their life goal cannot but become selfish⁷².

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁷⁰ The year 1903 also saw the publication by Luigi Ronchi in Milan of G. Mazzini, *Dai doveri dell'uomo pei giovanetti italiani* (From the Duties of Man for the Italian Youth), a text which had reached its third edition by 1905.

⁷¹ In the original text, the passages regarding women were placed before those under the headings «bringing up one's children» and «love for one's relatives».

⁷² *L'educazione*, in G. Mazzini, *I doveri dell'uomo adattati all'intelligenza dei fanciulli delle scuole elementari*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1903, p. 7.

Of Mazzini's opening address to Italian workers, the booklet only reproduced a few lines that may be summed up as a generic invitation to pursue good⁷³. The editor therefore followed the line already taken by Nathan of omitting all reference to political ideals or forms of government. This was consistent with his aim, as stated in the introduction, of encouraging positive reception of the booklet by teachers and school authorities.

The small amount of data available to us regarding actual use of the book in schools sheds interesting light on the extent to which provincial education boards and teachers typically followed Minister Nasi's directives. As an indicator for the primary school sector, we may take the lists of approved textbooks issued by the provincial education authorities in application of a ministerial circular dated 1st March 1905⁷⁴. As a measure for secondary schools, we may examine the lists of approved textbooks drawn up by individual school boards (made up of the teaching staff) for the academic year 1914-1915 as required by the Royal Ministerial Decree of 29th October 1914⁷⁵. *The Duties* did not figure at all among the many and varied textbooks proposed by the provincial authorities for use in primary schools: the only exception to this trend was the province of Parma which proposed the recommended school edition as a suitable resource for the third, fourth and fifth grades under the heading of «moral education and civil instruction». In contrast, *The Duties* was on the recommended reading lists of all the various types of secondary school. Specifically, in the «ginnasi» and «licei» (secondary schools offering a classical studies curriculum) it came under the heading of «readings and commentaries»; for the technical institutes it fell within a broader and more generic category labelled «exercises and versions»; for the technical schools it featured on two different kinds of list («readings and commentaries» and «rights and duties»; in the «scuole normali» (secondary schools providing training for primary school teachers) it was listed among the recommended texts in «morals, rights and duties, political economics»⁷⁶.

However, this widespread diffusion of the book was more apparent than real: in actual fact, only a dozen or so school boards effectively included

⁷³ «And in the war which is being fought in the world between Good and Evil, you must enrol yourselves under the Banner of Good. On the path of the first you will have me for comrade as long as I live. Farewell. Hold me now and forever your brother» (*Ibid.*, p. 6). (English translation taken from Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, cit., p. 3).

⁷⁴ Cf. Ministerial Circular n. 18 of 1st March 1905: *Libri di testo per le scuole elementari*, BUMPI, 9-16 marzo 1905, vol. 2, pp. 567-573.

⁷⁵ Cf. Royal Ministerial Decree of 29th October 1914: *Adozione dei libri di testo nelle pubbliche scuole d'istruzione media e normale*, *ibid.*, 31st December 1914, vol. 2, p. 3107. On the question of textbooks and school reference books from the Giolitti era up to the post-World War I period cf. Barausse (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo: la normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 71-82.

⁷⁶ On this topic, see the earlier cited work by Alberto Barausse (Vol. II, pp. 963, 1036, 1123, 1186, 1219 and 1268).

The Duties among their chosen textbooks⁷⁷. It must be recalled that for the individual teacher, Mazzini's treatise was only one possible option among a far vaster range of titles. Ultimately, therefore, it is clear that Mazzinian ideals and value failed to have a significant impact on student education in the Kingdom of Italy. Although Marchesini's *Doveri e diritti* was one of the most widely adopted civics manuals in technical schools throughout the entire country⁷⁸, as earlier pointed out, this educational work only quoted limited passages from *The Duties* with the aim of comparing it to the writings of other authors on the same topic.

The reading at school of Mazzini's *The Duties* was destined to suffer the same fate as the liberal State: with the advent of fascism, the work was removed from recommended reading lists for schools⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ These school boards were located in the provinces of Carrara, Macerata, Rome, Campobasso, Cosenza, Bari, Palermo and Messina.

⁷⁸ Marchesini's text was included on the list of handbooks of «rights and duties» by the boards of 39 technical schools in different regions of Italy: Piedmont, Lombardy, Liguria, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, Marche, Umbria, Lazio, Campania, Apulia and Sicily. It also featured among the civil education textbooks of the Italian-speaking schools for working-class students in Trento and Trieste, as documented by Ministerial Circular n. 7780 dated 27th January 1919, which may be consulted in Barausse (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo: la normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 1317-1320.

⁷⁹ Parmentola, *Doveri dell'uomo. La dottrina, la storia, la struttura*, cit., p. 359.

«Let's make schools a daily practice of liberty and democracy!»*. Testimonies of the Italian Resistance in Italian school diaries (Reggio Emilia, Italy, 1940s-1970s)

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ABSTRACT: This article discusses a collection of archival sources that I stumbled across while conducting research on issues of gender in Italian schools after World War II. The seven school journals considered here were published between 1973 and 1975, coinciding with the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of Italy from the Nazi-Fascist Regime. This article considers their historical testimonies regarding the Italian Resistance, a popular movement against Nazi-Fascist oppression that took place between 1943 and 1945. These unique testimonies take the form of stories told to preschool children by their parents and grandparents, in schools in the North of Italy, specifically in the town of Reggio Emilia. The analysis of these exceptional documents reveals critical insights about how the past can be used in the service of the present to educate new generations.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: School Magazine; Democracy; Education; Civics; Italy; XX Centuries.

Introduction

The picture above represents the cover of a school diary entitled «Let's make schools a daily practice of liberty and democracy!» ('Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia') published in the year 1975 in an Italian pre-school situated, in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the end of World War II. The central concern of this paper is the analysis of such

* This title is inspired by the title of one of the school journals under analysis (in Italian: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

previously unexamined school diaries found at the archive of the International Centre Loris Malaguzzi in Reggio Emilia, Italy.

1. Historical Background and Theoretical Framework

In order to contextualize these historical sources, it is helpful to consider the setting in which the Italian Resistance movement began. In 1940, Italy entered the war on the side of Germany under the leadership of Mussolini. However only few years later, in September 1943, the Prime Minister Pietro Badoglio signed an armistice with the Allies, at which point Italy was divided in two. To the South of Naples there were the Allies, the King and Badoglio who declared war against the Germans. In the North, there were the Germans who managed to liberate Mussolini to establish the Social Republic of Salò – a satellite and puppet state to Nazi-Germany. Between 1943 and 1945, anti-Fascists in the North of Italy organized the political resistance to Mussolini's rule, now known as the Italian Resistance. The Resistance united groups of varying political positions, to fight against the Nazi-Fascist oppression. It comprised both an armed movement of groups known as the partisans, and a civil resistance that was a non-armed movement providing support to the fighting partisans. By 1945, it is estimated that the armed Resistance counted about 200,000 fighting partisans¹.

This paper encompasses the analysis of seven school diaries produced between 1973 and 1975 in Municipal schools situated in the area of Reggio Emilia, a town of about 150,000 inhabitants where the Italian Resistance movement was particularly strong². These Municipal schools of Reggio Emilia are today renowned across the globe for their progressive approach to education, and their practices inspire educational institutions situated in more



Pic. 1. This picture represents the title page of the school diary «Let's make schools a daily practice of liberty and democracy!» ('Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia').

¹ P. Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy: Society and Politics, 1943-1988*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

² J.A. Hellman, *The Italian Communists, The Women's Question, and the Challenge of Feminism*, «Studies in Political Economy», n. 13, 1984, pp. 57-82.

than 30 countries³. These school diaries constitute useful historical sources in part because of the variety of their testimonies: some are written sources produced by the protagonists themselves, while others are oral testimonies transcribed by the teachers to include in the school diaries. They tend to have a vibrant and informal style typical of children's stories, and a non-linear structure characteristic of historical recollections⁴.

The analysis of these school journals endorses the framework of critical hermeneutics, which as the name suggests, comprises critical theory and hermeneutics. In brief, hermeneutics can be understood as the art of interpretation of a text or of an historical event⁵, whilst critical theory's primary concern is with uncovering the ideologies that impact on texts and actions⁶. Drawing from both critical theory and hermeneutics, critical hermeneutics attempts to uncover the surplus meaning, or the ideological content, in the interpretation of a text or an event⁷. The framework of critical hermeneutics is particularly relevant to this analysis because of its concern with both ideology and interpretation. In this study, I use it to account for the ideologies that have contributed to shape the accounts of the Italian Resistance in the school diaries under consideration. I also examine these accounts as interpretations of a past, with the potential to shape educational practices in the present.

A discourse analysis of these historical sources shows that there is a critical relationship between the memories of the Italian Resistance found in these schools' diaries and the educational culture that these schools promote. The chapter is divided in two sections. First, it examines the narrative of the memories of the Italian Resistance found in these diaries and shows that they align with the narrative of the «foundational myth» of the Italian democratic state described by Filippo Focardi⁸. Then it considers the educational visions accompanying this myth in the 1970s⁹.

³ To clarify, Municipal schools in Italy differ from both State-run schools and private schools. State run schools differ from Municipal schools because the Municipal schools are not required to follow the guidelines of the State schools and are run by the local Municipality. Also, Municipal schools differ from private schools insofar as they are funded with public money.

⁴ A. Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, University of Wisconsin Press, 1997.

⁵ P. Gardner, *Hermeneutics, History And Memory*, London, Routledge, 2010.

⁶ R. Geuss, *The Idea of a Critical Theory: Habermas and the Frankfurt School*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

⁷ P. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2006.

⁸ F. Focardi, *La guerra della memoria: la Resistenza nel dibattito politico italiano dal 1945 a oggi*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2005, p. 46.

⁹ It is important to highlight that the extracts from the documents presented in this paper are translations that I conducted from Italian into English. I have tried as much as possible to maintain the translation close to the original text, both in its syntax and semantics. However, when it was not possible to translate the Italian text literally into English, I have been careful to retain the overall meaning as much as possible. I have also included for each passage in the footnotes the Italian text as to allow the reader to go back to the original text if desired. The same criteria are

2. *Memories of the Italian Resistance*

The 1970s were a period of crisis for the Italian state that was divided by terrorist attacks, the majority of which were traced as having neo-fascist origins. A primary example is the attack of Piazza Fontana in Milan on the 12th of December 1969, which killed 17 people and wounded 88. In this context of crisis, as Focardi argues, the memories of the Italian Resistance served as an important instrument of mobilisation and political conflict¹⁰. Focardi argues that the «political role of the memories of the Italian Resistance emerged in a significantly evident manner in the 1970s, marked by the phenomenon of terroristic violence, that called into question the institutions of the Republican State»¹¹. In this context, as Focardi also argues, the dominant narrative of the Italian Resistance recollects the Resistance movement as characterised by three main themes: (1) anti-fascism, (2) heroism and (3) the unity of the Italian population against the Fascists. Focardi refers to this narrative as «the 'foundational myth' of the Republican State»¹².

In accordance with Focardi's definition of the «foundational myth»¹³, the school diaries under consideration describe the Italian Resistance as an anti-fascist movement against the Fascist and the Nazi soldiers depicted as brutal and violent, in contrast with the humanity of the partisans. This is well illustrated in the following extracts from these school journals. The first extract that I present here comes from the journal entitled «Let's make schools a daily practice of liberty and democracy» ('Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia'). It recounts the story of a group of Fascists arriving in Villa Sesso, a small town close to Reggio Emilia, and bringing death and devastation,

From the war for the liberation of our country, among many other factors, I remember one in particular. This event happened, I cannot remember if it was in 1943 or 1944 because I was very young then. We lived in Villa Sesso and I remember that in a winter morning, when we woke up there were very many Fascists (that at the time were called Black Brigades) who had surrounded the entire town and were coming even from the fields. Then they came into all the houses and they took our fathers into the square of the town because they said that they were looking for some partisans that had fought a war in this same town. I recall that they beat up all the men and then furious they realised that no one in the town was telling them anything because they loved so much those young people that were fighting to get rid

valid regarding Focardi's work, which I have also translated from Italian.

¹⁰ Focardi. *La guerra della memoria: la Resistenza nel dibattito politico italiano dal 1945 a oggi*, cit., p. 46.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹³ *Ibid.*

of all that badness, they took 14 young men (also few days later, they stopped two other young men who were going to work and killed them) in a field and killed them without any trial. I remember that the father of five of these young men, whose name was Manfredi, wanted to be killed with his children, and was denied and then they burned his house¹⁴.

Strong anti-fascist feelings emerge also in the other school diaries, such as «Let's Make Schools a Daily Practice of Liberty» ('Facciamo della scuola una pratica di libertà'). For example, a father tells the story of his grandfather who was beaten up by a group of Fascists in Reggio Emilia, and the Fascists' cruelty in doing so in front of his nine-year-old son,

While my dad and my grandfather were going toward the Reggio train station, they saw on the crosswalk the sign of the hammer and sickle. My grandfather tried to remove my father, who was 9, but they got stopped in Viale Monte Grappa by a patrol of Fascists who wanted to know who drew that sign. My grandfather was saying that it wasn't his fault: but the Fascists were saying that they did not believe him. So they clubbed him and they took him to the police station, leaving my father on the road alone crying. After four days he came back home and told everything to his dad: so he learned the things that the Fascists were doing¹⁵.

Similarly in the journal entitled «Let's make schools a daily practice of liberty and democracy» ('Facciamo della scuola una pratica di libertà e democrazia'), a woman tells the story of her brother who deserted the Fascist army, hiding in his room for six months without leaving the family house. This extract also

¹⁴ «Della lotta di liberazione del nostro popolo, assieme a tanti altri fatti ne ricordo uno in modo particolare. Questo fatto si svolse non ricordo con esattezza se fosse nel 1943 o 1944 in quanto a quell'epoca ero tanto giovane. Abitavamo a Villa Sesso e ricordo che una mattina d'inverno, quando ci alzammo c'erano tanti fascisti (che a quell'epoca chiamavano brigate nere) i quali avevano circondato tutto il paese e venivano perfino dai campi. Poi vennero in tutte le case e portarono tutti i nostri papà nella piazza del nostro paese perché dicevano di cercare dei partigiani che avevano fatto un'azione di guerra nel paese stesso. Ricordo che picchiarono tanti uomini e poi quando arrabbiatissimi si accorsero che nessuno del popolo faceva la spia perché amavano tanto quei giovani che lottavano per cacciare tanta cattiveria, presero 14 giovani (fra l'altro alcuni giorni dopo fermarono 2 giovani mentre andavano a lavorare e li uccisero) e li portarono in un campo e lì vennero fucilati senza processo. Ricordo che il padre di cinque di questi giovani, che si chiamavano Manfredi, voleva essere fucilato assieme ai suoi figli, ma fu respinto poi gli bruciarono la casa. Questa è la storia di una eroica famiglia, che assieme a tanti altri uomini lottarono per liberare il nostro paese dai tedeschi invasori e dai fascisti oppressori» (from: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

¹⁵ «Mentre mio padre e mio nonno si in[c]amminavano verso la stazione di Reggio, videro disegnato sul marciapiede il simbolo della falce e martello. Il nonno cercò di allontanare mio padre, che aveva circa nove anni, ma furono fermati in Viale monte Grappa da una pattuglia di fascisti, che volevano sapere chi aveva fatto quel segno. Mio nonno diceva che lui non c'entrava: ma i fascisti dicevano che non gli credevano. Così lo hanno bastonato e portato in caserma, lasciando mio padre sulla strada piangente. Dopo quattro giorni tornò a casa e raccontò tutto a mio padre: così seppe le cose che facevano i fascisti (from: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

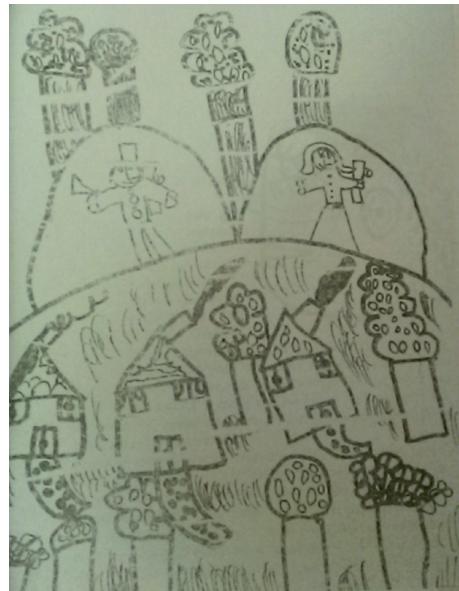
points to the national sentiment for the creation of a better society associated with the memories of the Resistance movement,

My brother left after 10 days to go to Germany, at a training camp for three months to then go to fight. The war in the meantime continued. The fear that from one moment to the next everything would end like that, without a reason, was always inside us. Every day we would realize how cruel and terrible was that mechanism of death that still today works: the owners, the powerful declare the wars and the poor fight them. The three months of training for my brother ended soon and he was sent to Genoa to go to who knows where in the world. The 8th September 1943 arrived and him as well as many others escaped from the police before the Germans arrived. Our country house was like that of many other farmers: a garden, a portico, a stable, few cows, chickens, and turkeys. Even if the land wasn't ours, we never suffered famine, whilst in the city a lot of people were dying. It was in that house that my brother came back after having walked alone for 10 kilometres. He arrived in the morning, but alone and in the middle of the night he entered in the home. He was hiding all day in the fields across the street, without having the courage to cross it. For months, he kept hiding in his room and it was in those months that he learned to fix watches. The Fascists and the Nazis in the period became more aggressive than usual. They would continuously destroy houses and towns looking for partisans in the fields. If they found them they would send them to Germany in the concentration camps or they would kill them on the spot. After one more roundup very close to our home, my brother decided that perhaps it would have been better to go to Reggio, to avoid the worst. He found an excuse to justify his long absence and so he did. He stayed there in Reggio for a few months and then he got sent to Cuneo. He had never been Fascist and in that city he did what he had in mind for a long time, he escaped with some other of his friends and united with the partisans. He fought until the end of the war with the partisans in the mountains of Cuneo. He did not tell much about that period of his life: many friends told me he was a brave one, I think instead that he had fought as many others did to create a new world without wars, without rich and poor, without hungry people, without injustices¹⁶.

¹⁶ Mio fratello partì dopo 10 giorni; destinazione: Germania, Campo di addestramento per 3 mesi poi il fronte. La guerra intanto continuava. La paura che da un momento all'altro tutto potesse finire così, senza ragione, era sempre dentro di noi. Ogni giorno ci accorgevamo quanto crudele e tremendo fosse quel meccanismo di morte che ancora oggi funziona: i signori, i potenti si dichiarano le guerre e la fanno combattere ai poveri. I tre mesi di addestramento di Effrem finirono presto e fu inviato a Genoa per imbarcarsi per chissà quale parte del mondo. L'8 Settembre 1943 arrivò e lui come tanti altri fuggì dalla caserma prima che fosse invasa dai tedeschi. La nostra casa era come tante altre case di contadini: l'aia, il portico, la stalla, le poche mucche, galline, tacchini. Anche se la terra non era nostra, non abbiamo mai sofferto la fame, mentre in città parecchia gente ne moriva. Fu in quella casa che mio fratello tornò dopo aver percorso a piedi e solo di notte, decine di chilometri. Arrivò il mattino, ma solo a notte inoltrata entrò in casa. Rimase nascosto per tutto il giorno. Per sei mesi rimase nascosto nella sua camera e fu in quei mesi che imparò a riparare orologi. I fascisti e i nazisti in quel periodo divennero più cattivi del solito. Rastrellavano continuamente case e paesi in cerca di partigiani e militari nascosti. Se li trovavano, li spedivano in Germania nei campi di concentramento o li fucilavano sul posto. Dopo un ennesimo rastrellamento molto vicino a casa nostra, Effrem si convinse che forse sarebbe stato meglio presentarsi al comando di Reggio, appunto per evitare il peggio. Trovò una scusa per giustificare la sua lunga assenza e così fece. Rimase in caserma a Reggio per un paio di mesi poi fu inviato al comando presidio di Cuneo. Non era mai stato fascista e in quella città portò a termine il disegno che forse aveva in testa già da tempo, scappò con altri suoi amici e si unì ai partigiani.

Another important example from these schools' diaries that points to the heroism of the partisans is from a passage of the journal «Let's make schools a daily practice of liberty and democracy» ('Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia'). This passage, which I report in its entirety in what follows, consists of a letter by a partisan written before he was sentenced to death by the Fascists and which was given to the school by one of the families of a child attending it. The inclusion of this letter in this school journal points to the heroism associated to the partisans,

Dear comrades it is now our turn. I am going to meet the other three glorious comrades who fell for the salvation and the glory of Italy. You know what you have to do. I die. But the idea will survive in the future, bright, big and beautiful. We are at the end of all our pains. These are the last days of life of a great monster that wants to kill as many people as possible. If you will survive, you will have to remake this poor Italy that is so beautiful, that has such a warm sun, the mothers are so good and the girls so dear. My youth is broken, but I am sure that it will serve as an example. On our dead bodies the great light of freedom will be built. Dear mum and everyone, unfortunately destiny has chosen me and other poor men to express the Fascist hatred. Don't worry too much and console soon for my loss. I am calm¹⁷.



Pic. 2. From the journal «There is Something that Is» ('C'è qualcosa che è', 1973-1974), this drawing by one of the children in a school represents at the top two partisans, a man and a woman.

Combatté fino alla fine della guerra sulle montagne di Cuneo. Ha sempre raccontato poco di quel periodo; certi amici mi hanno detto che era un coraggioso, io penso invece che abbia combattuto come tanti altri per cercare un mondo nuovo: senza guerre, senza padroni, senza poveri, senza gente affamata, senza ingiustizie (from: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

¹⁷ Cari compagni ora tocca a noi. Andiamo a raggiungere gli altri tre gloriosi compagni caduti per la salvezza e la gloria d'Italia. Voi sapete il compito che Vi tocca. Io muoio, ma la idea vivrà nel futuro, luminosa, grande e bella. Siamo alla fine di tutti i mali. Questi giorni sono come gli ultimi giorni di vita di un grosso mostro che vuol fare più vittime possibile. Se vivrete, tocca a voi rifare questa povera Italia che è così bella, che ha un sol[e] così caldo, le mamme così buone e le ragazze così care. La mia giovinezza è spezzata, ma sono sicuro che servirà da esempio. Sui nostri corpi si farà il grande faro della libertà. Cara mamma e cari tutti, purtroppo il destino ha scelto me ed altri disgraziati per sfogare la rabbia fascista. Non preoccupatevi tanto e rassegnatevi al più presto della mia perdita. Io sono calmo. Vostro Giordano (from: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

Moreover in accordance with the narrative of the «foundational myth» described by Focardi who argues that this myth typically «includes people from different classes, religions, and [even] women»¹⁸, these stories of the Italian Resistance reported in the diaries also describe the Italian population as united against Fascism.

For example, in the school journal entitled «There is Something that Is» ('C'è qualcosa che è'), the Resistance is depicted as a widespread movement of the people wanted by the majority of the Italian population and scattered across Italy,

The Resistance was everywhere, it was born when Fascism was born because people did not want the Fascist Regime and those who did not want it resisted it in different ways: with words, in writing, fighting to try and obtain what Fascism denied them – food, homes, clothes, education, freedom of speech¹⁹.

Another passage from the journal «Let's Make Schools a Daily Practice of Liberty» ('Facciamo della scuola una pratica di libertà'), specifically describes the armed movement of the partisan as 'big and strong',

After many years of war the [Italian] soldiers did not want to go to war anymore and kill the soldiers of other countries [...]. So they decided to escape from their homes, but the fascists and the Germans killed them, or they sent them in the concentration camps. Then the soldiers that escaped hid in the mountains, and they joined with the Partisan Brigades. They had few arms, but then they separated from the other soldiers such as the Russians, English, and Americans that sent to them arms via planes. So the partisans became big and strong. One day they fought against the fascists and the Germans, whilst those were escaping and wanted to take away everything that they found. But the partisans, stronger than the fascists and the Germans, surrounded them and started to shoot at them very heavily, obliging them to raise their hands and become prisoners. The day after was the same also in Reggio and in the rest of the country, so the great Liberation came and people started to work, to make schools, and many other things. I was a soldier and then I escaped twice, the first time they caught me and brought me back; the second time I managed to get to the partisans, to arrive at home and then to meet with the partisans of Vezzano, Casina and they called me 'VAMPA'²⁰.

¹⁸ Focardi, *La guerra della memoria: la Resistenza nel dibattito politico italiano dal 1945 a oggi*, cit., p. 46.

¹⁹ La Resistenza si faceva ovunque, è nata quando è nato il fascismo perché la gente non lo voleva e quelli che non lo volevano hanno resistito in vari modi: con le parole, con gli scritti, lottando per ottenere quello che il fascismo negava, cibo, case, vestiti, istruzione, libertà di idee... (from: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

²⁰ Dopo diversi anni di guerra i soldati non volevano più fare la guerra e uccidere i soldati degli altri Paesi [...] Così i soldati decisero di scappare a casa, ma i fascisti e i Tedeschi li fucilarono o li mandarono in campi di concentramento. Allora i soldati scappati, si nascondevano sulle montagne, poi si sono uniti alle brigate Partigiane. Avevano poche armi, ma poi si misero d'accordo con gli altri soldati della Russia, Inghilterra, America, che ci mandassero delle armi e gliele portarono con degli aeroplani. Così i Partigiani diventarono tanti e forti. Poi un giorno fecero la guerra contro i fascisti e i tedeschi negli ultimi gironi di guerra, mentre quelli scappavano e volevano portare via

Another passage also emphasizes women's courage and their active role in the armed Resistance. For example, the following anecdote from one of the partisans describes two women fighters, Vera and Bionda,

Thirty-two years have gone by, but I often think about the far away date of the 25th of July 1944! Under the guidance of two 'staffette' [women partisans], I needed to move to Villaminozzo in Ramiseto, when in the field of Costa de' Grassi we were assaulted by three large dogs. We were convinced we were under attack by the Fascists, so we threw ourselves into a bush to hide. The dogs however would not let us go, and kept barking calling the attention of their owners. The end for us was just a matter of seconds away! What to do? Vera and Bionda [the two women partisans] gave me letters I had to give to the commanders of the partisans, they shook my hand and left. "It is better to die as two than as three," they told me. They left the bushes, looked around, there was no one, only the dogs. They ran for 100 or 200 metres – no one. I ran behind them, four farmers dressed like women also arrived in the bushes of the nearby forest: they too ran when they heard the dogs! We laughed all together, we drank a glass of wine and then we started walking again. I was 24 years old, a man, and I was looking at those women with great admiration²¹.

Finally, the journal «There is something that is» ('C'è qualcosa che è') points to the liberation of the country from the Nazi-Fascist Regime, the 25th April 1945, describing everyone joyfully united for the reconstruction of Italy in the post-war context,

25th of April is a big celebration here: because that day of 1945 the partisans with their courage and with the help of the Italian population who wanted to be liberated, were able to send away from our country those that for 20 years made us suffer and die in terror and misery. That day

tutto quello che trovavano. Ma i partigiani, più forti dei fascisti e dei tedeschi, li hanno circondati e incominciando a sparare sempre più forte, costringendoli ad alzare le braccia e darsi prigionieri. Il giorno dopo fu così anche a Reggio e in tutto il Paese, così venne la grande liberazione e si è incominciato a lavorare, fare asili, [e] tante altre cose belle. Io ero un soldato e sono scappato 2 volte, la prima mi hanno preso e riportato in caserma, la seconda riuscii a raggiungere i partigiani, arrivare a casa e poi unirmi coi partigiani di Vezzano, Casina e mi chiamavano 'VAMPA' (from: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

²¹ Sono passati 32 anni, ma ho sempre presente quel lontano 25 Luglio 1944! Sotto la guida di 2 staffette partigiane, disarmato, mi traferivo da Villaminozzo a Rasmiento, quando nei campi di Costa de' Grassi ci assalirono 3 grossi can lupo. Convinti di essere sotto il tiro di armi nazifasciste ci buttammo in un roveto per nasconderci. I cani però non ci mollarono e con ululati spaventosi richiamavano l'attenzione dei padroni. La fine era questione di secondi!... Che fare? La VERA e la BIONDA, le due staffette, mi consegnarono le lettere per comando, mi strinsero la mano e uscirono. È meglio morire in 2 che in 3, dissero tranquille. Si guardarono attorno: nessuno, solo i tre cani. Percorsero 100 o 200 metri, nessuno. Le raggiunsi, 4 contadini vestiti da donna fecero capolino tra i cespugli del bosco vicino: erano come noi fuggiti all'allarme dei cani! Ridemmo insieme mentre bevevamo un bicchiere di vino brusco, poi riprendemmo il cammino. DICO LA VERITÀ. Io 24enne, uomo, osservo quelle piccole ragazze con ammirazione, MI VERGOGNAVO DI NON AVERLE PRECEDUTE NEL MOMENTO CRUCIALE! Il tempo è passato: VERO e BIONDA, riposto il loro nome di battaglione avranno dimenticato l'episodio. IO NO! E vorrei ringraziarle e segnalarle! Dovrebbero abitare a Reggio Città. CHE LE CONOSCE??? (from: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

a smile came back among the people as well as the joy of living, people were singing happily for their jobs, and were all united in the reconstruction of our beautiful Italy²².

Thus, the testimonies of the Italian Resistance found in these school diaries dating back to the 1970s emphasize the themes of anti-Fascism, heroism and describe the majority the Italian population as fighting against Fascism. In so doing, these narratives can be seen as aligning with the nationalistic narrative of the «foundational myth» of the Italian democratic state, describing the fights of the Italian Resistance as the ultimate moment where the democratic values of the Italian state were born²³. How does this «foundational myth» found in these schools in the 1970s, however, relate to the educational practices in these schools²⁴? An answer to this question is provided in the following section.

3. Schools as social laboratories for democracy

A close analysis of the school diaries under consideration suggests that there is a critical relationship between the so-called «foundational myth» of the Italian democratic state and these schools' educational visions in the 1970s²⁵. This relationship, as I argue in what follows, can be understood in terms of a vision of the school space as a 'laboratory' where children can practice to act in accordance to those democratic values seen as having sparked from the Italian Resistance movement. A primary example that illustrates the link between the memories of the Resistance and the educational visions in these schools was

²² Mussolini era il capo dei fascisti e si era alleato con il capo dei tedeschi che era pure lui un fascista e nel 1940 fecero la guerra e mandarono tanta povera gente a combattere contro altra gente come noi, per una causa inutile solo per i sporchi interessi degli uomini potenti e tanta povera gente veniva uccisa e nel 1934 questo fascista Benito venne arrestato dagli stessi uomini che prima lui difendeva perché non gli faceva più comodo, vedendo che aveva mandato l'Italia alla rovina, e metterono a capo del governo il maresciallo Badoglio che l'8 settembre del 1943 fece l'armistizio con l'esercito alleato, ma nella stessa notte i soldati tedeschi invasero il nostro Paese, e presto tanti giovani Italiani prigionieri e li mandarono in Germania nei campi di concentramento e poi liberarono Mussolini che fece la repubblica di SALÒ. Così i fascisti tornarono più cattivi di prima e prendevano la povera gente e li torturavano e li fucilavano e il popolo era stanco e oppresso. Allora si sollevò, presero le armi e con tanto coraggio combatterono contro i fascisti e i tedeschi e così è nata la lotta partigiana e per questo che il 25 Aprile è una grande festa: perché quel giorno del 1945 i partigiani col loro coraggio e la volontà del popolo Italiano di essere libero, sono riusciti di cacciare fuori dal nostro paese coloro che per 20 anni ci hanno fatto soffrire e morire nel terrore e nella miseria. Quel giorno ritornò il sorriso e la gioia di vivere, la gente cantando andava felice al lavoro, *tutti uniti per ricostruire la nostra bella Italia* (from: «Facciamo della Scuola una Pratica Quotidiana di Libertà e Democrazia», Girotondo, 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

²³ Focardi, *La guerra della memoria: la Resistenza nel dibattito politico italiano dal 1945 a oggi*, cit., p. 46.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

found in the journal «Educational experiences 2» ('Esperienze educative 2'). Here, the schools are described as the most direct and 'logical consequence' of the Italian Resistance,

30 years of history of our country, our school could certainly not forget this recurrence that has celebrated the initiatives that are described throughout this journal. We want to highlight what the spirit of our initiatives was and we do this, primarily, borrowing an image from television that represents a big paper with a calendar drawn on, and on it the date 25th of April 1945; the numbers '1945' are however deleted with a clear trace of pen and next to it is written 'always'. We describe this image because we do not think that there is another way in which we can better or more clearly express the spirit that we have wanted to put into the celebration of this event. In its symbolism of an impassable border line between the values of liberty in democracy and its absolute opposite, internationally, known as Fascism, the 25th of April is the apex of an ideal tenaciously pursued, its martyrs our consciousness, and the school that today we are managing is one of the most logical consequences, a connection between the continuity of our own lives and the lives of our children²⁶.

Another section from the same journal expounds upon the democratic values promoted in the schools and linked to the memories of the Italian Resistance,

In the conviction that the renovation of the school is strongly related to the active and direct participation, the school confronts the theme of the Resistance, certain that those values that produced it are the same that motivated participation as an anti-fascist choice. Only through the will of overcoming the voluntary separation that exists between politics and schooling is it possible to really realise a school that can educate about freedom, solidarity, sociality and democracy. It is very important to discuss this theme aware of the great risks that it implies. Indeed, it is very difficult to discuss this topic with children in a way that does not hurt the emotional well-being of the children in negative ways through the exaltation of the vicissitudes of war, of the mythologizing of those who died during the war; but it is essential and right to actuate the values of anti-fascism to learn a different way of behaving within the school. It is by way of reflecting on those events that happened 30 years ago that we want to give to the children the possibility to develop their logical and creative capacities to allow them to perceive a sense of social justice and develop participation with the adults in a democratic and antifascist way²⁷.

²⁶ Trent'anni di storia del nostro paese, la nostra scuola, ovviamente, non poteva dimenticare questa ricorrenza che ha celebrato con le iniziative indicate appena oltre questa pagina. Qui ci preme precisare quale era lo spirito delle nostre iniziative e lo facciamo, innanzitutto, prendendo a prestito una inquadratura apparsa sugli schermi televisivi di casa nostra un grande foglio di calendario, una data 25 Aprile 1945, le cifre 1945 sono però cancellate con un vistoso tratto di penna ed a lato è stato scritto, ancora a penna, 'sempre'. Facciamo nostra questa immagine perché non riteniamo di esprimere meglio e più inequivocabilmente lo spirito che abbiamo inteso porre nella nostra celebrazione. Nella sua simbologia di invalicabile linea di confine fra l'ideale di libertà nella democrazia ed il suo assoluto contrario che la storia, internazionalmente, ha definito fascismo, il 25 Aprile [che festeggiamo oggi nelle scuole in occasione del 30ennale della Resistenza] è l'apoteosi di un ideale tenacemente perseguito, i suoi martiri sono la nostra coscienza, la scuola che oggi gestiamo è una della più logiche necessarie conseguenze, un tramite per la continuità nella stessa nostra vita ed in quella dei nostri figli («Esperienze educative», n. 2, 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

²⁷ Nella convinzione che il rinnovamento della scuola è estremamente legato alla partecipazione attiva e diretta, la scuola dell'infanzia affronta il sentito tema della Resistenza, certa che i valori

Similarly, other school journals of this kind, such as «Let's make schools a daily practice of liberty and democracy» ('Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia'), point to the importance of making the anti-Fascist values linked to the memories of the Italian Resistance central to the education of the new generations, particularly in a time of rise of neo-Fascist violence,

The anniversary of the Liberation has been remembered this year with greater strength in all the schools. This year in the schools the teachers did not just give a celebratory speech, but various initiatives have been promoted to let young people know about the Resistance and the values that motivated it, which drive the Italian Constitution today. In many schools, though not in all, they organised the projection of documentaries and films, guided visits, inquiries, encounters and testimonies, researches of documents, individual and collective stories. And everywhere among the young people and the children has been observed a great interest, which has disproved the uselessness, and the inopportunity, of bringing these problems of the national life into the school. This greater commitment has been certainly defined by the importance given in the whole country to the celebration of the 30 years since the Resistance, especially as a massive response to the increasing violence of the Black Brigades. [...] The Resistance should not just remain a moment, even if large like this year, of memory, interest and participation, but should always inspire to its values the life of the school, of every type and every level. Freedom, democracy, justice, social progress have been the ideals that have inspired the fighters and the popular masses; from these values was born the Italian Constitution that today is at the basis of our educational ordinances²⁸.

che la produssero sono gli stessi che motivano la partecipazione come scelta antifascista; inoltre solo attraverso la volontà di superare la separazione volutamente esistente tra realtà politica e la scuola si realizza veramente una scuola che sa educare alla libertà, alla solidarietà, alla socialità e alla democrazia. È estremamente importante affrontare questa tematica coscienti dei grossi rischi che comporta. Infatti è molto difficile parlare e fare parlare di questo argomento in modo che l'emotività del bambino non venga coinvolta negativamente attraverso l'esaltazione delle vicende di lotta, della mitizzazione dei caduti, ma è indispensabile e giusto attuare i valori dell'antifascismo in un modo diverso di atteggiarsi all'interno della scuola. È anche riflettendo sugli avvenimenti di 30 anni fa che abbiamo inteso consegnare al bambino la capacità creativa per consentirgli la percezione del senso di giustizia sociale e la partecipazione consapevole con l'adulto alla vita in modo democratico e antifascista («Esperienze educative», n. 2, 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

²⁸ L'anniversario della Liberazione è stato quest'anno ricordato con maggiore ampiezza in tutte le scuole. Non ci si è limitati al discorsetto celebrativo degli insegnanti più disponibili, ma sono state promosse varie iniziative per fare conoscere le Resistenza e i valori che la suscitarono, i quali sono oggi alla base della Costituzione Repubblicana. Proiezioni di documenti e di pellicole, visite guidate, inchieste, incontri e testimonianze, ricerche di documentazioni, relazioni individuali e di gruppo sono stati organizzati in moltissime, anche se non in tutte le scuole. E ovunque si è riscontrato nei giovani e nei giovanissimi un vivo interesse, che ha recato una solenne smentita ai sostenitori dell'inutilità, se non dell'inopportunità, di portare i problemi della vita nazionale all'interno della scuola. Questo maggior impegno è stato certamente determinato dalla rilevanza che in tutto il paese ha assunto il Trentennale della Resistenza, soprattutto come risposta massiccia all'aumentata virulenza terroristica delle trame nere [...]. La Resistenza non deve rimanere soltanto un momento, anche se ampio come quest'anno, di ricordo, di interesse e di partecipazione, ma ai suoi valori deve essere perennemente ispirata la vita della scuola di ogni ordine e grado (from: «Facciamo della scuola una pratica quotidiana di libertà e democrazia», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

Moreover, many in these diaries describe the transmission of the stories of the Resistance in these schools as one way in which children can learn democratic values. For example, in the journal «There is something that is» ('C'è qualcosa che è'), an Italian intellectual, Lucio Lombardo Radice, is quoted saying that by learning about the Resistance children can learn about democratic values,

If children will discover 'this' Resistance, that is the Resistance of history, they will conceive their 'being citizens' as those men and women of that grandiose movement of the people: as a right-duty to participate in all the decisions of the collective, as a refusal of any form of privileged power and of obedience by anyone who wants to impose decisions enforced outside of popular control²⁹.

Moreover, the same journal states that children learn about these values not only by hearing the stories of the Resistance, but also by enacting its values in the daily practices of the schools, as suggested in the following passage,

The children have been the ones that began to talk about the Resistance: they asked for our intervention, they wanted to know more about what the television, news, parents, dialogues with the adults, the walls of the city, have shown to them. We found 'our' answers with the families, which have been invited to discuss the values of the Resistance, that the recurrence was reminding us: peace, solidarity, respect for men whatever their race, culture or religion. It was surprising the knowledge that the children had about the topic (the things that they wrote show this), and particularly significant for us was their capacity to talk together, argue, and negotiate with one another. Also particularly significant appeared their capacity for analysing, discussing, clarifying things together. It is in this capacity to be together, to know how to talk and listen, in this sociality that children, once again, have revealed to us to have acquired, that we think children have realised those values that are the foundations of our educational experience, but also the most profound values that the Resistance has left to us³⁰.

²⁹ Se i bambini scopriranno "questa" Resistenza, che è la Resistenza della storia, concepiranno il loro "essere cittadini" così come lo concepirono gli uomini e le donne di quel grandioso movimento di popolo: come un diritto-dovere di partecipare a tutte le decisioni della collettività, come il rifiuto di ogni potere privilegiato e di ogni obbedienza a chi vuole imporre decisioni prese fuori dal controllo popolare (from: «C'è qualcosa che è», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

³⁰ Sono stati i bambini i primi a parlare della Resistenza: hanno chiesto il nostro intervento, hanno voluto sapere di più di quello che la televisione, i giornali, i genitori, i colloqui degli adulti, i muri della città, avevano mostrato loro. Le 'nostre' risposte le abbiamo cercate con le famiglie, che sono state a discutere i contenuti e i significati: la discussione ha cercato di recuperare i valori, che ancora una volta, la ricorrenza ci proponeva: la pace, la solidarietà, il rispetto per l'uomo qualunque ne sia la razza, la cultura, la religione. È stata sorprendente la conoscenza che i bambini hanno mostrato dell'argomento (i testi liberi qui riportati ne sono la testimonianza), e particolarmente significativa ci è parsa la capacità che hanno acquistato di saper analizzare, discutere, chiarire insieme. E in questa nuova capacità di stare insieme, di saper discutere ma anche ascoltare, in questa socialità che i bambini, ancora una volta, ci hanno dimostrato [...] crediamo realizzati [...] i valori che la nostra esperienza [educativa] pone come i suoi obiettivi (from: «C'è qualcosa che è», 1974-1975, [n.n.]).

So as this passage suggests, the activities conducted in these schools around the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the end of the Nazi-Fascist Regime have been seen by some as a way for children to practice the democratic values of the Resistance. This is because the way in which these activities were conducted (which included dialogues, the exchange of ideas with other peers, and the exploration with the class of ideas brought about by the children themselves in what appears to be a more child-lead educational philosophy) are seen as involving a more democratic form of education that can allow children to acquire and practice those democratic values rooted in the stories of the Resistance and that the schools aimed to perpetuate. This emphasis on a more child-led educational approach — which is seen as more democratic insofar as it allows children to be active participants and protagonists in the educational process — emerges also from the journal «Not words, but concrete experiences» ('Non parole, ma esperienze concrete'). For example, the following passage from this journal emphasizes a more direct and participatory approach that involves children, families and local members of the community making a school that functions like a microcosm where children can learn about democratic values by being exposed to them on a daily basis,

We know very well that to [...] give children that educational instruction that they need, to establish their right to be equal in front of education and study, experience has revealed that it is possible to create a new educational institution that would respond not to the bureaucrats but to the children, the families, the local communities³¹.

From the analysis of the passages considered in this section, it seems fair to conclude therefore that within these unique school journals from the 1970s, the school is seen as a space, or a 'social laboratory,' where children can practice to be better citizens in a more democratic society. Moreover, this analysis also points to an important relationship between the memories of the Resistance and the educational visions in these schools. Indeed, on the one hand in these schools, the myth of the Resistance can be seen not just as leaving «a 'legacy' of shared knowledge but also [as] encourage[ing] a proactive social response to it»³². This social response consists in the visions of a more democratic society, or the «foundational myth» linked to the memories of the Italian Resistance, of which the schools are seen as the promoters in the education of the new generations of citizens³³. As Focardi would also note, however, the memories

³¹ Sappiamo benissimo che per sottrarre la scuola dell'infanzia al vecchio e nuovo modello assistenziale, per dare ai bambini quell'istituzione educativa di cui hanno bisogno. [...] Una scuola chiusa ed estranea ai problemi del mondo può diventare un luogo e uno strumento di semplice alienazione. Quindi fuori i bambini dalla scuola! (from: «Non parole ma esperienza concrete», 1973-1974, [n.n.]).

³² M. Arnot, J.A. Dillabough, *Challenging Democracy: International Perspectives on Gender and Citizenship*, London, Routledge, 2000, p. 167.

³³ Focardi. *La guerra della memoria: la Resistenza nel dibattito politico italiano dal 1945 a*

of the Italian Resistance in the 1970s could also be seen as having been shaped by the need to reaffirm the anti-Fascist origins of the Italian State, including its educational institutions, ahead of the rise of neo-fascist violence,

Naming the school [...] after the name of someone who fell during the war, the committee [of the school] intends to highlight the deep and open relationship that exists between the education of the new generations – at all educational levels – and the democratic society born from the Resistance. We believe that this deep relationship is more and more necessary and urgent today [1970s], whilst in our country the Fascist violence presents itself in its more criminal forms, giving rise to disdain among us, the blame and the strong condemnation of the citizens and of the workers, that day by day laboriously and irreversibly are actuating that process of change for which the Italian Resistance was formed and won³⁴.

Conclusions

This paper has provided a close analysis of previously unexamined journals printed by Italian schools situated in Reggio Emilia in the 1970s, in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the end of the Fascist Regime and of World War II. These documents comprise testimonies of important historical value of the personal and collective experiences of parents and grandparents of the Italian Resistance movement. Within this narrative, these schools are seen as a place where this «foundational myth» for a more democratic society can be realized³⁵. However, this analysis has also exposed the fact that these memories of the Italian Resistance have been shaped by a need to reaffirm anti-Fascist and democratic ideologies in a time of crisis, where the Italian democratic institutions were under threat from the rise of neo-Fascism³⁶.

Finally there are a set of more indirect, but not less important, insights that can be drawn from this analysis, with implications for historical studies and educational theory. To begin, this analysis points to a relationship between the memories of the 1940s and their role in educational contexts in the 1970s. It reveals that in the 1970s in these Municipal preschools, it was perfectly acceptable to recount the horrors and the brutalities of Fascism. However, these

oggi, cit., p. 46.

³⁴ Intitolando la scuola [...] al nome di un caduto della Guerra di liberazione, il comitato scuola-città intende sottolineare il legame profondo ed aperto che deve esistere tra l'educazione delle nuove generazioni – a tutti i livelli di scolarizzazione – e la società democratica nata dalla Resistenza. Crediamo che questo legame sia tanto più necessario ed urgente oggi, mentre nel paese la violenza fascista si ripresenta nella sue forme più criminali, suscitando lo sdegno, la riprovazione e la ferma condanna dei cittadini e dei lavoratori, che giorno per giorno faticosamente ma irreversibilmente stanno attuando quel processo di rinnovamento per il quale si è formata ed ha vinto la Resistenza (from: «Esperienze educative», n. 1, 1973-1974, [n.n.]).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

insights about the interpretation of the memories of the war and the Resistance in the 1970s raise important questions also about the use of memory, and specifically of the memories of the Resistance, in the present. Chiefly, it raises concerns about whether these schools in Reggio Emilia still today discuss the dramatic events and the brutality of the war so vividly with young children. Some of the preliminary findings that I collected suggest that this might not be the case anymore, raising further questions about the ideologies that might be underlying these changes in the discourse around childhood in these schools in Reggio Emilia and more generally in Italy.

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In the Heart of the Nation. Reading books and nationalism in fin-de-siècle Italy (1880-1900)

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ABSTRACT: The article deals with the long-standing debate about the formation of collective identities. It examines the role of primary school as an agency of patriotic education in fin-de-siècle Italy, by parsing a vast sample of reading books for school-age pupils. It focuses on the image of the nation as a *moral community* and examines the repertoire of habits that shapes the nation identity. In doing so, it is possible to address a more ambitious question: how did school media support the shift of the nationalist rhetoric from a revolutionary to a conservative ideology occurring in the aftermath of the Italian Unification?

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Nationalization; School; Reading Books; Children's and Youth literature; Italy; XIX Century.

1. *The reading book: the «groundwork» of lower primary education*

The last decades of the Nineteenth century open an interesting window on the transformations of nationalism in the peninsula. As many studies point out, the 1880s truly represented a turning point in the spread of a «civil religion»¹ of the nation not just in school: the entire public sphere became involved in a process of nation-identity building, in which the myth of the Risorgimento played a prominent cohesive role². New civic rituals were introduced into

¹ For a theoretical discussion of the concept of «religion of the nation» cf. S. Jakelic, *Collectivistic Religions: Religion, Choice and Identity in Late Modernity*, Burlington, Ashgate publishing Company, 2010, pp. 16-26. About the Italian case study see F. Conti, *Massoneria e religioni civili: cultura laica e liturgie politiche tra XVIII e XX secolo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2009.

² M. Baioni, *Risorgimento conteso. Memorie e usi pubblici nell'Italia Unita*, Reggio Emilia, Diabasis, 2002; F. Cammarano, *Nazionalizzazione della politica e politicizzazione della*

the calendar of the national holidays, while hundreds of commemorative monuments were erected in honour of the heroes of the Unification³.

The need to create a stronger sense of national membership was tied to the new political interests of the liberal élites – dominated, in this period, by the figure of Francesco Crispi⁴ – dealing with the ongoing industrialization, the emergence of new social and political groups, and the first colonial campaigns in eastern Africa. As the scholarship highlights, these—and other elements brought Italian governments to seek a wider consensus among the emerging middle class.

Within the nation- and state-building process, primary school gained a new political relevance as well⁵. The electoral bill in 1882 extended the voting right to all those who had successfully attended a three-year compulsory educational track or two-year military school under the army or, transitorily, to all those who were able to read and write⁶. The left wing party, in power since 1876, supported this shift through a significant range of educational reforms concerning school buildings, school attendance, and curricula. Nonetheless, new subjects about the history of the Risorgimento and the duties of the citizens achieved more presence in the school curriculum, because national history was supposed to increase the «first seeds of love of homeland and civic feelings»⁷.

nazione. I dilemmi della classe dirigente nell'Italia liberale, in *Dalla città alla Nazione. Borghesie ottocentesche in Italia e in Germania*, M. Meriggi, P. Schiera (edd.), Bologna, il Mulino, 1993, pp. 139-163.

³ L. Berggren, L. Sjöstedt, *L'ombra dei grandi: monumenti e politica monumentale a Roma (1870-1895)*, Roma, Svenska, 1996; B. Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani. Spazi, itinerari e monumenti nell'Italia unita (1870-1900)*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1991.

⁴ U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memorie e celebrazioni del Risorgimento*, Torino, Istituto Storico del Risorgimento, 1992.

⁵ In the last decades of the century, the primary school system was organised into two main tracks: the lower primary school (duration: three years) and the upper primary school (duration: two years). The first track was compulsory for male and female pupils, whereas the second one was not. Cf. E. De Fort, *Storia della scuola elementare dall'Unità alla caduta del fascismo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2004 and E. De Fort, *La scuola e il progetto di formazione degli italiani*, «Le Carte e la Storia», vol. 2, 2011, pp. 45-54.

⁶ The electoral bill 1882 was proposed by the left-wing party. Before the reform, the voting right was essentially limited to specific categories of male property owners. For a more precise analysis of the new requirements introduced in 1882, see R. Romanelli, *Alla ricerca di un corpo elettorale. La riforma del 1882 in Italia e il problema del suffragio*, in P. Pombeni (ed.), *La trasformazione dell'Europa liberale*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1986, pp. 172-204; U. Hartmut, *Sistemi elettorali e sistema politico: dalla riforma del 1882 alla crisi di fine secolo*, in L. Ballini (ed.), *Idee di rappresentanza e sistemi elettorali in Italia tra Otto e Novecento: atti della terza giornata di studio "Luigi Luzzatti" per la storia dell'Italia contemporanea*, Venezia, 17 novembre 1995, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze Lettere ed Arti, 1997, pp. 61-138. About the relation between school and franchise see G. Talamo, *Istruzione obbligatoria ed estensione del suffragio*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita dalla legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 47-74.

⁷ *Relazione della Commissione centrale sopra i libri di testo a S. E. il Ministro della pubblica istruzione*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», 25 ottobre 1894, n. 43,

As instruments of mass acculturation, textbooks represented a significant «battleground»⁸ among various political actors, dealing with the nationalisation of the masses. Ilaria Porciani has indeed highlighted that schoolbooks represented a crucial «space of political mediation»⁹ among divergent cultural forces, such as the State, local and religious authorities, intellectuals and publishing press houses. The textbook market was also big business. Reports of plagiarism and cases of corruption of school authorities in textbook trading arose at the end of the century, as well as State attempts to limit their uncontrolled circulation and impose new forms of censorship (even a State textbook)¹⁰.

Interestingly, amongst the other typologies, the reading book began to be seen as the educational instrument *par excellence* in the hand of the primary-school teacher, through which it would be possible, not merely to *instruct* the child, but also to *educate* him or her. In its report, the first Commission for the control over textbooks defined the reading book as «the groundwork» of primary education and «the source» of «those feelings which educate the heart, [the source] of the thoughts, which nurture the mind, and of knowledge, which enforces the spirit»¹¹. Likewise, in 1891, the civil servant and minister of education, Pasquale Villari, declared that it should be the only textbook used in the compulsory educational track¹². In coincidence with the expansion of both the school system and publishing market, in the second half of the 19th century, the number of books and their level of specialisation significantly increased. In

vol. II, pp. 1517-1547. About the teaching of history cf. A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004.

⁸ D. Montino, *Libri e giovani lettori tra XIX e XIX secolo*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 7, n. 2, 2007, pp. 299-322.

⁹ I. Porciani, *Il libro di testo come oggetto di ricerca: i manuali scolastici nell'Italia post-unitaria*, in D. Ragazzini (ed.), *Storia della scuola e storia d'Italia*, Bari, De Donato, 1982, pp. 237-271. We agree with Ilaria Porciani who takes position against the definition of textbooks as «symbols of the nation», pointed out by Alain Choppin in his article *L'histoire des manuels scolaires. Une approche globale*, «Histoire de l'éducation», vol. 9, 1980, pp. 1-25. Lorenzo Cantatore suggests another interesting definition, addressed to school anthology: «museum/monument of paper and ink», cfr. L. Cantatore, «Scelta, ordinata e annotata» *L'antologia scolastica nel secondo Ottocento e il laboratorio Carducci-Brilli*, Modena, Mucchi, 1999, p. 10. See also P. Bianchini, *Una fonte per la storia dell'istruzione e dell'editoria in Italia: il libro scolastico*, «Contemporanea», n. 3, 2000, pp. 175-182.

¹⁰ A. Barausse (ed.), *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al Fascismo. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1862-1922)*, 2 vols., Macerata, Alfabetica, 2008.

¹¹ Cf. *Relazione della Commissione centrale per i libri di testo a S. E. il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», Roma 29 settembre 1896, n. XXIII, vol. II, p. 1512.

¹² «È dunque mio intendimento che d'ora innanzi, nelle classi elementari di corso inferiore s'abbia a far uso di un sol libro di testo, quello di lettura, e che tutt'al più si aggiunga ad esso, ove sembri utile, un modestissimo libretto per le nozioni e gli esercizi di Aritmetica», in *Circolare Ministeriale*, 23 settembre 1891, n. 1091, n. 1029 – *Libro di testo per le Scuole elementari*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», 23 settembre 1891, II, pp. 385-386.

1894, it was noted that reading books represented a large majority of the textbooks produced for primary school¹³.

Although in recent times Italian scholarship on children's literature has made significant progress, reading books still represent a grey area in research¹⁴. Excluding a number of important contributions on some «cultural icons» of liberal Italy, there is not any exhausting study on this literary genre. A classic of children literature – the bestseller *Cuore*¹⁵ by Edmondo De Amicis published in 1886 – is without a doubt the most frequently quoted title to explain the backbone of Umbertian patriotic pedagogy¹⁶. *Cuore* deals with the story of Enrico and his schoolmates, teachers and family, during a school year. The book is addressed to school-age boys (from 9 to 13 year old) and – as De Amicis suggests in the preface – it could be subtitled *An Italian Schoolboy Journal*. It sold more than a million of copy in less than forty years (1886-1923).

It is true that *Cuore* does represent an undeniable milestone in its genre¹⁷; scholars of the significance of Alberto Asor Rosa, Silvio Lanaro, and more recently Alberto M. Banti, have many pages dedicated to it. Lanaro defines *Cuore* as a *summa* of popular patriotic education, arguing, «It is no surprise Italian education turns almost exclusively around these glorious icons [...]»¹⁸. According to Banti, De Amicis' images of the homeland perfectly fits the main categories, through which the national discourse has been structured, all through the Nineteenth century: the nation has been mainly thought of as a community (1) based on racial lines, (2) charged with sexual connotation and (3) worthy of the ultimate sacrifice¹⁹. Thus, a

¹³ *Relazione della Commissione centrale per i libri di testo a S. E. il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», 25 ottobre 1894, XXVI, vol. II, p. 1503.

¹⁴ G. Chiosso, *L'Italia alfabeto. Libri ed editoria scolastica tra Otto e Novecento*, «Quaderni della CIRISIL», n. 6, 2007, pp. 1-23; G. Chiosso, *Il libro per la scuola tra Otto e Novecento*, in TESEO. *Testi ed editori scolastici educativi dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2004, pp. XI-XXVIII; M. Bacigalupi, P. Fossati, *Da Plebe a Popolo. L'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'Unità alla Repubblica*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1986, pp. 58-80.

¹⁵ An English version was published in 1915: E. De Amicis, *Cuore (Heart). An Italian Schoolboy Journal – A Book for Boy*, New York, T.Y. Crowell & Co., 1915.

¹⁶ Umbertian age was the period of Umberto I di Savoia's reign from 1878 to 1900.

¹⁷ See also A. Asor Rosa, *La cultura*, in *Storia d'Italia. Annali. 4. Vol. 2: Dall'Unità ad oggi: la cultura*, Torino, Einaudi, 1964; M. Ricciardi, L. Tamburini (edd.), *Cent'anni di Cuore: contributi per la rilettura del libro*, Torino, Allemandi, 1986; A. Faeti, «Cuore», in M. Isnenghi (ed.), *Il luoghi della memoria. Personaggi e date*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2011, pp. 101-113; A.M. Banti, *Sublime Madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2011; A.M. Banti, *The Remembrance of Heroes*, in S. Patriarca, L. Riall (edd.), *The Risorgimento Revisited: Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Italy*, New York, Palgrave, 2012, pp. 171-190.

¹⁸ S. Lanaro, *Il Plutarco italiano: l'istruzione del "popolo" dopo l'Unità*, in *Storia d'Italia. Vol. IV: Intellettuali e potere*, ed. by C. Vivanti, Torino, Einaudi, 1981, p. 570.

¹⁹ Banti, *Sublime Madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, cit., pp. 56-58; see also A.M. Banti, *L'onore della nazione. Identità sessuali nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVIII alla Grande Guerra*, Torino, Einaudi, 2005.

set of recursive feelings, such as honour, pride, revenge and romantic love, have progressively carved the idea of nationhood by making use of the myth of the Risorgimento and hero-worship.

In *Cuore*, as well as in many other literary sources, the image of the nation possesses a high grade of performativity that makes it capable of reinforcing bounds and mobilising people in the name of an abstract concept, like nationhood. Even though Banti does not exclude the existence of other narratives, he overshadows their conceptual relevance in the public discourse and states that transformations of a political agenda does not affect this basic structure²⁰.

In this article, it is argued that a consequence of this dominant analytical perspective has been a general flattering of the ways through which intellectual élites attempted to create a sense of collective identity. Although it would be senseless to deny the broad employ of Banti's categories in reading books, textbook analysis reveals the use of a more complicated symbolic system. Honour, pride and revenge are not the only feelings around which the sense of nationhood has been built up, especially at primary school. This holds particularly true considering that in 1894, State authorities excluded *Cuore* from the list of 'good' reading books selected for primary school²¹. Despite examiners' appreciations for De Amicis' «patriotism», they could not accept its lack of scientific, geographical and historical information²². This exclusion suggests some methodological reflection.

Firstly, if we want to debate the nationalisation of childhood through the lens of textbooks analysis, it will be necessary to extend the field of research beyond *Cuore* and other «cultural icons» of children's literature. For this reason, the research has been undertaken on a vast sample of reading books, published between the end of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1900s²³ and addressed to school-age children attending the three-year compulsory track. The reason behind this choice is the limits of the Italian school system at that time. It may indeed be argued that lower primary school was the privileged space for mass acculturation, and the reading book its privileged tool²⁴.

²⁰ Banti, *Sublime Madre nostra. La nazione italiana dal Risorgimento al fascismo*, cit.

²¹ I mentioned this issue in another article: E. Tabacchi, *Secondo i naturali confini della libertà degli insegnanti: forme di censura e controllo nell'esperienza della seconda Commissione centrale per l'esame dei libri di testo (1894-1901)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 8, n. 2, 2013, pp. 239-258; Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al Fascismo. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla riforma Gentile (1862-1922)*, cit.

²² *Relazione n. 283 (Roma, ottobre 1899)*, in Archivio Centrale dello Stato di Roma, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Consiglio superiore della pubblica istruzione, Atti 1848-1903.

²³ I undertook this research at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence (Italy), which conserved a vast collection of textbooks. Whereas it was possible, I attempted to check different editions of the same textbook, in order to examine the changes in the narrative about nation.

²⁴ Since the unification of the country, the primary school system was organised into two main tracks: the lower primary school (duration: two-three years) and the upper primary school

Secondly, it is useful to clarify the difference between children's literature and reading books. In order to avoid some confusion, what a reading book was should be defined more precisely. In general terms, it was a specific textbook, which served to train a student's reading skills and teach basic culture in primary-school years (mostly used in the second and third year). Reading books must range from geography, history, and hygiene to moral prescriptions and good manners. This variety of subjects, which could be lacking in children's literature, justified the peculiar and disordering structure of reading books, which include prose and poems, tales, proverbs, and/or images, without any specific order or any plot (even though one is sometimes present). Their peculiar school mission provoked an interesting reaction among the young readers. A library director noticed in 1900 that «pupils hate every book which looks like a textbook» and only when words like «book for the second class» or «readings for the third class» were removed from the covers (with the blue pencil), reading books started to circulate among library users, until the moment in which this trick was discovered²⁵. Reading books represented a good source of income for both publishers and writers. This explains various common editorial practices, such the outstanding number of re-publications of the same book; the longevity in the market of old successful titles across the decades; the tendency of updating a book with the help of various authors, instead of publishing a new one; and so on. All these dynamics complicate the analysis, but if we left this context completely aside, it would be difficult to explain the plural dimension of patriotic pedagogy at school.

Under this light, this contribution aims to point out an alternative communicative strategy by arguing that – in reading books – the nation was not only presented as a homogeneous ethnic entity or based on hero-worship, but also as a *moral community*. As a vast research points out, shaping moral bounds was the core objective of a long-standing pedagogical tradition, which deeply influenced the Italian textbook production. For those who are interested in the Italian nationalisation of school media, the assimilation of the standardized cultural repertoire of habits, skills and behaviours of reading books within the nationalist discourse represents a crucial yet overshadowed issue. This normative dimension is herein examined by parsing a sample of reading books for school-age children. The article stresses the long-standing debate about the rise of civil religions in the modern societies. In doing so, a more ambitious question can be addressed: how did school media support the shift of the nationalist rhetoric from a revolutionary into a conservative ideology occurring in the aftermath of the Unification?

(duration: two years). The first track was compulsory for male and female pupils, whereas the second one was not. Consequently, a very limited number of pupils could access to the upper primary school. Cf. E. De Fort, *Storia della scuola elementare dall'Unità al fascismo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1996.

²⁵ G. Fumagalli, *I libri più letti dal popolo italiano. Primi risultati dell'inchiesta promossa dalla Società bibliografica italiana*, Milano, Società bibliografica italiana, 1906, p. 36.

2. *Homeland: a moral community*

There are convincing reasons for believing that the creation of a feeling of national membership was not the priority of primary school education, in the decades that followed the Unification. As Simonetta Soldani highlights²⁶, patriotic education did not occupy any prominent space neither in schoolbooks nor in school curriculum reforms. This absence does not mean that reading books did not aim to create a sense of membership; they did spread a standardized range of values and prescriptions, such as respect for parents and superiors, obedience, solidarity among social classes, pity for unfortunates, and love for work.

In the 1870s and the 1880s, things started to change. Historical accounts about the Italian unification, exemplar biographies of its protagonists, and portraits of the king and the queen began to occupy a more significant space, as well as sections entitled «Homeland» or «Italy» in the structure of reading books. As a comparison among three editions of *Terze letture* by Ida Baccini (1888, 1891 and 1898) reveals, the topic *homeland* progressively appeared in greater detail and occupied more pages, and a new section entitled «Italy» was added. This latter chapter offers a straightforward example of the geographical construction of the nation, based more on territorial claims than real political borders. It deals with the geography of the nation, but paradoxically, it begins by describing some non-Italian territories, such as Corsica, Nice, Trento, Tirolo, and Trieste. The Corsica island is even depicted as an «Italian territory occupied by foreigners (the French)», who «also own Nice, located on the western side of continental Italy». It is because – as Baccini explains – they are truly Italian, even «though other States controlled them». Then, the lists of the other ordinary provinces follows. It is likely that the author suggests the geography of Italy starts outside its political borders²⁷. Moreover, in *Il fanciullueto italiano* by Scavia, the topic ‘homeland’ shows up in a very remarkable position: the correspondence between two brothers, the oldest based in Ethiopia, fighting for Italy, and the youngest, Vittorino, a pupil at the elementary school. Scavia here associates this topic with the colonial wars.

²⁶ S. Soldani, *Il Risorgimento a scuola. Incertezze dello Stato e lenta formazione di un pubblico di lettori*, in E. Dirani (ed.), *Alfredo Oriani e la cultura del suo tempo*, Ravenna, Longo editore, 1985, pp. 133-172; A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004, pp. 27-31; E. Catarsi, *Storia dei programmi della scuola elementare (1860-1985)*, Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1990.

²⁷ Likewise, in another popular reading book inspired by catholic influx *I mesi dell'anno* by Scavia and Rinaldi, Italy geographical description includes the Republic of San Marino, Monaco and “parts of other non-Italian States” such as Corsica, Malta and other islands, Ticino, Nice. Cf. G. Scavia, *I mesi dell'anno. Letture per fanciulli della Terza Classe elementare e della sezione superiore delle scuole rurali modificata secondo i vigenti programmi dal cav. prof. Bartolomeo Rinaldi*, Torino, Grato Scioldo, 1889.

As research points out, the territorialisation of identity (as well as the invention of tradition, the myth of origins, and so on) represents one of the most powerful means for nationalism. Tracing borders is constructing identity. Here, the geographical account reveals the emergence of imperialistic and territorial claims or the fact that, in other words, the *Risorgimento* of Italy has not been perfectly accomplished.

However, the typical ‘moral architecture’ of reading books was not completely dismissed²⁸. The following quote, which was taken from *Il campagnuolo e l’artigianello* by Giuseppe Menghi, may help to grasp this idea:

The Homeland is like a beloved mother. We must honour her with work, honesty, and by living together in harmony, and we must defend her from enemies with our arms. This land is named Italy and we are Italians [...]. Everybody in these places speaks the same language and everyone helps each other in pursuing the best for all and improving his or her own condition²⁹.

In *Il contadinello italiano* by Augusto Alfani, the same narrative construction can be noticed:

To love the homeland means *foremost* to be religious and then honest; to be good sons, good brothers, good workers, equal with everyone, ready to help whoever needs, to defend the oppressed people [...]³⁰.

The same structure is present in *Il fanciulletto italiano* by Rinaldi, with few differences: homeland is the place where «people speak almost the same language [...] and have the same customs, the same feelings and the same origins»³¹. At first glance, it is true that homeland is depicted as a community based on bloodlines and worthy of the ultimate sacrifice – following Banti’s categories – but there is something more. Besides common origins and languages, these definitions highlight the idea that a nation is a community based on mutual help, social harmony, and moral duties.

Once again, origins-language and feelings-customs coexists in the definition of homeland. All these accounts state two complementary images of a nation. Whilst the first stresses ethno-nationalist categories (language, origins, bloodlines), the second deals more with Otto Bauer’s idea of a nation as a «community of destiny» or «community of characters». Interested in legitimising a coexistence of socialism and national order, Bauer defines the national character not just as «the

²⁸ About the emphasis on moral behaviours in the anthologies see L. Cantatore, “Scelta, ordinata e annotata”. *L’antologia scolastica nel secondo Ottocento e il laboratorio Carducci-Brilli*, pp. 278-288.

²⁹ G. Menghi, *Il campagnuolo e l’artigianello. Letture graduate per le scuole primarie di campagna*, Milano, Paravia, 1894, pp. 89-90.

³⁰ A. Alfani, *Il contadinello italiano. Libro per la terza classe delle scuole rurali*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1898, p. 14.

³¹ B. Rinaldi, *Il fanciullo italiano. Letture per la seconda classe elementare maschile*, Torino, Grato Scioldo, 1894, p. 113.

totality of mental and physical characteristics that are peculiar to the nation that unite different members and differ them from other nations», but also as a communicative community³². In this case, national characters never deal with physical or mental features, but with habits. Scholars have sometimes overshadowed the fact that the voluntaristic conception of nationhood implies the pre-existence not just of a common will or destiny, but also of a common range of values and behaviours. Thus, Bauer specifies that «the character of the individual is never simply the totality of hereditary proprieties; it is always determined by the culture that is transmitted to him and works on him»³³.

In reading books, this «culture to transmit» belongs to the long-standing pedagogical tradition, which tended to consider popular education as a moral education foremost³⁴. This approach, which was developed since the second half of the seventeenth century by Jean-Baptiste de La Salle³⁵, emphasized the importance of the discipline of passions and behaviours, in particular, regarding mass education. In nineteenth century, this normative dimension still occupied a great space in reading books for both boys and girls. As textbook analysis shows, the dominant cultural repertoire turns constantly around the love towards parents and God, solidarity, obedience, docility, respect for the authorities and those less fortunate, the importance of charity, philanthropic action, and last but not least, the love for work³⁶. However, its main task was to shape the moral habits of men and women, rather than civic or national consciousness. More interestingly, it also embedded an organic view of society and a conservative conception of social roles about gender and classes, which tend to promote foremost social harmony and acceptance of the existing social order. There is no space for social conflicts, pure individualism or divergent social interests, since that social stratification appears as a sort of natural order. Interestingly, in the defining the repertoire of habits, reading books does not stress any gender differentiation.

In the last decades of the century, we see a progressive overlapping between individuals and members of a national community and thus, in the end this repertoire defines the moral habits of Italians. The normative dimension is

³² I quote the English translation of Otto Bauer's text published on O. Bauer, *The Nation*, in G. Balakrishnan, B. Anderson (edd.), *Mapping the Nation*, London-New York, Verso, 2012, p. 58.

³³ Bauer, *The Nation*, cit., p. 53.

³⁴ The popular textbooks of Thouar, Parravicini and Cantù, which circulated in the first decades in the aftermath of the Unification, still mirrored this approach.

³⁵ C. Pancera, *Educazione dei costumi e insegnamento delle virtù*, in G.P. Brizzi (ed.), *Il catechismo e la grammatica – Istruzione, modelli educativi e alfabetismo nei ducati e nelle legazioni emiliano-romagnole nel Settecento*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1985, Vol. I, pp. 287-346; see also L. Tasca, *Galatei. Buone maniere e cultura borghese nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*, Firenze, Le Lettere, 2004.

³⁶ On the circulation of self-help culture in liberal Italy see S. Lanaro, *Nazione e lavoro. Saggio sulla cultura borghese dell'Italia liberale*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1979 and S. Patriarca, *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

important to understand the reasons why the nationalisation of textbooks brings with it a strong emphasis on duties, rather than on rights, of the citizen.

This it is confirmed by the structure of most of the reading books. It is not hard to find large sections entitled «Duties» or «Duties towards...», whereas chapters on rights are often missing or smaller than they could have been. In Marco Lessona and Carlo Bernardi's *Libro di lettura per la seconda classe elementare*, the duties toward the homeland are placed at the beginning:

The homeland needs educated citizens because the ignorant man cannot accomplish his duties as well as the one who has a certain level of instruction; it needs good soldiers, but foremost honest and virtuous citizens. Children, study to learn!³⁷

As soon as the authors make clear *that* good educated children are what the homeland needs, they highlight the strict relation between school and nation (and then school and army, the two alternative agency of patriotic education). Then, when children are asked what they can do for their homeland, the answers fit this pattern well:

Children can do something for their Homeland: to grow up virtuously, study, and get used to rough labour; to respect the law and those who govern us³⁸.

Obviously, national duties may imply a gender connotation, but it does not occur systematically:

In each society, every member works for the Good for all and for his or her own at the same time. One for all, all for one! We, women, can do many things to help the others, besides our duties at home and at school. The duties of the woman are duties of goodness³⁹.

In line with the traditional idea of a 'female vocation', Giovanni Soli argues that women can contribute to the collective good, with their attitudes and philanthropic activities, as well as men with their labour.

Although, for both man and women, industriousness is an essential moral behaviour and, consequently, every honest activity, even the humblest, has to be treated with the same dignity. Lucillio Ambruzzi explains in his *Peppino in prima classe* that whilst the well-off people live in elegant palaces, the poor stay in hovels and little cottages, but he immediately clarifies that «everyone loves his home whatever it is»⁴⁰. There is no space for complaining about social

³⁷ M. Lessona, C. Bernardi, *Libro di lettura per la seconda classe elementare secondo i programmi 29 novembre 1894*, Torino, Unione tipografica editrice, 1898, p. 2.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ G. Soli, *Cominciamo la vita! Libro di lettura per la IV classe elementare femminile*, Milano, Trevisini, 1898, p. 69.

⁴⁰ L. Ambruzzi, *Peppino in prima classe. Compimento al sillbario e prime letture in conformità con i programmi governativi ad uso delle scuole urbane e rurali (25 settembre 1888)*, Torino, Grato Scioldo, 1891, p. 37.

conditions in reading books. In *Giannetto riveduto e ordinato* by Elisa Cappelli, it is clear that to honour the patriots, who fought for Italian independence, it is necessary to love «the Homeland, as our fathers did, with our virtues, with work, with concord, in order to make it great, rich and beloved»⁴¹.

At different degrees, reading books (as well as *Cuore*) suggest that patriotism does not correspond exclusively to heroic actions or ultimate sacrifices; it also deals with everyday life and everyone's behaviour. This does not mean that there are not any examples of great heroism, but in reading books there is space for both dimensions, as we can see in a Gabrielli's tale which presented the Garibaldi leading the *Spedizione dei Mille* in Sicily and the young Garibaldi who saved the life of a drowning boy as well⁴².

3. A resilient repertoire: the ethic of the nation

In the previous section, we noticed how the repertoire of good practices became an essential part of that shared culture that enables the formation of national identity, but it may be argued that its functioning remained ambivalent. This is tied to the controversial Church/State relationship that had characterized the Italian nation-building process. On the one hand, as previously presented, the repertoire works as a useful 'cohesive material', on which to build a national sense of membership supporting traditional values, religion and social structures. On the other hand, and despite the role played by some branches of Catholicism «as agency of patriotic education»⁴³, the assimilation of this traditional repertoire within the national discourse could not happen without some resistance. Obviously, the first is that from a religious point of view, the love for the nation cannot be seen as superior to the love for God. How did Catholic authors deal with this?

It is well-known that the official line of the Church was opposed to the unification of the country, but the 1890s saw a more or less underground rapprochement between the papacy and the government. The deep social and political crisis that followed the repression of the Fasci movement in Sicily led Francesco Crispi to approve a series of repressive and violent initiatives and consequently to seek the support of «all the conservative forces of the

⁴¹ E. Cappelli, *Il Giannetto riveduto e ordinato per gli alunni della seconda elementare*, Milano, Dabalà, 1898, p. 191.

⁴² G. Gabrielli, *Cuore e vita. Terzo libro di lettura per gli allievi della terza classe elementare*, Palermo, Remo Sandron, 1896, p. 34.

⁴³ About the idea of Catholicism as an «agency of patriotic education» see F. De Giorgi, *Cattolici ed educazione tra Restaurazione e Risorgimento. Ordini religiosi, antigesuitismo e pedagogia nei processi di modernizzazione*, Milano, I.S.U.-Università Cattolica, 1999.

country», which meant the Catholic Church amongst the others⁴⁴. A sign of this rapprochement can be seen in the statements of the second Commission for control over textbooks. The examiners indeed approved numerous reading books, published by the Turin-based Catholic Grato Scioldo, in which some mechanisms of ‘resilience’ to the nationalisation can be seen in action.

For example, to answer the question «How can I make Italy great and happy?», the priest and author Gabriele Gabrielli lists children’s first duties: *the gratitude for, the love of and the adoration of God*; then the duties towards the others and the citizens: «1. Respect for laws, 2. Love for one’s country, 3. Love for work»⁴⁵. These kinds of prescriptions are not limited to Grato-Scioldo books. In a short tale, entitled *Neither a king can do whatever he wants*, Bartolomeo Rinaldi clearly states the superiority of God compared to secular power⁴⁶. This taxonomy finds a place in various reading books⁴⁷. This complex relationship between nation and religion is explained well by Augusto Alfani, who clarifies that «Religion is the safe and essential base of every prosperity of ours»⁴⁸ and invites children to love God and to remember that respecting duties towards the State is another way of honouring God. At the end of the century, being a good citizen meant being a good believer.

This point stresses the widely debated question regarding the limits of nationalism in the Nineteenth century. Ernest Gellner sees nationalism as the new religion of the modern world, on its way to secularization. Accordingly, school and school media play a prominent role in preparing the ground for the homologation required by the national-state order⁴⁹. As Peter Van Der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann argue, the nation-state is interpreted as «a sign of modernity», under the light of «the axiomatic dichotomy between modern and traditional»⁵⁰. Gellner’s analytical perspective tends to pay less attention not merely to the contaminations between the traditional and the modern religions, but also to the forms of resistance and structural limits which the nationalisation process can face in different contexts⁵¹.

⁴⁴ F. Cammarano, *Storia politica dell’Italia liberale*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1999, p. 308.

⁴⁵ Italics is mine. G. Gabrielli, *Cuore e vita. Terzo libro di lettura per gli allievi della terza classe elementare*, Palermo, Remo Sandron, 1896, p. 60.

⁴⁶ B. Rinaldi, *Il fanciullo italiano. Letture per la seconda classe elementare maschile*, Torino, Grato Scioldo, 1894, p. 99.

⁴⁷ See also C. Calleri, *Cuore e mente. Letture graduate per le scuole elementari ad uso della prima classe femminile*, Torino, Grato Scioldo, 1892, p. 3; G. Scavia, *I mesi dell’anno*, Torino, Grato Scioldo, 1889, p. 100.

⁴⁸ A. Alfani, *Il contadino italiano. Libro per la terza classe delle scuole rurali*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1898.

⁴⁹ E. Gellner, *Nation and Nationalism*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2006.

⁵⁰ P. Van Der Veer, H. Lehmann, *Introduction*, in P. Van Der Veer, H. Lehmann (edd.), *Nation and Religion. Perspectives on Europe and Asia*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999, p. 6.

⁵¹ About the Italian case see S. Soldani, G. Turi (edd.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell’Italia contemporanea*, Vol. I, Bologna, il Mulino, 1994.

Under this light, we agree with Antony D. Smith, who argues that a national sense of community and identity have not always been created *ex novo* and religious cultural backgrounds have interacted with the rise of modern nationalist cultures. He has invited scholars to delve more deeply into the ways through which «religious and national cultures underpin and reinforce each other to produce the often powerful national identity that commands so much loyalty among so many people»⁵². The relationship between nationalisation and the traditional cultural background may also help to address another issue: the turning of nationalism into a conservative ideology in the aftermath of the unification of the country.

As Umberto Levra notices, it is in the last decades of the nineteenth century that «a slow and somewhat contradictory transformation of Mazzini's core thought»⁵³ was realized, by the leftist élites, *in primis* by a former *mazziniano* like Francesco Crispi. According to this tradition, the left-wing government, in power since the second half of the 1870s, emphasized the need to spread a strong sense of national identity and encouraged the making of primary school as an agency of patriotic education. In doing so, as textbook analysis reveals, the nationalist ideology ceased to be presented as a propulsive force of emancipation. Whereas the myth of the Risorgimento and the hero-worship gained a new relevance in school media in those years, issues like economic equality and the improvement of people's social condition remained completely overshadowed, although they were important political goals in the democratic project of nation-building.

Differently, the standardized repertoire of habits showed outstanding skills of resistance and adaptation. This suggests that unlike Banti's analysis, the idea of national membership was not built exclusively upon feelings of love, honour, pride and revenge. In reading books, we also find – as the minister of education Guido Baccelli explained well in 1894 – the «love for order, for concordance, and for quiet industriousness and social humanity»⁵⁴, but also solidarity, obedience, docility, respect for the authorities and those less fortunate, and the love for work. Thus, as the obsessive emphasis on the normative dimension, on the duties of the child/citizen and on the respect owed to the authorities reveals, reading books for primary school tend to link the sense of national membership to a strong sense of subalternity.

⁵² A.D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, p. 17.

⁵³ Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, cit., pp. 41-80.

⁵⁴ *Istruzioni generali*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione», 6 dicembre 1894, XXI, n. 49, vol. 2, pp. 1894-1898.

Between the Empire and the Republic: the permanence of a biography of the Nation in the history taught in secondary and primary schools in Brazil (1860-1950)

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ABSTRACT: In Brazil, the turn of the 19th century to the 20th century was marked by a break with the monarchy through a republican form of government. However, strategies for ideal construction of national identity remained, above all through continued school use of manuals of the History of Brazil dedicated to the construction of a Brazilian national biography as pedagogy for education of Brazilians. In this text, we examined both ideas in regard to national identity and the lessons disseminated in a canonical work in the area of school literature, *Lições de História do Brasil* (Lessons on the History of Brazil), which was written by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo as commissioned by the Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro, with the first editions published from 1861 to 1863. The work was initially intended for use in secondary education in the Imperial Colégio de Pedro II (Pedro II Imperial High School) and was used in various other secondary schools in Brazil, but there was also publication of a special version directed toward primary school in Brazil. This school textbook, which was complemented by Olavo Bilac in 1905 and by Rocha Pombo in 1914 and 1922, remained in use up to the first half of the 20th century. However, there were no significant changes in the function of construction of the biography of Brazil that would promote a certain idea of national identity among children and Brazilian youth.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Nationalization; History; Textbook; History Teaching; Primary School; Brazil; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *Construction of the idea of national identity*

What does it mean to be Brazilian? Does it really make sense to speak of this 'being'? It is easy to affirm the existence of the nation of Brazil if we look only at geographical, juridical, or diplomatic aspects. Brazilian identity is thus defined as the attribute, the label of the conjoined population, or of the individuals that live within this formal framework. But it seems that nation and national identity require something more – as, for example, consensus around certain values, and a difference between it and other types of consensus, or between them and other national consensus. Indeed, since the end of the 19th century, many have doubted the cohesiveness of Brazil and/or the specific difference that distinguishes Brazil¹.

In *The Brazilian National Identity*, an essay written in 1990, Michel Debrun² asks what it is to be Brazilian, a question he asks the reader and himself, as one who wishes to understand the sense and the feeling of a specific place, marked by incongruities, inequalities, and regionalisms, at the same time in which he seeks, even if in a tentative way, affinities and a collective sense of belonging.

Debrun interprets the invention of the Brazilian nation in an exercise of reflection around the constitution of the identity of the Brazilian people in the midst of a complex and nearly incomprehensible logic of exclusion and participation. This process stems from the «transformation into a nation of a political space previously circumscribed and closed by the chance events of a history», which led to the unification of the State.

For Debrun, in constructing an identity, it is necessary that society «becomes for itself what it already is in itself», i.e., after organizing and defining the economic and structural aspects, it is necessary to create a common consciousness that preserves what has already been established, or better, achieved, in accordance with current understanding, when dealing with the organization of a nation.

And it is precisely in the action of becoming for itself what the nation already is in itself, i.e., in fact, bringing about the establishment of Brazil in the mental sphere, that this article presents as its investigative purpose, interpretation of the formation of the Brazilian people through the national biography, especially the biography directed to the education of children and youth present in the school manuals of History.

¹ M. Debrun, *A identidade Nacional Brasileira*, *Estudos Avançados*, vol. 8, n. 8 jan./abr. 1990, pp. 39-49, in partic. p. 39.

² French philosopher born in Neuilly-sur-Seine in 1921 who came to live in Brazil (1957) and became a Full Professor and Emeritus Professor of the Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp) where he taught from 1970 to 1988), having helped to found the Institute of Philosophy, Politics, and Human Sciences. He died in Campinas, in 1997. Available at: <http://www.cle.unicamp.br/arquivoshistoricos/?destino=Michel_Debrun/debrun_biografia.html> (accessed: February 16, 2015).

In the face of the diversity of books on the History of Brazil, the choice was made to circumscribe this investigation to the work *Lições de História do Brasil* (Lessons on the History of Brazil) by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, written and updated by him from the years 1861 to 1863, but which continued in circulation up to the first half of the 20th century. This reason for the choice of this work lies in the fact of it having been written still in the Imperial Period of Brazil (1822-1889), but sold and used in the schools of the political regime that followed it, the Republic, up to 1950. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to analyze how the work was composed and then complemented by other authors, including two important Brazilian intellectuals, namely, Olavo Bilac³, who complemented the work as of the 1905 edition, who was followed, in the editions of 1914 and 1922, by another important Brazilian intellectual, Rocha Pombo⁴.

Based on interpretation of this work, we believe it to be an important instrument of the creation of a national identity, in view of the range that this manual, *História do Brasil*, by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, achieved in secondary and primary schools in the country in the period from 1861 to 1950. In general, the core concern of the work is educating (or gaining the assent of) the people to a national identity through the history of the Homeland.

Macedo's undertaking was not easy because, in Brazil, the concept of national identity needed to be understood and disseminated at the same time in which it was necessary to construct a Brazilian identity. Therefore, it must have

A mobile definition, subject to the fluctuation of relations of domination, but that, except for times of decadence or crisis, [seeks] transformation of these relations into a relation of hegemony because of the need itself that gave rise to invention of Nation. National identity, of society as a whole – in the sense in which Braudel speaks of the «identity of France» – then becomes possible, and not as a mere ideological artifact. In it, conflicts of classes, ethnicities, or regions have weight, even when intractable⁵.

³ Olavo Bilac (O. Braz Martins dos Guimarães B.), journalist, poet, educational inspector, born in Rio de Janeiro, RJ, on 16 December 1865 and died in the same city on 28 December 1918. Especially known for civic involvement, Bilac was an active republican. The poet was responsible for composing the words of the Anthem to the Flag. He was also famous for strong political convictions, which resulted in his having both sympathizers and opponents in the government. Available at: <<http://www.academia.org.br/abl/cgi/cgilua.exe/sys/start.htm?infoid=445&sid=184>> (accessed: February 16, 2015).

⁴ José Francisco da Rocha Pombo was born in Morretes, Paraná, Brazil on 4 December 1857. He was the son of Manuel Francisco Pombo and Angélica da Rocha. He died in Rio de Janeiro on 26 June 1933. Journalist, professor, poet, and historian, he began early in journalism upon founding and directing «The People», in the pages of which he made abolitionist and republican campaigns. His collaboration extended to other bodies of the province at that time, for which he was elected provincial representative in 1886. Available at: <<http://www.academia.org.br/abl/cgi/cgilua.exe/sys/start.htm?infoid=216&sid=349>> (accessed: February 16, 2015).

⁵ Debrun, *A identidade Nacional Brasileira*, cit., pp. 42-43.

Based on the premise of Fernand Braudels, it may be inferred that, not being a mere ideological artifact, identity may materialize. This materialization, however, goes beyond the aspect that is purely concrete or empty of meaning. Culture, for example, may be a form of materialization upon synthesizing factors of national integration, such as language, festivities, and folklore. In addition, identity becomes concrete through common elements of identification, such as historical monuments, national anthem, flag, and books.

In regard to the educational formation of the Brazilian populace, materialization of identity in books stands out, because if in construction of the nation the people were for the most part on the margins of happenings, from the perspective of exclusion, it is now necessary to construct a new relationship, of participation. The identity of the Brazilian people must thus be taught because, otherwise, it will not exist. In the final analysis, without a History of Brazil, Brazil will not be able to come into existence. This, perhaps, could be the concern of entities, personalities, and governing authorities in the matter of the teaching of History at the end of the 19th century.

Even though the production of this identity was made without the participation of most Brazilians, time was pressing for all to become aware of this process. Thus, organizing a History of Brazil to be taught was a fundamental strategy for disseminating pride and unity in a nation, even though school was reserved for a reduced portion of the population up to the beginning of the 20th century.

Thus, if Debrun⁶ cast doubt on the identity of Brazilian, it may be said that Joaquim Manuel de Macedo and the responsibility granted to him by the IHGB-Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Brazilian History and Geography Institute) worked to remove such suspicion. Distrust of Brazilian national identity may have been the same; however, the contemporary philosopher cast his gaze on the past in seeking national identity; Macedo works with a perspective of constructing the future, especially the future of the Homeland and construction of this identity.

2. Materialization and dissemination of a biography of the nation

In 1838, the IHGB was founded in the city of Rio de Janeiro, an institution charged with preserving the memory of the nation, favoring and organizing the collection of documents relevant to the history of the nation and, in addition, acting as the encouraging agent for teaching the History of Brazil in teaching establishments, which, according to Guimarães, had the

⁶ Debrun, *A identidade Nacional Brasileira*, cit.

[...] task of conceiving Brazil according to the specific postulates of a history committed to the unveiling of the process of genesis of a nation to which the scholars gathered through the IHGB dedicate themselves. The physiognomy sketched out for the nation of Brazil, which the historiography of the IHGB will take care to reinforce, seeks to produce a homogenization of a vision of Brazil within the Brazilian elite⁷.

Upon being established as the place for production of the Brazilian historical discourse and historiography, the IHGB assumes the official function since it was given provisions, especially through the Imperial government, of producing the true History of Brazil⁸. According to Gasparello and Mattos, the strategies of the institute were to grant awards and conduct competitions to encourage historical research and production in Brazil.

In preparing the socially sanctioned official history, they exercised their role: the historian – without adjectives – and the didactic historian – who wrote History books for teaching. One line, in the sphere of the High School⁹, that was begun by the controversial journalist/ intellectual and translator of textbooks of «Universal History», Justiniano José da Rocha, [...] Joaquim Manuel de Macedo was the first teacher of the High School to publish a compendium of *The History of Brazil*. Through him ends the phase of authors of national history who were not teachers of the institution, such as Bellegarde and Abreu e Lima, but who had their compendiums adopted by the High School¹⁰.

Elevated to the group of didactic historians, Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, was born on 24 June 1820 in São João de Itaboraí, 45 km distant from the city of Rio de Janeiro. It was there «that he lived out his childhood, undertook elementary studies [...] And at that point [...] the young Macedo was sent to the sovereign's palace for the purpose of preparing to enter the School of Medicine»¹¹.

He finished Medical studies in 1844, and «as of that point, as a doctor, only the memory of the kind treatment that many gave him upon calling him “dear

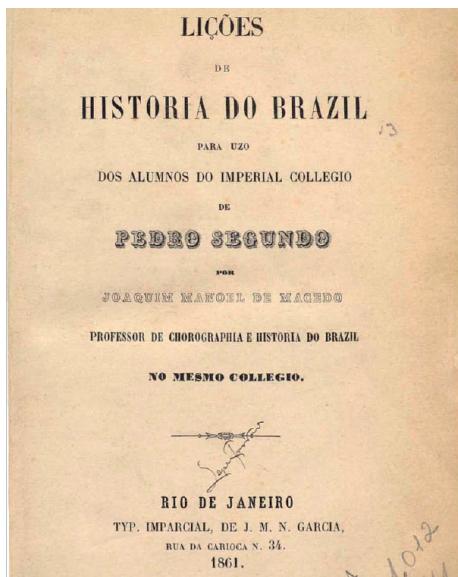
⁷ M.L.S. Guimarães, *Nação e civilização nos trópicos: o Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro e o projeto de uma história nacional*, «Estudos Históricos», n. 1, 1988, pp. 5-27, in partic. p. 6.

⁸ It seems important to observe that in the 19th century there was a strong distancing between the project of research in History and the project of school teaching of the subject, as upheld by the IHGB; for, in research, the aim was to gather, systematize, publish, or file the documents necessary for the History of Brazil and, in teaching, it was important to construct a biography of the nation (D. Gatti Jr., *Percorso histórico e desafios da disciplina História da Educação no Brasil*, in D. Gatti Jr., J. Pintassilgo (edd.), *Percursos e Desafios da Pesquisa e do Ensino de História da Educação*, Uberlândia/MG, Edufu, 2007, pp. 99-139, in partic. p. 106).

⁹ Reference to the Imperial Colégio de Pedro II (Pedro II Imperial High School), inaugurated in 1837, which became a model for secondary education in Brazil. Its teaching programs and manuals were taken as a reference in other establishments in the country.

¹⁰ A.M. Gasparello, *Construtores de identidades: a pedagogia da nação nos livros didáticos da escola secundária brasileira*, São Paulo, Iglu, 2004, p. 121.

¹¹ S.R. Mattos, *O Brasil em lições: a história como disciplina escolar em Joaquim Manuel de Macedo*, Rio de Janeiro, Access, 2000, p. 9.



Pic. 1. Cover of the book *Lessons on the History of Brazil*, intended for the students of the Imperial Colégio de Pedro II (Pedro II Imperial High School), by Joaquim Manuel de Mamedo, published in 1861. (Source: Biblioteca Digital do Senado Federal, <<http://www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/item/id/242433>>, accessed: January 15, 2015).



Pic. 2. Image of Joaquim Manuel de Mamedo dated 1866 (1820-1882). (Available at <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AJoaquim_Manuel_de_Macedo_1866b.jpg>, accessed: February 16, 2015).

Doctor Mamedo" would remain»¹² as he dedicated himself to various activities such as writer, politician, member of associations, and teacher, this last function being carried out in the Imperial Colégio de Pedro II, the period in which he answered the call to propose a manual of the History of Brazil that could be adopted in Brazilian schools.

In that year of 1861, Mamedo not only served one of the aims of the Institute. With *Lessons*, he also served one of the intentions of the founder of Colégio Pedro II [...] The effort and exertion of Mamedo revealed how, in their desire to ordain and civilize, imperial directors would be served by the instruments provided by Civilized Nations and by their time – the European 19th century, the century of History, of historians, and of the school public¹³.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Lições de História do Brasil had been written especially for adoption in History classes of the Colégio Pedro II, but afterwards, extended to the primary schools, with a version adapted by the author himself. Initially directed to students of secondary school, the manual of History innovated in its manner of teaching the subject and proved to be up-to-date with the foreign trends for the school subject.

Mattos points out the innovation of the lessons, which foresaw two distinct situations for development of the content – the first for the students of the Colégio Pedro II, and the second for students of schools of primary education. As of his manual, the teaching of History frequently came to be characterized by the two-term construct: lessons and questions.

Table 1. Didactic-methodological schema used in *Lições de História do Brasil*, with differentiation between that directed to secondary education and primary education

| Lições de História do Brasil | | |
|---|--|------------|
| Institution | Content | Reader |
| Imperial Colégio de Pedro II (secondary education) | Text + synoptic table | Students* |
| Primary Schools (primary education) | Text + explanations + synoptic table + questions | Children** |
| (*) Refers to the students of Colégio Pedro II. | | |
| (**) Refers to primary school students. | | |

Source: Adapted from Mattos, *O Brasil em lições*, cit., p. 90.

Initially, eleven lessons were composed that encompassed the period of discovery and proceeded to the establishment of the colony. The official version for use in History classes in Colégio Pedro II were made up of text and synoptic table, a format that, compared to the version adapted for the primary schools, induces one to perceive greater mastery of reading and understanding from the student, or at least greater demands in these queries on the part of teachers of the model high school. The companion work for the other schools was composed of lessons, explanations of specific terms, synoptic tables, and questions.

Table 2. Comparison between the table of contents of the work *Lições de História do Brasil* directed to secondary school and the adaptation directed to primary school

| Colégio de Pedro II 1 st volume: for students in the 4 th grade | | | Adaptation for other schools Single volume | | |
|--|---|------|---|---|------|
| Lesson | Theme | n.p* | Lesson | Theme | n.p* |
| I | Preliminary Considerations | 16 | I | Preliminary Ideas | 05 |
| II | Discovery of Brazil | 10 | II | Discovery of Brazil – 1500 | 05 |
| III | First Explorations | 10 | III | First explorations of Brazil 1501-1526 | 05 |
| IV | Cristóvão Jacques and Martim Afonso de Souza | 11 | IV | Cristóvão Jacques and Martim Afonso de Souza 1531-1533 | 04 |
| V | Brazil in general – Peoples that inhabited the territory at the time of discovery On the heathen of Brazil in general On the heathen of Brazil in relation to family The heathen of Brazil in social relationships | 28 | V | Brazil in general – The heathen of Brazil | 05 |
| VI | The System of Colonization of Brazil used by D. João III (1534-1549) | 10 | VI | The heathen of Brazil (continuation) The heathen of Brazil in relation to family | 08 |
| VII | First Recipients of the Hereditary Captaincies in Brazil | 13 | VII | The System of colonization used in Brazil by D. João III | 05 |
| VIII | Establishment of a general government in Brazil; Tomé de Souza – first Governor-General of Brazil | 10 | VIII | (continuation of the preceding) first recipient of hereditary captaincies in Brazil of 1534 | 04 |
| IX | Duarte da Costa, second Governor-General of Brazil | 10 | IX | Establishment of a general government in Brazil: Tomé de Souza – first Governor-General of Brazil | 04 |
| X | Mem de Sá – third Governor-General of Brazil | 10 | X | Duarte da Costa, second Governor-General of Brazil | 05 |
| XI | Division of Brazil in two governments, subsequent joining in one only. Spanish domination | 07 | XI | Mem de Sá – third Governor-General of Brazil | 05 |

(*) n.p = number of pages.

Source: Adapted from Mattos, *O Brasil em lições*, cit., pp. 91-92.

Later, through the effort of the author himself, the work was expanded, and it reached a total of 39 lessons, the last three wholly composed of chronological indices, a model that afterwards will be used in the updating carried out by other authors.

Table 3. Comparison between the table of contents of the work *Lições de História do Brasil* directed to secondary school and the adaptation directed to primary school (continuation)

| Colégio Pedro II (secondary) 2 nd volume: for students in the 7 th grade | | | Adaptation for other schools (primary) Single volume | | |
|---|---|------|---|---|------|
| Lesson | Theme | n.p* | Lesson | Theme | n.p* |
| I | Spanish control: general considerations. The state of Brazil in 1581 | 10 | XII | Division of Brazil in two governments, subsequent joining in only one. Spanish control 1573-1578 | 04 |
| II | General-government of Manuel Telles Barreto. Two provisional governments, one preceding and the other succeeding it 1581-1591 | 11 | XIII | The state of Brazil when it passed to Spanish control – 1581 | 04 |
| III | D. Francisco de Souza and Diogo Botelho, seventh and eighth governor-generals of Brazil 1591-1607 | 14 | XIV | General-government of Manuel Telles Barreto. Two provisional governments, one preceding and another succeeding it 1581-1591 | 05 |
| IV | New division of Brazil in two governments and subsequent joining in only one – the French in Maranhão | 11 | XV | D. Francisco de Souza and Diogo Botelho, seventh and eighth governor-generals of Brazil 1591-1607 | 06 |

(*) n.p = number of pages.

Source: Adapted from Mattos, *O Brasil em lições*, cit., p. 92.

In the series of lessons, one observes the extensive dedication of Joaquim Manuel de Macedo to the theme of Dutch occupation of Brazil, for him, the most highly relevant fact when dealing with an intended unity of the people – the Portuguese, Black and indigenous populations. Though they had diverse interests, according to the author, they mobilized their efforts around a central issue, expelling the Dutch, and the consequent harmony and unity of the future nation.

Table 4. Comparison between the table of contents of the work *Lições de História do Brasil* directed to secondary school and the adaptation directed to primary school (continuation)

| Colégio Pedro II (secondary) 2 nd volume: for students in the 7 th grade | | | Adaptation for other schools (primary) Single volume | | |
|---|---|------|---|---|------|
| Lesson | Theme | n.p* | Lesson | Theme | n.p* |
| V | First invasion of the Dutch. Loss and return of the city of Salvador | 13 | XVI | New division of Brazil in two governments and subsequent union. French in Maranhão – three new captaincies and a state in the North in Brazil 1608-1622 | 05 |
| VI | Second invasion of the Dutch: loss of Olinda and Recife and subsequent war up to the retreat of Matias de Albuquerque – 1630-1635 | 16 | XVII | First invasion of the Dutch. Loss and return of the city of Salvador | 06 |
| VII | Dutch War: from the retreat of Matias de Albuquerque to the acclamation of D. João IV in Brazil 1635-1641 | 13 | XVIII | Second invasion of the Dutch: loss of Olinda and Recife and subsequent war up to the retreat of Matias de Albuquerque – 1630-1635 | 07 |
| VIII | The state of Maranhão and the various captaincies from Bahia to the south, from the first invasion of the Dutch to the period of regeneration of Portugal 1624-1641 | 13 | XIX | Dutch wars: from the retreat of Matias de Albuquerque to the acclamation of D. João IV in Brazil 1635-1641 | 05 |
| IX | Dutch War in Brazil from the acclamation of D. João IV to the Pernambucan Revolt – 1641-1645 | 10 | XX | The state of Maranhão and the various captaincies from Bahia to the south, from the first invasion of the Dutch to the regeneration of Portugal 1624-1641 | 05 |
| X | Last period of the Dutch War: from the breakup of the Pernambucan Revolt to the capitulation of Taborda 1645-1654 | 20 | XXI | Dutch War in Brazil from the acclamation of D. João IV to the breakup of the Pernambucan Revolt – 1641-1645 | 05 |
| XI | Peace between Portugal and Holland. Causes of the breakdown of Dutch power in Brazil, and the triumph of the Pernambucan people. Result of the war. 1661 | 07 | XXII | Dutch War from the breakup of the Pernambucan Revolt 1641-1645 | 06 |

(*) n.p = number of pages.

Source: Adapted from Mattos, *O Brasil em lições*, cit., pp. 92-93.

Having exhausted the theme of the presence of the Dutch in the Northeast of Brazil, treated as eradication of the greatest evil to the nation (though in the version adapted for the use of primary school students, the topic was broken down into smaller persistent lessons) Macedo begins the long Brazilian monarchy project, which for him was the chance result of the Portuguese political and cultural influence in the colonial period.

Table 5. Comparison between the table of contents of the work *Lições de História do Brasil* directed to secondary school and the adaptation directed to primary school (continuation)

| Colégio Pedro II (secondary) 2 nd volume: for students of the 7 th grade | | | Adaptation for other schools (primary) Single volume | | |
|---|--|------|---|---|------|
| Lesson | Theme | n.p* | Lesson | Theme | n.p* |
| XII | Administrative mistakes in Brazil: popular uprisings, discoveries, modifications and development of civil and ecclesiastical administration – struggle between Jesuits and colonists – Maranhão Trading Company – Beckman Revolt 1652-1655 | 17 | XXIII | Dutch War, from the second Battle of Guararapes up to the peace treaty signed between Portugal and Holland 1648-1661 | 05 |
| XIII | Destruction of Palmares. Civil wars of peddlers in Pernambuco and of <i>emboabas</i> (fortune seekers) in Minas 1675-1714 | 14 | XXIV | Reforms and development of civil and religious administration in Brazil. Questions regarding the Indians. Maranhão Trade Company. Beckman Revolt 1652-1685 | 06 |
| XIV | Effects of the war of succession of Spain in Brazil. Skirmishes with the Spanish in the South: hostility of the French commanded by Duclerc and by Duguay-Trouin in Rio de Janeiro. Treaties of Utrecht and of Madrid 1678-1750 | 16 | XXV | Destruction of Palmares. Civil wars of peddlers in Pernambuco and of <i>emboabas</i> (fortune seekers) in Minas 1675-1714 | 06 |
| XV | Development and progress of Brazil under the reign of D. João V 1706-1750 | 08 | XXVI | Founding of the colony of Sacramento. Effects of the war of succession in Spain on Brazil. Skirmishes with the Spanish in the south. Two attacks on Rio de Janeiro by the French in 1678 and 1750 | 05 |
| XVI | Reign of D. José I: issues and struggles in the South of Brazil: Jesuits and their expulsion: the Marquis of Pombal. 1750-1777 | 14 | XXVII | Development and progress of Brazil under the reign of D. João V 1706-1750 | 04 |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--|----|--------|--|----|
| XVII | First ideas of independence of Brazil: frustrated conspiracy in Minas Gerais. 1786-1792 | 13 | XXVIII | Reign of D. José I: issues and struggles in the South of Brazil: Jesuits and their expulsion: the Marquis of Pombal. Treaty of San Idelfonso 1750-1777 | 06 |
| XVIII | Transmigration of the royal family of Bragança to Brazil: seat of the Portuguese monarchy in Brazil. 1807-1815 | 10 | XXIX | First ideas of independence of Brazil: frustrated conspiracy in Minas Gerais. 1786-1792 | 04 |
| XIX | Wars with the Spanish in the south and with the French in the north of Brazil. Republican revolution in Pernambuco 1801-1821 | 21 | XXX | Transmigration of the royal family of Bragança to Brazil: seat of the Portuguese monarchy in Rio de Janeiro. 1807-1815 | 04 |
| XX | Portuguese Revolution in 1820: its effects on Brazil. Return of the Portuguese Royalty to Lisbon 1820-1821 | 10 | XXXI | Wars with the Spanish in the south and with the French in the north of Brazil 1801-1821 | 05 |
| XXI | First months of the Regency of D. Pedro in Brazil 1821 | 12 | XXXII | Republican revolution in Pernambuco 1817-1818 | 05 |
| XXII | From the day of the "I remain" until the day of Ipiranga | 13 | XXXIII | Portuguese Revolution in 1820: its effects on Brazil. Return of the Portuguese Royalty to Lisbon 1820-1821 | 07 |
| XXIII | Acclamation and coronation of the 1 st Emperor of Brazil. War of Independence – conclusion | 07 | XXXIV | First months of the Regency of D. Pedro in Brazil 1821 | 05 |
| (*) n.p = number of pages. | | | | | |

Source: Adapted from Mattos, *O Brasil em lições*, cit., pp. 93-94.

As of this point, the work extends for 16 more lessons, which reinforces the fractionary aspect taken on for the version for the primary schools, especially for lesson number 39, which goes to the year 1852 by way of a chronological index of the history of the Brazilian empire.

Table 6. Comparison between the 2nd volume for the Colégio Pedro II and continuation of the adapted work for other schools

| Lesson | Theme | n.p* |
|--------|--|------|
| XXXV | From the day of the "I remain" until the day of Ipiranga – 1822 | 07 |
| XXXVI | Acclamation and coronation of the 1 st Emperor of Brazil. War of Independence – 1822-1823 | 04 |

| | | |
|----------------------------|---|----|
| XXXVII | Chronological index of the history of the Brazilian Empire. Reign of Emperor Pedro I | 08 |
| XXXVIII | Chronological index of the history of the Brazilian Empire. Reign of Emperor Pedro I | 07 |
| XXXIX | Chronological index of the history of the Brazilian Empire. From the declaration of adulthood of D. Pedro II up to the year 1852. | 07 |
| (*) n.p = number of pages. | | |

Source: Adapted from Mattos, *O Brasil em lições*, cit., p. 95.

In regard to the adaptation of the work, originally written for the use of the students of the Imperial Colégio de Pedro II, for schools of primary education, it may be seen that for the latter group, the texts are shorter and, frequently, a theme taken up in a single lesson in the first book was broken down into two or three in the second. This leads to the understanding that there was a concern in regard to the choice of most appropriate language, of the division and length of the lessons, and of the teaching method, less centered on the student and on theoretical study and more dependent on the contribution of the teacher and of practical exercises.

3. “A genealogy of good guys”¹⁴

In the biography of the nation brought about by Macedo¹⁵, in the midst of wars and insurrections and the entire hostile environment that could give rise to the narrative, the lessons do not make room for any doubtful thought that chance could have prevailed. In a linear history, marked by civilizing progress at the hands of the Emperor, people were to accommodate themselves to new realities, as spectators of the occurrences that slowly led the country to a masterful conclusion. At the same time, the protagonists of national history are strategically positioned in crucial places and times to constitute and maintain the homeland. In the *Lições* of Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, this engineering

¹⁴ Tânia Serra defines the national history produced by Macedo as a «genealogy of the good guys», especially as of the exercise of polarization that the author continually makes between enemies and providers of the nation (T. Serra, *Prolegômenos a uma mitografia macediana: Lições de História do Brasil (1861-5)*, XXI Encontro Nacional da AnpOLL, Porto Alegre, PUCRS, 2006, <http://www.ppgl.ufpa.br/historia_da_literatura/tania.php>, accessed: February 16, 2015).

¹⁵ J.M. Macedo, *Lições de Historia do Brazil. Para uso dos alumnos do Imperial Collegio de Pedro II*, Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Imparcial, 1861.

[...] Values the processes of change developed in a «political and intelligent» manner – with the use of argumentation, of coming to «agreements», of the ability to take advantage of the right and opportune moment – by «generous and illustrious» men who represent the «people». Such changes are not extemporaneous; they were long cultivated by the «progress of ideas», yet maintaining the social order, as is fitting to generous and «unselfish» men¹⁶.

The Lessons are therefore structured around narration of the military facts of the nation, such as wars, uprisings, revolts, and conspiracies, but, above all, how the country was able to turn back the chaos, protect the territory, and promote integration. On the other hand, Tânia Serra directs his analysis to the fact that «these wars clearly show two opposing forces, which may roughly be described as “the good guys” – the Portuguese, and the “bad guys” the heathens, the French, or the Dutch»¹⁷.

The Portuguese are presented as those that not only freed Brazil from themselves, but did it responsibly, leaving one of their children to guide the people through an unknown and dangerous pathway, that of division and unending conflict. Thus, Independence could not have been carried out through hands other than those of the Portuguese because, in this scenario, it is clear that there are not Brazilians, but only internal and external enemies in the midst of a people awaiting a redeemer. However,

The major theme, given through the importance it represented in development of the unit, is the theme of the «Dutch», which is dealt with over several lessons [...] In this sphere, the «Pernambucan Revolt» is identified as the founding act of national feeling, with the unity of the colonist and the submissive elements in the social hierarchy, the Indians and the Black population, who as of that time found their due ‘place’: recognized and commended, but as subordinate components and only to the extent that they are allied with and defend the cause of the metropolitan agents¹⁸ and of the white lords¹⁹.

This movement, in contrast with the others that emerged throughout the territory, was taken by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo to operate as the unifying element of the Brazilian people. Occupying a significant part of his book, the invasion, permanence, and expulsion of the Dutch provide the formational elements necessary to justify the peace and unity necessary for future constitution of an independent Brazil.

In the midst of a defined political, economic, social, and cultural context, with the state of war as a backdrop, Macedo weaves the historical plot that

¹⁶ A.M. Gasparello, *A pedagogia da nação nos livros didáticos de História do Brasil do Colégio Pedro II*, in *II Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação: História e memória da educação brasileira*, 2002, Natal. *II Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação*. 2002, Natal, Anais, Natal-Núcleo de Arte e Cultura da UFRN, 2002, p. 7.

¹⁷ Serra, *Prolegômenos a uma mitografia macediana*, cit., p. 1.

¹⁸ In reference to the Crown, seated in Lisbon.

¹⁹ Gasparello, *A pedagogia da nação nos livros didáticos de História do Brasil do Colégio Pedro II*, cit., p. 7. Emphasis in the original.

was able to accommodate the power of the Portuguese, the productive activity of the colonists, and the oppression of Blacks and Indians, who, in the text, all appear called to the same matter: defense against the outside enemy.

The Inconfidência Mineira²⁰, for example, did not achieve the same success in the logic of Macedo²¹. In spite of being presented in the lesson concerned with listing the first independence movements, it was reported as the existence of a juvenile force in Europe to study at the same time in which it stirred up the idea of breaking away from Portugal. In this respect, the enemy now was internal; however, combat of it should not be any less.

Entertaining the hypothesis of the triumph of this revolution [the Inconfidência Mineira], the consequence would be the establishment of the republic, a governmental system in clear disharmony with the education, customs, and inclinations of the people, [...] as was indicated in another lesson, the republican system of government is opposed to the temperament and the education of the Brazilian people²².

The question of genealogy in the work of Macedo is therefore a fundamental undertaking for construction of the national history and this appears throughout the lessons, but in a more visible manner in the synoptic tables and in the chronological listings, whose fundamental characteristics show the conclusive sense of the fact and the linear and linked sequential understanding of the history.

4. Continuations of the Lições of Macedo between the Empire and the Republic in Brazil

Even after the end of the monarchy in 1889, the *Lições* of Joaquim Manuel de Macedo continued to be used in public school, a sign of the didactic and historiography prestige the work had attained, showing how much the History of Brazil corresponded to the narrative created by Macedo. However, according to scholars of the life and work of Macedo, he was a defender of the monarchy, and especially the figure of the Emperor, therefore raising the question as to how the book could be maintained in the succeeding political regimes, arriving up to the 1950s.

²⁰ The *Inconfidência Mineira*, or Minas Gerais Conspiracy, was a revolt which occurred in the period including the Gold Cycle (Brazilian Gold Rush) in what was then the captaincy of Minas Gerais. The so-called conspirators fought against enforcement of laws and excessive collection of taxes and against the dominion itself of the Portuguese. The movement was aborted by the Portuguese government in 1789.

²¹ Refers to the thought of Joaquim Manuel de Macedo.

²² Macedo, *Lições de Historia do Brazil. Para uso dos alunos do Imperial Colégio de Pedro II*, cit., p. 225.

Of the manuals used in the Colégio Pedro II throughout the imperial period, the one that most spread beyond the walls of the school establishment was that of Joaquim Manuel de Macedo. Up to 1905, the manual was made up of 39 lessons. That year, to be published in its tenth edition, a «Notice» signed by O.B. was included in it, who was in fact Olavo Bilac, the editor charged with «completing this compendium», a task fulfilled in such a way as to «respect the plan adopted by its author». The lessons in reference to the War of the Triple Alliance resulted, securely of the complementation undertaken, because, even before the death of Macedo, the programs of Colégio Pedro II did not report the event in the list of the foreseen contents²³.

The longevity of the manual may be related to two factors: (a) the need for preservation of an established tradition; and (b) the treatment of new unquestionable facts, though not for that reason facts to be remembered. In addition to these two aspects, there are others that may compete for interpretation of the issue, as is the case of the definition itself of the field of History in the sphere of positive sciences; the economic scenario for the publishing and printing market; and maintenance of the work in the list of readings indicated in the school subject plans of the Colégio Pedro II and, consequently, adoption in the other schools that followed its guidelines.

The narrative of Joaquim Manuel de Macedo had already established itself in both the school environment and in the scientific environment of historical research. According to Martins²⁴, Macedo created the History of Brazil because his work came to represent the true national history and the consensus view of the homeland, i.e., instituting a historiographic tradition.

The need to preserve this tradition is announced in the «Notice» provided by Olavo Bilac that precedes the preface of the first edition in the revision of the work in 1905. Such a posture may be seen when compared to the previous version, updated under the care of Macedo; i.e., what Bilac did was expand the manual up to the period of the republic, a political occurrence that Macedo was not able to witness in life.

In lesson number 48, Abolition and the Republic appear as themes, the latter being treated more deeply in the subsequent lesson. For Bilac, the new political regime appeared in the wake of modernization of the nation, together with tardy emancipation of slaves, a fact that was brought to fulfillment in various parts of the world.

Thus, «the Republic was a longtime and never stifled aspiration of Brazil. Abolition, displeasing the farmers, and successive ‘military issues’, displeasing the army, caused irritation that was skillfully taken advantage of by the republican party»²⁵. This lesson, after reproducing the speeches of the military

²³ G.L. Alves, C.V. Centeno, *A produção de manuais didáticos de história do Brasil: remontando ao século XIX e início do século XX*, «Revista Brasileira de História da Educação», vol. 14, n. 42, set./dez. 2009, pp. 469-487, in partic. p. 474. Emphasis in the original.

²⁴ W. Martins, *História da inteligência brasileira*, 3 voll., São Paulo, Cultrix, 1976.

²⁵ J.M. Macedo, *Lições de História do Brasil*, Version revised and expanded by Olavo Bilac,

leaders that instituted the provisional government, nevertheless ends with the announcement of the death of D. Pedro II in Paris in 1891.

Nevertheless, upon expanding the work, new facts inevitably appeared that would lead to rewriting of the work but, even so, they had little impact on questioning the original text, providing more an aspect of complementing and continuing than revising and updating as announced on the cover of the work. An example of this was the treatment given to Tiradentes, the representative figure of the independence movement that originated in Minas Gerais.

Both in the previous version and in the updating promoted by O. Bilac in the «first ideas of Brazilian independence», the theme of lesson 24, emphasis was given to the action of the Portuguese Royal Court in combating the activities of incitement of uprisings in the region, presenting, on the one hand, illustrious youth who in the period of studies in Europe aspired to the independence of Brazil and, on the other hand, Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, a figure given less exposure who, nevertheless, comes to be considered the articulator of the movement and the main enemy.

Thanks to D. Maria I who by royal charter of October 15, 1790 had converted the death penalty into perpetual banishment, the ill-fated convicted prisoners escaped the hanging scaffold, except for the second lieutenant Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, *Tira-dentes*, who was considered by the jurisdiction as a *criminal not subject to pardon*, in accordance with an unfortunate exception left by the same royal charter, climbed to the gallows in April 21, 1792, showing the most unshaken courage both before and during execution, leaving his name, or better his nickname, to this conspiracy and remaining in high renown²⁶.

O. Bilac expanded detailing of the movement, adding on a paragraph, definition of the flag of the new republic, as well as of the actions of the new government, such as the creation of a university and transfer of the capital of Minas Gerais, and especially, the end of charging back debts from the extraction and sale of gold, a measure that would most respond to the dissatisfaction that fed the movement. Nevertheless, the image of a subversive movement was more prominent than that of a revolutionary movement and, therefore, did not combine with the intention that would succeed the new regime of portraying Tiradentes as a martyr of the Republic.

This account seems to corroborate the interpretation that unquestionable facts are not necessarily to be remembered, or at least, this demands more time than the updating of a schoolbook can register. In *Lições de História do Brasil* updated by O. Bilac, for example, the Inconfidência Mineira still appeared as an enemy movement and the establishment of the Republic was presented at times

Rio de Janeiro-Paris, Livraria Garnier, 1905, p. 429. Emphasis in the original.

²⁶ J.M. Macedo, *Lições de História do Brasil*, Version revised and expanded by Rocha Pombo, Rio de Janeiro-Paris, Livraria Garnier, 1923, p. 269.

as a fact apart from the nation, or as a natural development, being summarized in a succession of chronological facts.

Even in the last revision, prepared by Rocha Pombo, there are, in fact, no substantial modifications from the original text. It is noteworthy that the revision did not drive the author to review the facts according to the current political perspective. The reviser of that time maintains the same notice given by O. Bilac, of completing the work and respecting the methodology used by its author and preserves the updating in fashion, limiting himself to expanding the work by two more lessons with the inclusion of chronological indices for the period from 1890 to 1914.

Final considerations

At the end of this study, with the aim of analyzing the strategy of shaping the identity of the Brazilian people in the period from 1860 to 1951 through the work *Lições de História do Brasil*, recognized as one of the main biography of the nation used in schools, written by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo, it is possible to suggest some conclusions, although the feeling remains of the need for continuation of the investigation. Initially,

The Lições of Joaquim Manuel de Macedo were important to meet some objectives of the Brazilian Empire through teaching: a) to affirm the need for centralization of the government to ensure territorial unity; b) to keep people faithful to the Catholic faith, and c) to make people know and accept their place in the hierarchy of the manor. At the same time, it met the objectives of historiography of the time, that of making a «biography of the Brazilian nation», seeking the place of Brazil on the stage of civilized nations, showing its origins and its ‘incredible’ path, always toward progress²⁷.

More than that, the work may be considered an instrument for creating identity, for it functioned as an extension of the producers of true discourse, at that time the IHGB, the Colégio Pedro II, and governmental power itself, funding, publicizing, and authenticating the narrative produced by Macedo for the schools of the nation at the same time that it designed a biography of the nation and a historiographic tradition.

Enthusiasm for civilization and progress, which may be perceived in the history of the nation of Macedo, was embodied in the ethos of an educated Brazilian society, which was materialized not only by the demand for a school

²⁷ M.R.C. Künzle, *Resenha a: Mattos, S.R. de. O Brasil em lições: a história como disciplina escolar em Joaquim Manuel de Macedo* (Rio de Janeiro, Access, 2000), «Educar», n. 22, 2003, pp. 301-404, in partic. p. 403. Emphasis in the original.

manual, but by the need for written production regarding the nation for shaping the identity of the Brazilian people through the school system.

The discourse chosen by Macedo draws near a genealogy of good men, who with the backdrop of the state of war, attained the glory of men and women to be remembered. History formed by the hands of others, though for guiding popular participation, is one of the fundamental characteristics of the *Lições*.

The work, for its part, marked by longevity and broad circulation, underwent at least two revision procedures without, however, leading to deep changes in the narrative. In other words, throughout the revisions the work passed through at the hands of those other than the original author, the historiographic and pedagogical tradition was maintained.

Moreover, the *Lições* show that history produced and taught may be different than the lived social and political context. An example of this is the perpetuation of the feeling for the monarchy, of educating the citizen-subject constructed by Macedo, even in times of the republic and democracy, times in which aspirations of educating the informed citizen or the patriotic citizen competed.

At any rate, the role played by Joaquim Manuel de Macedo in production of a biography of the nation is recognized. Whether from the point of view of historiography, of pedagogy, or of national security, the author of the *Lições de História do Brasil* strove to do that which Debrun²⁸ indicates as essential for the construction of national identity, which is to make the nation «becomes for itself what it already is in itself», even though the success of such an undertaking, as well as the devices used by the author, are to be questioned.

²⁸ Debrun, *A identidade Nacional Brasileira*, cit.

«The beloved face of the fatherland». The role of the landscape into the processes of national identity building

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ABSTRACT: This work reconstructs the relationship between landscape and national identity: its purpose is to study the nationalization of the landscape and how the landscape, mediated by the school culture, built the national identity. The insistence of textbooks, readings, exemplary letters, on national beauties – natural or artistic – was part of a precise plan which aimed to make heritage (cultural and natural) the point of contact between landscape (and tourism) and nationalist impulses. Also the urban landscape was used in an ideological key. Monuments, statues, memorials stones, war cemeteries, but also cathedrals and churches were subject to a process of nationalization, most of all after the WWI. Finally, the A. studied the role of two associations (the Italian Alpine Club and the Italian Touring Club) in making the geographical space a vehicle of nationalization.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Landscape; Nationalization; Cultural Identity; Primary School; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

Introduction

In very recent years in Britain, Germany and Italy interesting researches on the genesis of the national landscape have been published. These are books that combine environmental, cultural, political and social history in a multidisciplinary perspective. In this happy mix between different knowledge, the educational dimension is not always fully appreciated; instead, it should be central in a speech that wants to investigate the dynamics through which the process of national identity building passed.

This research aims to fit into this European discourse about the relationship between landscape and national identity between the nineteenth and twentieth

Centuries, reserving a significant space to the educational dimension. Its purpose is to study the nationalization of the landscape and how the landscape, mediated by the school culture, constructed the national identity.

With the term landscape I am not referring to the natural environment, to the wilderness as defined in the Anglo-Saxon culture, but to the idea of the landscape that has been passed through the filter of specific teaching and cultural practices: readings and letters¹ in the textbooks, pages dedicated to the teaching of geography, specific teaching aids such as atlases and wall charts, children's novels, illustrated albums, postcards and so on.

It is from the reciprocal relationship between these two dimensions, the real space and the imagined/described space, that was born the modern landscape construction² and its use in an educational key. They are two complementary meanings, one that refers to the physical reality made up of mountains, lakes, rivers, islands, and so on, and the other given by the cultural construct of those who describe the landscape (i.e. the observers), that are animated, concerning the fiction for young students, with educational purposes. Consider, as an example, the role played by Rousseau in the renewal of the image of the Alps, presented as the supreme refuge of freedom and honesty.

Real or narrated, the landscape, since the post Unit decades, has played a significant role in the project dedicated to construct the Italian consciousness. Two books, published in the late nineteenth century and soon became two bestsellers, prove it: *Il Bel Paese* written by the abbot Antonio Stoppani and *Il viaggio per l'Italia di Giannettino*, work in three volumes signed by Collodi. Both books have been read by generations of students at school.

Also some associations born in those years contributed to the project, starting from the Italian Alpine Club (CAI) and especially from the Italian Touring Club (TCI), key elements in the project of nationalization of the masses through tourism.

Travel and landscape, then, in order to learn about Italy, that was also the aim of abbot Stoppani. And the knowledge of Italy meant the appropriation of the geographical and symbolic space of the country, internalizing the external landscape as part of a collective identity³. Not infrequently in the narrative reconstructions this 'external' landscape was a reflection of the inner one, the so-called landscape of the soul. Consider the stereotype, spread by schoolbooks, of the highlander, whose character appeared to be harsh, rude, sometimes wild, in the manner of his place of origin. In contrast to these profiles of real mountaineers – feature later enhanced by the warmongering rhetoric –

¹ See F. Targhetta, *Paesaggio e identità nazionale nelle lettere esemplari dal Belpaese*, «Ricerche Pedagogiche», n. 191, 2014, pp. 27-32.

² D. Blackbourn, *The conquest of Nature. Water, landscape and the making of modern Germany*, New York, W.W. Norton e Co., 2006.

³ M. Armiero, *Le montagne della patria. Natura e nazione nella storia d'Italia. Secoli XIX e XX*, Torino, Einaudi, 2013, p. 44.

the nature of citizens appears feeble, weakened by unhealthy air and by the comforts of modernity. A pristine landscape, as claimed by the abbot Stoppani, corresponded to a spirit not corrupt.

1. *What is the landscape? And what kind of landscape?*

Before continuing it is necessary to explain what I mean talking about the landscape: is it a physical space, often particularly evocative? Is it, instead, an 'imaginary' place, confined in perception, or in memory, of the beholder? Is it, in short, something objective, given and unchangeable, or something subjective, with a different meaning depending on the historical and cultural background of the individual viewer? The answer is Solomonic, as both interpretations are partly true. Recent studies, in fact, reconstruct the changes of value of the word «landscape» during the last centuries, until it took a polysemy of meanings.

According to its original meaning, debtor of artistic culture, the landscape suggested a painting of uncontaminated spaces, nature, bucolic countryside, snowy hills, and so on. This definition is then passed in the common sense, which tends to bring the landscape to the view, the scenario, always giving a positive, evocative, 'romantic' meaning. Thinking about a landscape necessarily means thinking about something beautiful.

Today the scholars, in the not simple attempt to define the landscape, include the reference both to the physical space and to the perceptual reality, opening to a complex definition, articulated in a cultural and sensorial sense⁴. Suitable is the definition given by Giuliana Andreotti in her attempt to distinguish the territory from the landscape: she defines the landscape the «superior system» of the physical place, something alive and pulsating with a memory and a language «acquired through the long sediment of processes of interaction between man and environment»⁵.

Landscape therefore is the result of the relationship between man and environment, an arithmetic operation which requires the presence of both factors. A concept repeated also by the first article contained in the European Landscape Convention, signed in Florence in 2000: «landscape means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors»⁶. We must then emphasize that, according to

⁴ L. Scazzosi, *Limits to Transformation in Places' Identity: Theoretical and Methodological Questions*, in Z. Roca, P. Claval, J. Agnew (edd.), *Landscapes, Identities and Development*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011, pp. 9-24, in partic. p. 9.

⁵ G. Andreotti, *Riscontri di geografia culturale*, Trento, Valentina Trentini Editore, 2011 (I^a ed. 2005), p. 116.

⁶ <www.coe.int/t/dg4/culturalheritage/heritage/Landscape/VersionsConvention/Default_en.asp> (accessed: November 20, 2014).

the Convention, are to be included in the definition «landscapes that might be considered outstanding as well as everyday or degraded landscapes» (art. 2), overcoming the cliché we mentioned just above.

As a direct corollary, the landscape becomes malleable, sometimes artfully pliable by man. In this sense, the landscape is full of meanings, expectations, not neutral projections, but also it could be used for ideological and / or identity purposes.

Man, moreover, is capable not only of shaping a landscape; he can also train to a landscape, in the sense of educating – the younger generation, the native population, the stranger – to recognize the landscape, to protect it, to internalize it, to enhance it, and to love it. And it is this educational project that interests us here particularly; a project not always, or not only, conveyed in a political or ideological way, but also more simply in a aesthetic or artistic one. Just think of the role played by tourist guides, especially the famous Baedeker guides, able to create a preliminary gaze, «imposing the 'curiosities' that deserve to be seen according to the rules of good taste»⁷. They were not limited only to depict a region, but they often helped to shape it. Take the case of the guides, compiled by the Italian Touring Club (TCI) after 1918, for the «unredeemed lands» (the lands near Trento and Trieste), lands still poorly known in much of the Italian population. Describing for the first time the new provinces of Istria or Tyrol, the TCI «defined almost permanently their appearance, indeed in many cases it built their appearance artificially»⁸, for example by giving new names. A pedagogy of national tourism which passed through the guides, but also through trips by bike, excursions, school trips organized by institutions and associations.

2. *Building of the national identity in the late nineteenth century*

The unification of Italy in 1861 involved, as is known, the need to build a shared national consciousness in million of new citizens, linked by belonging to the same kingdom, but, at least until the end of the century, still far in many respects. It was the school, and the primary school first and foremost, to be responsible for this delicate role, to be the transmission belt of a shared humus, of a national ethos that it was all to reinvent⁹. And to (re)build a nation implied

⁷ A. Rauch, *Le vacanze e la rivisitazione della natura (1830-1939)*, in A. Corbin (ed.), *L'invenzione del tempo libero 1850-1960*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1996, pp. 85-122, in partic. p. 100.

⁸ L. Di Mauro, *L'Italia e le guide turistiche dall'Unità ad oggi*, in C. De Seta (ed.), *Il paesaggio, in Storia d'Italia, Annali 5*, Torino, Einaudi, 1982, pp. 369-428, in partic. pp. 402-403.

⁹ See G. Chiosso, *Nazionalità ed educazione degli Italiani nel secondo Ottocento*, «Pedagogia e Vita», n. 4, 1987, pp. 421-440; and G. Talamo, *Scuola e nazione in Italia nei primi decenni post-unitari*, in P.L. Ballini, G. Pécout (edd.), *Scuola e nazione in Italia e in Francia nell'Ottocento*.

not only build a pantheon of national heroes – in head Vittorio Emanuele II and Cavour, followed by Garibaldi and, later, Mazzini – and borrow the Catholic heritage values as the collective ethical basis of the emerging nation-state¹⁰. It also meant, matter that here particularly interests us, take possession of the land and reshape the physical space, made of roads, cities, railways, ports, and so on. In this sense it can be argued that the relationship between nature and nation was not univocal, but it has lived on a mutual interdependence¹¹.

The process involved the populations who live within a certain region, implicated – despite themselves – in the development of stereotypes useful to the identity consolidation. As a constitutive element in the making of territorial identities, landscape becomes the medium through which the existing identities are generated, assumed and claimed¹². With a procedure somehow analogous to a projective identification, the characteristics of a specific region are shifted to the character (the nature!) of the inhabitants: they, by definition, in the popular imagination become firm as a rock, austere as an alpine landscape, lonely as a beech wood, and so on.

In the process of national identity building is central also the interpretation, or reinterpretation, of the national history and culture: the narrative of a nation must be enriched by the presence of heroes, shared values and traditions, able to build a national consciousness on the basis of feelings like the sense of belonging, pride, loyalty, and so on¹³. Hence the need for the ruling class of the newborn Italian state to construct a national story, a great story based on history and culture – two precious weapons in this battle – which required various channels to be transmitted: books, newspapers, political speeches, etc.

In a society, such as the Italian one of the late nineteenth century, yet economically and culturally underdeveloped and with a population composed largely of illiterate people, the most effective medium was considered the school¹⁴. It was a long-term project, intended to train the younger generations to the national sentiment, often using them as ‘multipliers of knowledge’, i.e.

Modelli, pratiche, eredità. Nuovi percorsi di ricerca comparata, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2007, pp. 17-39; R. Sani, «*Refining the masses to build the Nation. National schooling and education in the first four decades post-unification*», «History of Education & Children’s Literature», vol. 7, n. 2, 2012, pp. 79-96.

¹⁰ See F. Taniello, *Religione cattolica e Stato nazionale. Dal Risorgimento al secondo dopoguerra*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2007, pp. 193-219.

¹¹ M. Armiero, M. Hall, *Il Bel Paese. An introduction*, in M. Armiero, M. Hall (edd.), *Nature and history in modern Italy*, Athens, Ohio University press, 2010, pp. 1-11, in partic. p. 2.

¹² Roca, Claval, Agnew (edd.), *Landscapes, Identities and Development*, cit., p. 1.

¹³ E.J. Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger (edd.), *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983 (It. transl.: *L'invenzione della tradizione*, Torino, Einaudi, 1994).

¹⁴ On the role played by national narratives in textbooks, see G. Procacci, *Carte d'identità. Revisionismi, nazionalismi e fondamentalismi nei manuali di storia*, Roma, Carocci, 2005; A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nella scuola italiana dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004.

as a privileged channel of access to spread values and ideas among the rest of the family.

Do not think, however, that the post Risorgimento's pedagogy was particularly nationalistic, at least until the end of the century. The first unit programs for the elementary school, those issued in 1860, made few references to the patriotic ideal: the word «fatherland» appears very rarely, intended as the civil society to which we belong with our origin and language, our common laws and interests, our memories and hopes¹⁵. It was a process step by step that grew in intensity with time. Starting from the Seventies, the references to the national consciousness increased in the textbooks, in a moderate and steady progression. In these texts, however, there was not a precise plan that responds to a patriotic pedagogy deeper than a generic and idealized representation of Italy, useful to facilitate an emotional attachment to the country of origin. The authors restricted themselves to offer «a conventional image of the most beautiful country in the world, blessed by God and admired by all the people»¹⁶.

The references to community were more frequent in stories, letters, poems etc., published in the nineteenth-century textbooks: the patriarchal family, the circle of friends, the villagers. It is a practice consistent with the method used to convey to children the love for the fatherland: in order to make this concept understandable to subjects hitherto totally unrelated to the idea of having a common nation, the authors aimed for a depiction of the homeland like an extension of the family life and of the native village¹⁷. Also the programs for primary school suggested that teachers must explain the duties of children towards, respectively, God, parents,

The house where we were born and we live with our family is very dear to us. Families live in an accommodation, which is part of the house. The set of many houses made a city. Few houses gathered form a village, a hamlet. We live in...; but this village is a part of a greater country, called district of...; which belongs to a even larger area, called province of... This, in turn, is part of a nation, which is called Italy. Italy is our beloved fatherland¹⁸.

The danger, rarely cited explicitly in these texts but only recalled by contrast, is the breaking of the family ties, indifference, anonymity, to which are condemned those who are not able to integrate themselves. Also the immigrants, the homeless, the vagabonds ran the risk of the exclusion from the community; nevertheless,

¹⁵ M. Civra, *I programmi per la scuola elementare dall'Unità d'Italia al 2000*, Torino, Marco Valerio, 2002, p. 164.

¹⁶ M. Colin, *Amor di patria e sentimento nazionale: letture per la scuola elementare nell'età liberale*, in L. Bellatalla, G. Genovesi, E. Marescotti (edd.), *La scuola nell'Italia unita. 150 anni di storia*, Padova, Cleup, 2012, pp. 107-115, in partic. p. 111.

¹⁷ See G. Chiosso, "Formar l'uomo eminentemente morale ed abile". *Il libro di lettura dopo l'Unità, «Esperienze letterarie»*, n. 3, 2010, pp. 17-35.

¹⁸ G.A. Silvestri, *Il secondo anno di scuola della bambina italiana*. Letture per la seconda classe elementare, XXXIIth ed., Torino, Direzione del giornale l'Unione dei maestri e G.B. Paravia, [s.d.], p. 155.

they were characters under-represented in the ideal microcosm depicted by textbooks during the nineteenth century, when mobility was temporary – think of the college – or at least limited to a few mandatory cases.

3. *The role of the Italian Touring Club*

The persistence of the references to the community in the textbooks during the nineteenth century, as well as aiding in child the identification with his role in daily life and the assimilation of behaviors useful to the strengthening of the community, was a trick used by the authors to solve the evident problem of the transmission of the patriotic ideal. In this particular literature for school use, the concept of homeland had been a major obstacle for authors and publishers, unable to devise a narrative expedient that would inspire in so young children the cult for an entity fundamentally new, often distant, especially abstract.

The solution to the problem was found in the new century, when the theme of the travel – not only understood, like during the nineteenth century, as a transfer in the property on the countryside – burst in reading books, starting a model intended to be replicated for half a century. Thanks to the opportunities of faster movements and to the phenomenon of internal immigration, it was thought to give substance to the idea of homeland building the consciousness of the national beauties and the local places of interest. The fatherland, according to this theory, would be loved only if known, according to the national education project that saw the discipline of geography essential to sustain unity and national identity. It is a reinterpretation, in a national key, of the nineteenth-century model represented by the native village, the hamlet. In this case, however, the focus is not on the surrounding community, but on the representation of a reality as yet unknown, to be discovered through the descriptions of those who have the opportunity to travel and thanks to letters and postcards. It is not a narrow perspective and it implies the need to broaden the population's mind, especially the rural one.

This is not a new concept, which had already been raised to the highest degree, at least from the point of view of publishing success, by Abbot Stoppani and his *Bel Paese*¹⁹. However, throughout the nineteenth century, it was not possible to find a narrative device to insert some travel stories into the textbooks, because of the poor habit to movements of the Italians.

¹⁹ See E. Marescotti, *Natura e educazione in un discorso di Antonio Stoppani*, «Bollettino CIRSE», n. 38, 2001, pp. 33-40 and Ead., *Dall'Italia unita a "Il bel Paese": scuola e amor di patria in Antonio Stoppani*, in Bellatalla, Genovesi, Marescotti (edd.), *La scuola nell'Italia unita. 150 anni di storia*, cit., pp. 77-86.

The turning point came as a result of the growing success of those associations which in the same years were committed to value the country with cultural and political intents: the Italian Alpine Club (CAI) and the Italian Touring Club (TCI), which were recording an exponential growth of their associates. The first, founded in 1863 in Turin by noblemen led by Quintino Sella, with the beginning of the new century strengthened the patriotic purposes of its initiatives, together with the decline of the scientific dimension, which was predominant in the ascents arranged during the first years of its life²⁰.

TCI, founded in Milan in 1894, had clear from the beginning the patriotic ideal, which intended to merge with the nascent passion for hiking of the emerging middle class²¹. Revealing Italy to Italians, this was the stated intention from the beginning: spread a deeper understanding of Italy to make Italians fall in love with their country²².

The birth and the first initiatives of TCI contributed to totally change the way people travel and, above all, the way people look to Italy²³. The battles fought for the construction of a modern transport network, the commitment to provide detailed maps, and, finally, the guides, distributed for free to members, made the association not only the most important agency for the promotion of tourism, but also the main promoter of an education to the national landscape.

The TCI's works promoted «a geographic literacy which not [had] the main features of a popular science, but rather the features of response to curiosity and to emerging needs, of patriotic education and encouragement for tourist mobility»²⁴. They basically offered to Italians a canon of interpretation of the landscape in a way similar to what was done, with the images, by photographers Alinari in Florence²⁵. And the spread of images, in the brochures of tourism promotion, in newspapers and in the first magazines, in guides, in postcards and, not least, in books of fiction for children and in textbooks, helped to entrench stereotypes and to fix, in the imagination of a growing number of Italians, monuments and squares, making them emblematic of cities and regions. In this sense, tourism, «far from being configured as mere practice of free time, it becomes a form of education directed to form the Italians»²⁶.

²⁰ A. Pastore, *Alpinismo e storia d'Italia. Dall'Unità alla Resistenza*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2003, p. 55.

²¹ Armiero, *Le montagne della patria. Natura e nazione nella storia d'Italia. Secoli XIX e XX*, cit., p. 24.

²² See the words of Ottone Brentari in the newspaper «Corriere della sera» in 1899, with which he defines the scientific and patriotic association. Quoted in G. Vota (ed.), *I sessant'anni del Touring Club Italiano. 1894-1954*, Milano, Touring Club Italiano, 1954, p. 69.

²³ S. Pivato, *Il Touring Club Italiano*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2006, p. 30.

²⁴ L. Piccioni, *Il volto amato della Patria. Il primo movimento per la protezione della natura in Italia 1880-1934*, Camerino, Università degli Studi di Camerino, 1999, p. 65.

²⁵ F. Zevi, *Le altre città e il paesaggio italiano*, in W. Settimelli, F. Zevi (edd.), *Gli Alinari fotografi a Firenze 1852-1920*, Firenze, Alinari, 1977, pp. 247-255.

²⁶ Pivato, *Il Touring Club Italiano*, cit., p. 32.

4. *The urban landscape*

This insistence on national beauties, natural or artistic, was part of a precise plan that aimed to make heritage (cultural and natural) the point of contact between tourism and nationalist impulses. National monuments are often more than simple artifacts with a strong cultural value, but they are depicted as part of a view that includes natural surroundings. And «natural monuments», often used to attract tourists, «are another way to make nature a part of a nation's cultural inventory»²⁷. So landscape – natural and cultural – becomes part of a larger plan, which aims to construct national identity.

Take the case, really emblematic, of the statue dedicated to Dante erected in 1896 in Trento, the city at the time still subject to Austria. It became the iconic image of the province, reproduced in every advertisement of the territory and in all tourist guides. Its use was not dictated by the particular artistic value of the monument, but by a political ideal, which made it the symbol of the whole Italian region²⁸.

Many readings published in textbooks of that time imitated the shrewd political use of the monument to Dante made by guidebooks. In the descriptions of Trento, in fact, there was always a mention of the statue of the «divine poet», called «flame of patriotism, that people from Trentino always kept lit in their hearts»²⁹.

It was thus not only the natural landscape to be bent to an ideological aim in order to construct the national identity, but also the urban one. Monuments, statues, memorials stones, war cemeteries, but also cathedrals and churches were subject to «a process of nationalization, a process of symbolic possession and of assignment of imaginary meanings»³⁰.

The readings for the elementary school were a fundamental instrument to spread this nationalist reinterpretation of the urban landscape, with an accentuation of the trend since the late nineteenth century. Examples would be really countless. Think of the long saga of *Uccellin Belverde*, a little colored bird which saw a lot of places along the peninsula also included the Staglieno

²⁷ V. Winiwarter, *Nationalized Nature on Picture Postcards: Subtext of Tourism from an Environmental Perspective*, «Global Environment», n. 1, 2008, pp. 192-215, in partic. p. 204.

²⁸ See D. Bagnaresi, *Editoria turistica e irredentismo. La statua di Dante a Trento tra rappresentazione e gite patriottiche (1896-1927)*, «Storia e Futuro», n. 23, 2010, <<http://storicaefuturo.eu/editoria-turistica-irredentismo-statua-dante-trento-rappresentazioni-gite-patriottiche-1896-1927/>> (accessed: November 20, 2014).

²⁹ L. Alfieri, *Fanciulli d'Italia. Corso di letture per le scuole elementari maschili e femminili, Voci del lavoro per la V classe*, Milano, Trevisini, [s.d.], p. 314. See also M.C. Portoghesi, *Pagine scelte. Letture educative ad uso della quarta classe maschile e femminile delle scuole elementari urbane e suburbane*, XXVth ristampa, Palermo, Biondo, 1920, p. 124.

³⁰ D. Bagnaresi, M. Wedekind, *Turisti per cosa? Nazionalismo e turismo prima della Grande Guerra*, in C. Ambrosi, M. Wedekind (edd.), *Turisti di truppa. Vacanze, nazionalismo e potere*, Trento, Fondazione Museo Storico del Trentino, 2012, pp. 11-58, in partic. p. 13.

cemetery, where it visited the tomb of Giuseppe Mazzini, called «one of the greatest Italian patriots»³¹.

Almost every town has its national monuments that recall the epic Risorgimento. Superga and the tombs of the Savoy in Turin, the Pantheon in Rome, Porta Tosa and the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, and so on³².

Geography, then, but also history. The construction of national identity revolves in fact around the concepts of time and space: the ability to identify places that combine both of these dimensions in a perspective of identity becomes crucial. And what a better scenario than the Risorgimento's uprisings, still alive in the memory and in the public discussion (think of the interventionist propaganda and the fourth war of independence, the name gave to the World War I)?

The views described in textbooks during the first years of the twentieth century were not the most scenic, but the most representative of the recent national history. The goal was to make them become the symbols of the unity process: around them the ruling class wanted to build the national identity and to form the love for the homeland.

5. Education to the landscape and love for the country in the exemplar letters for children

Even during the first two decades of the twentieth century, the travel literature was direct to a small number of Italians, those belonging to the upper middle bourgeoisie who could afford to travel in order to discover the national beauties, traveling by steamer, by car or by train. And the train, with the powerful development of the railway network in the late nineteenth century (the railway network grew from 2,100 km in 1861 to 16,000 in 1900)³³, concurred decisively to promote the development of the domestic tourism. The clerical class, and to a lesser extent the working class, had to wait many years before it could be able to access this kind of entertainment.

The real moving – in addition to that faced by migrants across the border – was caused by professional reasons: the industrial take-off at the beginning of the century was attracting labour forces from neighbouring regions to the emerging

³¹ G. Soli, *Cominciamo la vita! Libro di lettura per la III classe elementare maschile*, XX ristampa, Milano, Trevisini, 1902, p. 107. You can find a similar reference to Staglieno and the tomb of Mazzini also in G.A. Marcati, *In cammino, fanciulli!, libro di lettura per la classe III elementare maschile e femminile*, 30° migliaio, Roma, Libreria scolastica nazionale, 1911, p. 220.

³² Marcati, *In cammino, fanciulli!*, cit., pp. 218-222; Alfieri, *Fanciulli d'Italia*, cit., pp. 15-20 and 63-64.

³³ E. Sereni, *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1997, p. 365.

factories. Often they were transfers within the same region, even the same province, according to the model of urbanization linked to industrialization.

Business travel, tourism, and the new trend to movement influenced also the production for the school. The exemplar letters, reproduced in the textbooks for primary education with unaltered luck at least until the thirties of the twentieth century³⁴, were the perfect terrain in which authors could combine love of country, education to landscape and touristic passion. The epistolary style was in fact a narrative style particularly suitable for use the Italian landscape in a nationalist key. The transfer of a young student with his family allowed the author to start an epistolary relationship between old classmates. It was an efficient device to enrich the content of the letters with useful knowledge, transmitted through the child transplanted to a different reality, where he had the opportunity to try new habits and visit different places.

In the microcosm of the exemplar letters of early twentieth century we can find also a kind of tourism more refined. The archetype was represented by the child travelling with his uncle (a central figure for the education of adolescents in this particular narrative), engaged in what might be called a modern *Grand tour* through the most significant cities of the Peninsula: Venice, Rome, Naples, Palermo. To these were added the cities which had become important in the light of the strategic role played in the economy of the Country, such as Milan, Genoa and Turin, converted from the administrative capital to the industrial capital.

The images were stereotyped, like a postcard: Venice with gondolas and the lagoon; Milan with *Madonnina* over the Duomo; the church of Santa Maria del Fiore and Giotto's bell tower, «all of white marble», in Florence; and then the Pincio in Rome, the Vesuvius in Naples, the leaning towers in Bologna, the Alps and the «chocolates Gianduia» in Turin³⁵.

Within a few years the model was refined, bringing greater vividness in the reports from the cities visited and much liveliness to the travel literature. The authors' attention focused more on the details, in the knowledge that these texts represented a surrogate of geography lessons, modest in their contents, but more attractive.

Mirror of society and of an entire country in evolution, the exemplar letters give us the image of an Italy scenically and architecturally wonderful, cradle of classical and Renaissance art, but at the same time a modern country, industrious, where a growing space was reserved for the description of the factories in Milan, Turin and Genoa, the capital cities of the industrial take-off.

³⁴ See F. Targhetta, "Signor Maestro Onorandissimo". *Imparare a scrivere lettere nella scuola italiana tra Otto e Novecento*, Torino, SEI, 2013.

³⁵ See, for example, A. Cuman Pertile, *Godì e impara. Libro di lettura per la Seconda Classe elementare*, 4th ed., Firenze, R. Bemporad e figlio Editori, 1912, pp. 136-144.

A further development in this particular production occurred in the years of the World War I and those immediately following. The first model, that included postcards and letters from Italian cities in order to transmit some useful knowledge of geography and to convey, indirectly, feelings of love for the homeland, changed in a new scheme, tinged with a deep patriotism.

In the classic list of the destination to visit in order to complete the ideal training for a young Italian there was Caprera, in honour of Giuseppe Garibaldi, but also the landmarks of the Risorgimento wars and Trento and Trieste, the lands to be redeemed for the irredentist propaganda.

In this new ‘national education’ even the reports from the cities were updated: the figures and the moments that had contributed to the Italian unification replaced the artistic and architectural heritage. So, they remembered the monuments of Rome to Vittorio Emanuele II and Garibaldi, the Pantheon and Porta Pia; in Milan, the Castello Sforzesco, the Sempione Archway and «a building with three balls into the wall fired by Austrian soldiers during the five days of the Revolution in March 1848»³⁶; in Turin, Pietro Micca’s sacrifice and the Basilica of Superga, «sacred monument»³⁷ in which are buried the Royal House of Savoy; in Palermo, Gibilrossa, where «Garibaldi attacked the city below»³⁸; in Venice, the verses of the poet Fusinato and the «Piombi, the prison of Silvio Pellico, author of the famous book *Mie prigioni!*»³⁹.

A considerable space was given also to the celebration of heroes, ushering the cult of the fallen, essential in the process of ‘nationalization of the childish masses’, which, starting after the war and up to the thirties, projected the Italian people in a collective ceremony of sacralizing the death⁴⁰. Often, there were the young soldiers, called to the military service, that officiated this liturgy of celebration of the fallen and the worship of heroes. The small tourist, protagonist of many travel stories reproduced in textbooks during the first decade of the nineteenth Century, grew after the war up to become a traveller soldier. He was entrusted with the task of explaining to young readers the beauty of the Peninsula in order to instill the love of country.

I visited the battlefield of Magenta, fertilized by the blood of many brave Italian and French; I picked a flower that perhaps has grown over the corpse of a hero and I send you the flower with a kiss⁴¹.

³⁶ G.A. Marcati, *Fra campi e borghi. Corso di letture per le scuole rurali, classe IV, 50° migliaio*, Milano, Mondadori, 1923, p. 210.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

⁴⁰ A. Gibelli, *Il popolo bambino. Infanzia e nazione dalla Grande Guerra a Salò*, Torino, Einaudi, 2005, p. 200.

⁴¹ Marcati, *Fra campi e borghi, classe IV*, cit., p. 210.

I visited with veneration the place of execution of Guglielmo Oberdan. This martyr of the Austrian ferocity, certainly greet with joy the freedom and independence of the city for which he died⁴².

Only at the end of the twenties patriotism converted into nationalism, even in the exemplar letters. It was especially the idolatry for Mussolini to make further changes to what we have called the epistolary *Grand tour*: to the classic landmarks were added the hometowns of Mussolini and in particular the Romagna region, «one of the most beautiful and strong regions of Italy»⁴³.

Then the authors changed the sights and monuments worthy to be mentioned in the reports to the family. In Milan, for example, the new itinerary included the *casa del fascio* (headquarters of fascism) and, above all, the newsroom of «Il Popolo d'Italia», the newspaper of Mussolini⁴⁴.

Evolving territory to explore, the most important corners of the *Belpaese* became a place of pilgrimage promoted by the school readings, in order to construct the identity of thousands of young «balilla», the famous paramilitary youth organization. Starting from Predappio (Mussolini's birthplace), represented countless times in textbooks, as well as the symbol places of fascist genesis.

The 'geography' of the tourist destinations mentioned in the exemplar letters changed during the first three decades of the century with the succession of times and ideologies. If, initially, the trips through Italy were conceived as a mode of transmission of the love for homeland, during the following decades they became a mirror of the cultural and ideological changes of the country. The young tourist accompanied by his uncle through the traditional stages of the *Grand Tour* was replaced initially by the conscript, who was wandering to the barracks of the Peninsula, and then by the *balilla*, a sort of pilgrim engaged in a search for the origins of the fascist movement.

6. Another way of forming the landscape: the school tourism

Travels through the *Belpaese* were not only an effective narrative device to convey the love for homeland. They, under the name of school trips, or patriotic trips, were very important in order to nationalize Italians by a touristic way: «learning about Italy meant appropriating the geographical and symbolic space of the country, internalizing the external landscape as part of a collective identity»⁴⁵.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁴³ R. Forges Davanzati, *Il balilla Vittorio*, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1930, p. 134.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁴⁵ Armiero, *Le montagne della patria. Natura e nazione nella storia d'Italia. Secoli XIX e XX*,

In this project, aimed at making the geographical space a vehicle of nationalization, CAI and TCI played a decisive role. The «Rivista Mensile» (Monthly Magazine) of TCI contained numerous reports of these journeys, often organized in emblematic places of the Italian unification process in order to cement the consciousness of national identity. It's not by chance that the most successful trips were those to Curtatone and Montanara, Custoza, Solferino and San Martino (August 1902) and the journey organized in occasion of the anniversary of the Garibaldi's Expedition (from Genoa to Palermo).

However, it was the hiking in the mountains to be loaded with more patriotic contents. It was originated not only by the desire to promote a healthy use of leisure time and to strengthen the spirit through demanding physical activities. The expeditions to the summit, particularly those organized on the eastern Alps and the peaks of the Tyrol, had from the beginning the meaning of a political pilgrimage⁴⁶. The «cycling in the unredeemed lands», the meetings, the conferences, the trips to Trieste and Trento (with the final stage under the statue of Dante), meant a symbolic appropriation of the geographical spaces occupied by the alien.

Characterized by a precise liturgy, as well as by a strong emotional charge, these raids on foreign soil were not inspired by a playful inspiration, but they were animated by patriotic goals⁴⁷. The ritual of these walks, often considered almost like small raids, was based on practices such the ostentation of a daisy, flower symbol of the Queen of Italy; the raising of songs to Garibaldi and to Italy under the windows of the Austro-Hungarian embassy; the playing of patriotic marches by the bands on boats departing from Garda Lake, and so on.

The end of World War I accentuated the tendency to the political use of tourism and saw the organization of many excursions on the land where the main battles were fought, especially those which had been the backdrop to the «white war»⁴⁸. CAI and TCI were again the most active associations in the field of nationalist propaganda: the two associations were in fact very active in promoting a «patriotic tourism which chose the mountain to retrace the paths of the soldiers, to visit places of battle and war museums»⁴⁹. TCI even started a series of guides to the places of the «Great War», while the guide to the eastern Dolomites by Antonio Berti, the alpinism bible for generations of climbers, was published in a extensively revised edition, in the light of the dramatic events of the war.

cit., p. 44.

⁴⁶ M. Cuaz, *Le Alpi*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2005, p. 54.

⁴⁷ Bagnaresi, Wedekind, *Turisti per cosa? Nazionalismo e turismo prima della Grande Guerra*, cit., p. 33.

⁴⁸ On today's practice of visiting those 'Open air museums' see E. Camanni, *Il fuoco e il gelo. La Grande Guerra sulle montagne*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2014, pp. 72-77.

⁴⁹ P. Battilani, *Vacanze di pochi vacanze di tutti. L'evoluzione del turismo europeo*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2001, p. 295.

At that time was also intensified the relationship between Touring Club and schools, after years of forced interruption due to the conflict⁵⁰. The practice of school tourism was in fact started in 1913, with the approval of those pedagogues as Giovanni Marchesini⁵¹. It was then formed the National Committee for the school tourism, chaired by the TCI General Director, which, in collaboration with the education authorities, began to promote a number of initiatives such as visits to monuments, to art cities, mountain hikes, and so on⁵². The activity was accompanied by the publication of a special revue entitled «La Sorgente» (The Source), the monthly magazine of school tourism (1917-1928).

The Cultural and patriotic tourism of the first postwar period⁵³, together with recreation practices in mountain (camping, hiking, scouting, etc.), helped to strengthen the relationship between homeland and landscape, between nature and nation⁵⁴.

George Mosse argues that this rediscovery of nature was functional to alleviate the emotional impact of a tragic event like the World War I⁵⁵: naturalizing the death and nationalizing the mourning. The war tourism, the commemoration of the heroes, the deposition of wreaths on the fields of holy battles, the pilgrimages, helped to create the cult of the dead, in order to reinforce the Italian identity, transforming the war from a senseless event to an event load of sacredness⁵⁶.

Repercussions were evident even in the mutation of the landscape, with the birth of war cemeteries, memorials, monuments to the Unknown Soldier, parks of Remembrance, and so on. They populated the landscape with new meanings, combining nature and memory: it is the presence of these elements, able to open to a sacred dimension that transforms a landscape into an *ethnoscape*⁵⁷.

School, as anticipated, was directly involved in this work of ideological re-appropriation of the landscape. Between 1922 and 1923 the Ministry of Public Education issued three circular entitled, respectively, *National pilgrimage of the students through the places of Martyrdom and Glory*, *Pilgrimage to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier* and *Pilgrimage of the pupils to the tomb of the Unknown Soldier*⁵⁸.

⁵⁰ C.M. 14/3/1922, n. 14, *Turismo scolastico*, which refers to the activity recovery under the auspices of the TCI.

⁵¹ See G. Zago (ed.), *Il pensiero pedagogico di Giovanni Marchesini e la crisi del positivismo italiano*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2014.

⁵² Pivato, *Il Touring Club Italiano*, cit., p. 128.

⁵³ On the 'patriotic trips' during the first post war period see Pastore, *Alpinismo e storia d'Italia. Dall'Unità alla Resistenza*, cit., pp. 103-116.

⁵⁴ G. Zanetto, F. Vallerani, S. Soriani (edd.), *Nature, environment, landscape: European attitudes and discourses in the modern period. The Italian case, 1920-1970*, Padova, Università di Padova, 1996, p. 3.

⁵⁵ G. Mosse, *Le guerre mondiali: dalla tragedia al mito dei caduti*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2005.

⁵⁶ Cuaz, *Le Alpi*, cit., p. 87.

⁵⁷ See A. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.

⁵⁸ C.M. 13/3/1922, n. 23; C.M. 23/4/1923, n. 36; C.M. 5/6/1923, n. 46. I feel obliged to

Also on this occasion the textbook writers were quick to acknowledge the change in sensitivity and in the strategies to nationalize the Italians. School visits to the major landmarks of the recent victory were soon described, starting right from the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, «the humble and unknown soldier, the symbol of the great Italian people, who won the war»⁵⁹. In another textbook was described the school trip to the House of Veterans, where young students had the opportunity to meet «the veterans of the nation's battles»⁶⁰. Elsewhere, a beautiful chestnut forest was the background of «a solemn Mass to commemorate the war dead». Even here, the scenery was provided by those elements which, after the war, profoundly changed the alpine landscape: a marble memorial stone, a «big picture with the name of the fallen», some flags that «pure and glorious flutter in the wind thanks to all those who sanctified them with their blood»⁶¹.

The reference to the flags, recurring in the textbooks of that time, was functional to the consolidation of a national identity. Training and strengthening a sense of self-consciousness as a nation is one of the goal in the process of national identity building, and in this sense a symbol, an emblem, a flag, an anthem become strong elements in which people can identify⁶².

The changes made in Trentino after the conclusion of the conflict and the annexation, are exemplary. The names of the peaks, as well as the names of the mountain huts and of the trails, were modified and were removed those signs and flags that could recall to the Austrian domination. This renaming must be inscribed in a process of gradual politicization of the Alpine region, as evidenced by the choice of the new names: cities and personalities that «evoke strong memories of the homeland»⁶³. So, the young characters of a story published in a textbook in 1925 climbed to the hut called *Italia*⁶⁴. And in this sense we can explain the insistence, in a textbook for the second grade class published after the war by a group of teachers from Trentino, on the flag, which «recalls the braves who died on the battlefields, when Italy was not free. I love my flag, because I love my country». An evocative name, a flag, a memorial plaque, are very important, in the borderlands or in those of fresh (re)conquest,

thank prof. Piero Fossati and his exquisite willingness to reveal these and other circulars relating to school tourism.

⁵⁹ Alfieri, *Fanciulli d'Italia*, cit., p. 190. See also the visit of Paolo and his father to the «tomb of Unknown Soldier», in L. Barbier, *La Geografia del Bambino*, Firenze, Salani, 1923, p. 7.

⁶⁰ G. Fagiani, *Casa mia! Patria mia!, Libro di Lettura secondo i vigenti programmi ministeriali, V classe elementare maschile e mista (corso popolare), novissima edizione arricchita d'una breve antologia*, Milano, Antonio Vallardi, 1924, pp. 273-274.

⁶¹ A. Plata, C. Plata, *Freschi sorrisi. Corso di letture per le scuole elementari maschili e femminili, classe III*, Palermo, Sandron, 1925, pp. 24-25.

⁶² S. Pitchford, *Identity Tourism: Imaging and Imagining the Nation*, Bingley, Emerald, 2008, p. 43.

⁶³ Pastore, *Alpinismo e storia d'Italia. Dall'Unità alla Resistenza*, cit., p. 69.

⁶⁴ Plata, Plata, *Freschi sorrisi*, cit., pp. 12-13.

to suggest that a new national entity exists and to encourage residents, hikers and vacationers to identify with it. Exemplary in this sense, the case of the *Great Map of Italy* published by TCI: in the program drawn up in the early years of the twentieth century, it already contemplated the Trentino region (still under the Austro Hungarian empire). In this way the transition occurred from a cultural belonging to the Peninsula to a political and institutional belonging to the Kingdom of Italy⁶⁵.

In this way was internalized in the consciousness of the individuals the national claim of the territories on the basis of ethnic, linguistic or cultural-historical concepts. The goal was to get to «a new collective perception of the territory and of the landscape, as a result of the symbolic ‘conquest’ of the sites and of the registration in the topography of the places of national identification»⁶⁶.

The collection of references in textbooks and in the legislation relating to patriotic and school trips during the twenties and thirties years of the twenty century is very extended and would require too much space here to be studied in more depth. I believe, however, that from this brief essay emerges the potential of a study on the role of the landscape, as it has been mediated by the school culture, in the building of the national identity, and the need to study an area of research still to be investigated.

⁶⁵ C. Ambrosi, *Italiani di carta: la pre-annessione del Trentino ad opera del Touring club italiano*, in Ambrosi, Wedekind (edd.), *Turisti di truppa. Vacanze, nazionalismo e potere*, cit., pp. 61-72, in partic. 68.

⁶⁶ Bagnaresi, Wedekind, *Turisti per cosa? Nazionalismo e turismo prima della Grande Guerra*, cit., p. 57.

Educational policy on language teaching in Belgian secondary state schools, 1830-1890

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ABSTRACT: This article sheds light on the educational policy on languages in secondary education in Belgium in the period going from 1830, the moment when the country was created, to 1890, little time after the implementation of important structural reforms at that level. It illuminates this policy through the analysis of three aspects of its practical implementation: the respective place granted to the teaching of the country's two main mother tongues, French and Flemish; the compared weight of modern languages, classical languages and scientific disciplines in the curricula; the handbooks, the content of the programmes and the authors studied and proposed as models. The two first aspects are addressed through a quantitative study of the number of hours devoted to the teaching of the different disciplines in the different sections, on the basis of data found in the «triennial reports» on secondary education. The study shows the growing importance acquired by the teaching of Flemish in a context where French remained nevertheless for a long time the dominating language, and the progressive introduction of modern languages in the curricula, an evolution which didn't succeed to call into question the model of classical humanities, whose enormous prestige remained intact and which were perceived as the ultimate way to train Belgium's elites.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Secondary Education; Mother Tongue; Language Education; Educational Policy; Belgium; XIX Century.

Introduction

The Belgian literature comprises two different elements, both equally inherent in our national character: two languages, whose simultaneous existence may actually constitute an additional obstacle to the fast and full development of the country, but whose equal importance and rights cannot be ignored at the risk of raising well-founded susceptibilities. Each of these languages, regarded as a mirror of national feeling, deserves to be studied in

its development, as each of them presents literary masterpieces which contribute to the glory of our country¹.

Those were the words of Mr. B. Van Hollebeke², teacher of the senior year («Rhétorique») at the Royal Athenaeum of Namur, on the occasion of the awards ceremony concluding the 1864 national competition («Concours général») in secondary education³. Thirty-four years after the birth of Belgium, the existence of a literature specific to the country was a question raising passionate debate in the young kingdom: how was the identity of a national literature to be defined in a country where several languages (French, Flemish and German)⁴ existed side by side?

The attention given at the time to the vernacular languages and their teaching is not surprising, as it partook of a dual trend which appeared all over Europe: the first component was the emergence of the belief that the nationalization of the elites⁵ could and should be achieved through the teaching of a national language (as a factor of union, standardization and cohesion) and a national literature (to stimulate national pride)⁶ in secondary education. The second trend was the increasingly critical view taken in the mid-19th century of the traditional model of classical humanities which had prevailed up to then, and the growing feeling that more modern teaching methods ought to be promoted⁷, focusing on the mother tongues and the modern languages.

At the moment of its independence, Belgium did not exist in the strong sense of the word. Admittedly, the country had acquired a kind of stable territorial

¹ Bernard Van Hollebeke, quoted in *Rapport triennal sur l'état de l'enseignement moyen en Belgique, présenté aux chambres législatives par le Ministre de l'Intérieur. Cinquième période triennale 1864-1866*, Bruxelles, Emm. Devroye, Imprimeur du Roi, 1867, p. 209 [my translation]. Henceforth, reference to these reports will be given in the shorter form *Rapport triennial*, followed by the figure of the year.

² Bernard Van Hollebeke (Lierre 1827-Bruxelles 1901), teacher, education specialist and political writer, author of several school handbooks. For more information see: *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, Bruxelles, Brulant-Académie royale de Belgique, 1956, Vol. 29, coll. 688-690. Henceforth this title will be quoted in the short form: *Biographie nationale*.

³ M. Donato Di Paola, *Les concours généraux de l'enseignement officiel en Belgique (1840-1850): histoire d'un instrument polyvalent de politique éducative*, «Histoire & Mesure», vol. 29, n. 1, 2014, pp. 41-72.

⁴ Within the framework of this article, I will focus on the teaching of Flemish and French languages and literatures, since the case of German is far less documented, and not even mentioned in the documents that I had the opportunity to consult.

⁵ For an overview of the history of secondary education in Belgium, see: D. Grootaers, *Histoire de l'enseignement en Belgique*, Bruxelles, Éditions du Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques, 1998. For a history of the national sentiment in Belgium, the authoritative reference is J. Stengers, E. Gubin, *Le grand siècle de la nationalité belge. Histoire du sentiment national en Belgique*, 2 voll., Bruxelles, Racine, 2002.

⁶ T. Judt, D. Lacorne (edd.), *La politique de Babel du monolingisme d'Etat au plurilinguisme des peuples*, Paris, Karthala, 2002.

⁷ N. Hulin, *Culture scientifique et humanisme: un siècle et demi d'engagement sur le rôle et la place des sciences*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2011.

status since 1580, through the successive Spanish, Austrian, French and Dutch occupations; but a real State was still waiting to be built, a state which might through its constitution, its institutions and legal framework, integrate a people, its history, as well as its traditions and cultures⁸. Not infrequently, the key role in such a process of social integration was played by a common language, its widespread use in the public sphere and its reinforcement as an instrument of unity and cohesion through education. For this reason, language and its teaching was naturally bound to become a subject of political concern in the early Belgium.

As stated in the title, the objective of this paper is to shed light on the educational policy on language teaching in secondary education in Belgium throughout the period ranging from 1830, the moment when the country was created, to 1890, shortly after the implementation of important structural reforms at that level. This will be done not so much through the analysis of relevant legislative measures and policy debates and developments, as via the study of three aspects of the practical implementation of this policy: the first is the importance given to the teaching of the two main mother tongues⁹ (French and Flemish) in the school programmes. For this purpose, the period under consideration can be divided in three phases. The first one (1830 to 1850) was characterized by a great freedom in the teaching of languages; the second (1850-1880), by the establishment of a legislative framework for the use and teaching of languages in secondary education; the third (1880-1890) coincides with the great reforms of the 1880s, which resulted in particular in a larger place afforded to the Flemish language in secondary education. This question will be addressed in quantitative terms, by computing the number of hours devoted to the teaching of the different languages in the timetables.

The same quantitative approach will be resorted to for the second aspect, namely the relative weight of modern languages, classical languages and scientific disciplines in the curricula. The third part of the analysis will cover qualitative aspects: the handbooks used for the teaching of languages, the organization and content of language teaching, and the question of national authors and national literature.

Before entering into the subject, we need to specify the sources exploited and the methodology resorted to for the analysis. All the tables contained in this article were compiled on the basis of information and data found in the triennial reports on secondary education («Rapports triennaux de l'enseignement moyen») which cover the main part of the period under study. These reports, which were issued by the Ministry for Internal Affairs (on which secondary

⁸ A.-M. Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales. Europe XVIII^e-XX^e siècle*, Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1999.

⁹ The phrase «mother tongues» was used by the contemporaries to refer to French, Flemish and German, and therefore maintained for the purpose of this article.

education depended) and submitted to the Parliament, offered an overview of the state of secondary education, including indications about the changes and innovations introduced during each three-year span. All the reports of the period were examined. The core of this article relies on the data about four years corresponding to significant moments in the period ranging from the adoption of the first Law on Secondary Education, in 1850, to the end of the major reforms of the late 1880s, with special attention to 1851, 1861, 1869 and 1887¹⁰.

1. *What the numbers show*

1.1. *The beginnings (1830-1850): freedom of languages, and a chaotic situation*

Once the independence obtained after the eventful months of the revolutionary period, the members of Belgium's provisional government¹¹ were determined to break with the past and make a fresh start with a view to writing a new page of the national history. But which language was to be chosen for the young country? Walloons and Flemings, two populations who did not speak the same language inhabited the same territory and moreover lived in the shadow of the languages of two powerful neighbours, which had previously been imposed on them: between 1795 and 1830, the country had successively lived under French and Dutch linguistic regimes, coinciding respectively with the French and Dutch presence on the territory. The first measures taken by the new authorities aimed clearly at deleting any traces left by the Dutch monarchic government of William I Orange-Nassau, in particular with regard to language policy¹². As a consequence, French was chosen as the official language of the public administration. But at the same time, the Article 23 of the Constitution voted by the National Congress (the first legislative assembly of the country) stated that the use of language was free in the kingdom.

The situation was therefore rather confusing: on the one hand, French was the only administrative language officially used by the State; but on the other, the government recognized the existence of linguistic differences among the citizens, whilst not committing itself to the language of the majority of the

¹⁰ For more information on the triennial reports covering these years, see footnotes 16 and 18.

¹¹ The provisional government was the first government of Belgium during the years 1830-1831.

¹² Language was indeed a key and very sensitive issue in this context. The Dutch regime was characterized by a strong propensity to centralization, and the Dutch language was a powerful weapon in this respect. For more information see: A. De Jonghe, *De Taalpolitiek van Koning Willem I in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1814-1830). De Genesis der Taalbesluiten en hun Toepassing*, Bruxelles, Steenlandt, 1943.

population¹³. On 22nd October 1830, about fifteen days after the independence, a decree of the provisional government stated rather ambiguously that the teaching in the secondary schools funded by the State «[would] take place in the language which is the most appropriate to the needs of the pupils».

What did the situation in the schools actually look like as in terms of use and teaching of languages during the first years of the country's history? Due to the lack of information and resources, it is difficult to give a completely accurate picture. Until 1850, the moment when the first law on secondary education was promulgated, which fixed schedules and programmes and harmonized school practices throughout the country, it seems that the situation was rather chaotic.

It is possible to draw some information about the state of affairs from an analysis of one of the first initiatives taken by the government. In 1841, the government asked the principals of secondary schools to forward to public authorities copies of the school programmes and the lists of books that were being used in their institution. This reveals that the programmes were divided into two parts: «humanities» on the one hand and «living languages and mathematics» on the other. It is interesting to note that French was included in the «humanities» beside Latin, Ancient Greek, history and geography and was taught in all institutions, while Flemish and German were mentioned beside English in the category «living languages». As shown in annex 1, the situation as regards the teaching of these «living languages» was heterogeneous. In some institutions, all three languages were taught, in others only two of these, in others only one, and in a significant number of institutions, none at all. Out of a total of 29 schools, Flemish was taught in 14, German in 17 and English in 10. This situation was to change appreciably after the adoption of the first Law on Secondary Education in 1850.

1.2. After 1850 and the first Law on Secondary Education

The objective of the law of 1st June 1850 was threefold: to provide the Belgian secondary education system¹⁴ with a legal framework allowing to

¹³ A. Von Busekist, *La Belgique. Politique des langues et construction de l'Etat de 1780 à nos jours*, Bruxelles, De Boeck & Larcier, 1998, p. XIII. More bibliographical information can be found below in the present paper.

¹⁴ The Belgian educational system in the 19th century had two components: the 'official' system, funded and managed by the State, and the confessional, ensured by the Catholic Church. Only the first is considered in this article. During the period under consideration, the state education system was far less developed than it is today, and of little weight compared to the «denominational» (religious) educational system. For this reason, the adoption of laws and reforms aiming at regulating and structuring public education was considered as a key issue, since these measures would help to transform it in a true competitor of confessional schools.

harmonize the practices and the school programmes across the whole country; to grant the State a driving role in the organization of secondary education; and to implement the constitutional principle of freedom of education.

The law of 1850 formally organized two different types of public education with specific purposes: one the one hand, «secondary education of the first or upper degree», a long secondary-education cycle provided by the «royal athenaeums»; and on the other hand «secondary education of the second or lower degree», a short-cycle secondary education provided in institutions called «middle schools». These middle schools derived from the higher primary schools established by the Dutch regime and the commercial schools created by a certain number of cities. This school architecture perfectly mirrored the social hierarchy, since the athenaeums were in charge of training the elites, while the middle schools were supposed to meet the needs of a socially more modest public. In this article, attention will be paid only to the institutions belonging to the first category.

The athenaeums were divided into two distinct sections: the «humanities» and the «professional section». The six-year-long humanities prepared students for the university; the five-year-long professional section trained pupils who envisioned careers in trade or industry, or contemplated undertaking polytechnic or high-level military studies. One of the objectives of the humanities was to preserve a high level study of classical languages; while the professional section was designed to help the country successfully address the challenges and needs of a modern society¹⁵.

As a consequence, the programmes of the humanities and the professional section were substantially different. The curriculum in humanities focused, as the name of the section shows, on the traditional humanistic model of training, a direct legacy from the Jesuit colleges of the 16th and 17th centuries. It involved a thorough study of Latin and Ancient Greek, alongside a limited number of other disciplines (mother tongue, history and geography, mathematics, physics, modern languages). In the professional section, classical languages were replaced by modern languages (Flemish, German, English) and scientific disciplines (mathematics, physics, chemistry, natural history, astronomy, mechanics, descriptive geometry, commercial sciences). How much room was allotted in these two curricula to the teaching of the two mother tongues, and how did the situation evolve in time? A look at the respective timetables is revealing in that respect.

¹⁵ The professional section was divided into two sub-cycles: a common lower cycle of three years and a higher cycle of two years organized in three subsections with distinct purposes: a commercial section, an industrial section and a scientific section. In 1869, the first two were to be merged into a single «commercial and industrial» section.

Table 1. Mother tongues taught in the humanities and the professional section in the athenaeums in 1851, 1860 and 1869¹⁶

| <i>Humanities</i> | | <i>Professional section</i> | |
|---|--------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Mother tongues taught</i> | <i>Total</i> | <i>Mother tongues taught</i> | <i>Total</i> |
| 1851 | | | |
| French | 22 | French | 28 |
| Flemish (for the Flemish provinces) | 8 | German or Flemish | 24 |
| Flemish, German or English (for the Walloon provinces) | 10 | | |
| 1860 | | | |
| French | 34 | French (Flemish provinces) | 40 |
| Flemish (for the Flemish provinces) | 11 | French (Walloon provinces) | 43 |
| Flemish, German or English (for the Walloon provinces) | 10 | Flemish (Flemish provinces) | 13 |
| | | Flemish (Walloon provinces) | 12 |
| 1869 | | | |
| French | 34 | French (Flemish provinces) | 40 |
| | | French (Walloon provinces) | 43 |
| Flemish (for the Flemish provinces) | 15 | Flemish (Flemish provinces) | 13 |
| Flemish, German or English (for the Walloon provinces) | 11 | Flemish (Walloon provinces) | 13 |
| Total: Number of hours/week for this subject in the whole school cycle. | | | |

The analysis of the situation in 1851, 1860 and 1869 (Table 1) shows a triple mode of variation as regards the number of hours devoted to the teaching of the two main mother languages: according to the section (humanities or professional section), the geographical location of the school (Flemish provinces/Walloon provinces) and the year.

¹⁶ All these tables have been prepared on the basis of reports from the period under consideration. For 1851 see: *Programmes généraux des deux sections* in *Rapport triennal, 31 mars 1855, par M. P. De Decker, Ministre de l'Intérieur. Première période triennale 1852-1854*, Bruxelles, Emm. Devroye, Imprimeur du Roi, 1856, pp. 49-50. For 1860: *Athénées royaux. Tableau indiquant, par semaine, le nombre d'heures assignées, dans chacune des sept classes, à chaque matière d'enseignement*, in *Rapport triennal*, cit., 1862, pp. 57-58. For 1869: *Programme des deux sections*, in *Rapport triennal*, cit., 1872, pp. 121-122.

The law of 1850 established that the knowledge of French would be required from all Belgians, and that Flemish and German would be taught in the regions of the countries where these languages were spoken. As a consequence, French was taught in the whole country in both the humanities and the professional sections at a respective total rate of 22 hours/week and 28 hours/week for the whole cycle. But the situation was different for the Flemish language. In the humanities, Flemish was taught in the Flemish provinces as a compulsory discipline at a total rate of 8 hours/week, but only proposed in Walloon provinces as an option among three languages at the total rate of 10 hours/week. In the professional section, this geographical distinction did not exist and the language chosen between the two languages proposed (Flemish and German) was taught at a total rate 24 hours/week.

In 1860, a distinction between regions was introduced in the professional section. In addition, a preparatory class was added in the two sections, so that the humanities passed from 6 to 7 years and the professional section from 5 to 6, which helped reinforce the teaching of some subjects. French moved up to a total rate of 34 hours/week and Flemish in the Flemish provinces to a total rate of 11 hours/week. In the professional section, the changes were more dramatic, with a strong increase of the hours devoted to the teaching of mother languages, and the introduction of compulsory teaching of the language spoken in the region: French moved from 22 hours/week to 40 in Flemish provinces and 43 in Walloon provinces, and Flemish became a compulsory subject in the whole country. This evolution clearly marked the growing importance granted to the Flemish language and its teaching. In 1860, Flemish was taught at a rate of respectively 12 and 13 hours/week in Walloon and Flemish provinces; and from 1869 onwards, it came to be taught at a rate of 13 hours/week in both provinces.

1.3. *A turning point: the reforms of 1880-1890*

On the basis of an experimental program launched in 1881, a great reform was implemented in 1887, which changed in-depth the structure of the sections in the athenaeums. This reform aimed at reconciling «the legitimate requirements of the time as regards modern languages and sciences, with the maintenance of what constitutes the basis of a true intellectual and literary culture, i.e. the study of ancient languages». As a consequence, starting from this moment, the humanities, which had always been a unique section, were divided in two sub-sections: the «Graeco-Latin humanities», where both Latin and Greek continued to be taught, and «Latin humanities» (themselves divided into «Science-Latin humanities» and «Commercial-Latin humanities»), where

Greek was abandoned for a thorough scientific and mathematical training¹⁷. As for the professional section, it was renamed «modern humanities». As previously, it offered a double specialization, respectively in the scientific and commercial disciplines¹⁸. Another notable innovation concerned the location of the schools, which ceased to be province-related to be defined instead in terms of their geographical situation (Walloon and Flemish regions).

Table 2. Mother tongues taught in humanities and the professional section in the athenaeums in 1887¹⁹

| <i>Humanities</i> | | | | | <i>Modern Humanities</i> | | | |
|-------------------|------------|------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|--|
| Subjects | Flem. Reg. | | Subjects | Wall. Reg. | | Flem.Reg. | Wall.Reg. | |
| | G.L.H. | L.H. | | G.L.H. | L.H. | | | |
| French | 27 | 27 | French | 28 | 28 | French | 45 | French |
| Flemish | 27 | 27 | Flemish or German | 20 | 20 | Flemish | 28 | Flemish or German (principal language) |
| | | | | | | | | German or Flemish (accessory language) |
| | | | | | | | | 18 |

Flem.Reg.: Flemish region;
 Wall.Reg.: Walloon region;
 G.L.H. Graeco-Latin humanities;
 L.H.: Latin humanities;
 Principal language: the pupil must choose between the two languages he considers as important;
 Accessory language: the pupil must choose between the two languages he considers as less important.

¹⁷ The abandonment of Greek to the advantage of mathematics was also perceived as a way to reinforce the average mastery of Greek, since this language would henceforth only be taught to highly motivated pupils in the Graeco-Latin section.

¹⁸ The introduction of these changes to the structure of the colleges of humanities was to pave the way for further re-examinations. During nearly one century, until the Second World War, several attempts would be made to «transform and diversify» the ancient humanities themselves. However, in spite of the various attacks to which they were exposed, the classical humanities would resist as a kind of fortress. The cultural superiority of the Graeco-Latin section and its legitimacy would never be questioned strongly enough to be seriously shaken until 1947. Grootaers, *Histoire de l'enseignement en Belgique*, cit., p. 274.

¹⁹ *Arrêté ministériel réglant le nombre d'heures assignées par semaine aux matières de l'enseignement dans les athénées royaux*, in *Rapport triennal*, cit., 1893, pp. 43-45.

As table 2 shows, in 1887 the teaching of mother tongues continued to be performed differently according to the language, the section and the region. As in 1851, 1860 and 1869, French continued to be taught throughout the national territory in the two sections of humanities (Graeco-Latin/Latin humanities and modern humanities). One may however observe some slight variations according to the region (with one additional hour per week in the Walloon region in the two sections), as well as significant differences between the sections, with a number of hours per week in modern humanities devoted to the teaching of French, which represents almost the double of the corresponding number in classical humanities.

Strong differences also appear as regards the teaching of Flemish. In the «general observations» of the programme for 1887, it is stated that: «the significance attached to the teaching of the three Germanic languages, in which Flemish is included beside German and English, differs according as the athenaeum pertains to the Flemish or the Walloon region». Accordingly, as already used to be the case, in schools located in the Flemish region, the study of Flemish was compulsory in the Graeco-Latin, Latin and modern humanities. Compared to the situation in 1869, the total number of hours/week in 1887 increased significantly, moving from 15 hours/week to 27 hours/week in the Graeco-Latin and Latin sections, and 28 hours/week in the section of modern humanities.

By contrast, in the Walloon region the study of Flemish was not compulsory, but either offered as a true option or proposed in an optional scheme with regard to the numbers of hours/week. Indeed, in the section of classical humanities, only one language was required beside French, and Flemish was offered as an option beside German. But in modern humanities, two additional languages were obligatorily taught, a ‘major’ additional language and an ‘accessory’ language, with the possibility to choose between Flemish and German, each of which could enjoy either status. In brief, in the Flemish region, both French and Flemish were taught as compulsory disciplines, while in the Walloon region, only the study of French was compulsory whereas Flemish remained optional, whether as a discipline or in terms of its linguistic status.

2. The place of mother tongues in secondary education

2.1. In the humanities

The second part of our inquiry concerns the place of the mother tongues in the hierarchy of disciplines taught in secondary education in Belgium in comparison to classical languages, other modern languages and scientific disciplines.

Table 3. Number of hours/week assigned to the various disciplines in the section of humanities in the royal athenaeums in 1850, 1860 and 1869²⁰

| Subjects | 1851 | 1860 | 1869 |
|--|------|------|------|
| Latin | 57 | 66 | 64 |
| Greek | 17 | 17 | 17 |
| French | 22 | 34 | 34 |
| Flemish (for the Flemish provinces) | 8 | 11 | 15 |
| German or English (for the Flemish provinces) | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Flemish, German or English (for the Walloon provinces) | 10 | 10 | 11 |
| History and geography | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Mathematics | 20 | 18 | 21 |
| Physics | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Calligraphy or drawing | 4 | 10 | 4 |
| Religion | 12 | 12 | 12 |

Looking at all the school subjects taught in the section of humanities in 1851, 1860 and 1869 (table 3), it can be observed that in Walloon provinces, out of a total of 9 subjects, 4 were languages (Latin, Greek, French and a language of one's choice between Flemish, German and English). In Flemish provinces, out of a total of 10 subjects, 5 were languages (Latin, Greek, French, Flemish and a language of one's choice between German and English). In terms of the number of hours/week allotted to the teaching of languages, in 1851, to give an idea, out of a total of 163 hours/weeks during the whole cycle, 110 were devoted to the teaching of languages in the Flemish provinces, and 106 hours/week in the Walloon ones.

The classification of the major school subjects in terms of number of hours/week in 1869 results in the following rankings by decreasing number of hours/week: in Walloon provinces, Latin, then French, Mathematics, Greek, History and Geography; in Flemish provinces, Latin, French, Mathematics, Greek, Flemish. One observes significant evolutions in terms of the number of hours/week between 1851 and 1869. In both categories of provinces, the teaching of Latin increased from 57 hours/week to 64, and in second position French moved from 22 hours/week to 34. Significantly, in the Flemish provinces, Flemish passed from 8 to 15 hours/week.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, see full note 16.

Table 4. Number of hours/week assigned to the different disciplines in the humanities in the royal athenaeums in 1887²¹

| Subjects | Flemish region | | | Subjects | Walloon region | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------|------|-----|------------------------------------|----------------|------|-----|--|
| | G.L.H. | L.H. | | | G.L.H. | L.H. | | |
| | | S. | C. | | | S. | C. | |
| Latin | 53 | 53 | 53 | Latin | 53 | 53 | 53 | |
| Greek | 25 | - | - | Greek | 25 | - | - | |
| French | 27 | 27 | 27 | French | 28 | 28 | 28 | |
| Flemish | 27 | 27 | 27 | Flemish ou German compulsory | 20 | 20 | 20 | |
| German or English (compulsory) | 8 | 8 | 8 | German or Flemish (non compulsory) | (8) | (8) | (8) | |
| English or German (non compulsory) | (8) | (8) | (8) | English (non compulsory) | (8) | (8) | (8) | |
| History | 14 | 14 | 14 | History | 14 | 14 | 14 | |
| Geography | 7 | 7 | 7 | Geography | 7 | 7 | 7 | |
| Mathematics | 21 | 34 | 23 | Mathematics | 21 | 34 | 23 | |
| Natural sciences | 8 | 9 | 15 | Natural sciences | 8 | 9 | 15 | |
| Drawing | 6 | 14 | 14 | Drawing | 6 | 14 | 14 | |
| Religion | 14 | 14 | 14 | Religion | 14 | 14 | 14 | |

G.L.H.: Graeco-Latin Humanities;
 L.H.: Latin Humanities;
 S.: Latin Humanities with scientific purpose;
 C.: Latin Humanities with commercial purpose;
 Compulsory: the pupil must choose one of these two languages;
 Non compulsory: if the pupil chooses this option, he must choose either of these two languages;
 Figures between brackets: subjects proposed as an option.

The major changes brought to the structure of the humanities in 1887 (the splitting of the classical humanities and creation of the «modern humanities») did not result in significant alterations of this overall profile. In the section of Graeco-Latin humanities, out of 12 school subjects taught, 6 were languages; in the Latin humanities, out of 11 subjects, 5 were languages. In terms of number of hours/week one observes significant differences between the two regions. In the Flemish region, in the section of Graeco-Latin humanities, out of total of 210 hours/week, 140 were dedicated to the teaching of languages; in the Latin humanities, 115 hours/week out of a total of 207 for the scientific subsection, and 115 hours/week out of a total of 202 for the commercial one. In the Walloon region, in Graeco-Latin humanities, out of a total of 196 hours/

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

week, 126 were devoted to the teaching of languages; in the Latin humanities, 101 hours/week out of a total of 196 hours for the scientific sub-section, and 101 hours out of a total of 188 for the commercial one.

The classification of the main school subjects by decreasing number of hours/week results in different rankings according to the regions and the sections. In the Flemish region, the order is: Latin, French and Flemish *ex-aequo*, Greek, and Mathematics in the Graeco-Latin section; Latin, Mathematics, French and Flemish *ex-aequo*, three other subjects *ex-aequo* in the Science-Latin section; Latin, French and Flemish *ex-aequo*, Mathematics, Natural sciences in the Commercial-Latin section. In the Walloon region: Latin, French, Greek, Mathematics, Flemish or German in the Graeco-Latin section; Latin, Mathematics, French, Flemish or German, three other subjects in the Science-Latin section; Latin, French, Mathematics, Flemish or German, three other subjects in the Commercial-Latin section.

A significant evolution can be observed between 1869 and 1887 in terms of number of hours/week assigned to the different school subjects. In both regions, Latin decreased from 64 hours/week to 53 and Greek increased slightly, passing from 17 hours/week to 25. French decreased from 34 hours/week to 27 in the Flemish region and 28 in the Walloon region. In the Flemish region, Flemish increased considerably, passing from 15 hours/week in 1869 to 27 in 1887. The situation of Flemish was different in the Walloon region, where this language was not compulsory but optionally proposed beside German, for a number of hours which increased only slightly between 1869 and 1887.

Even after the restructuring of the humanities in 1887, Latin thus remained the subject which received the most attention by far: in both Graeco-Latin and Latin humanities, the number of hours/week devoted to its teaching represented almost the double of the number of hours/week allocated to the next subject in the ranking, which was French, with Greek following at a short distance. This supremacy of Latin is not surprising: in the mind-set of the time, nothing was more beneficial to the training of young people than the study of ancient languages, particularly of Latin²², which was believed «more than any other study, to form and maintain the general taste of the nation, and [...] consequently, [to exert] indirectly the most salutary influence on arts and on industry»²³.

A second general feature is the significant weight of the maternal tongues compared with other modern languages such as English and with scientific

²² About the importance attributed to the teaching of Latin, see: J. Leonhardt, B. Vacher, *La grande histoire du latin*, Paris, CNRS, 2010; F. Wacquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe: XVI^e-XX^e siècle*, Paris, Albin, 1998.

²³ This thesis was supported by the inspectors, who concluded from their surveys that «that the pupils in Latin classes have more general ideas and more intellectual capacity than those of the professional classes». *Inspection et surveillance. Chapitre Premier: Conseil de perfectionnement de l'instruction moyenne*, in *Rapport triennal*, cit., 1867, p. LX [my translation].

disciplines, a weight even more important in the Flemish region, where both French and Flemish appeared in the trio of leading disciplines. The first reason of this is the propaedeutic character attributed to maternal tongues as regards the learning of ancient languages. In an «explanatory note to the draft law on public education» reproduced in the 1832-1840 triennial report, the idea is expressed that if the teaching of ancient languages had not borne fruits until this moment, it was due to the fact that the pupils undertook this learning without mastering well enough their mother tongue. Consequently, it was judged absolutely necessary to reinforce the teaching of mother tongues by dealing more in depth with the study of grammar and spelling²⁴.

The two Belgian mother tongues, French and Flemish, were of course also intensively taught – this is the second reason – due to what was perceived as their own specific value, which was appreciated differently. French was taught in the whole country because it was considered as «a communication tool between the various peoples of Europe». The expectations attached to the teaching and study of the two languages varied significantly. From the pupils of the Flemish schools, it was hoped that they would become able to become totally proficient in Flemish and French, while Walloon young people were only expected to increase progressively their knowledge of Flemish.

2.2. *In the professional section*

Table 5. Number of hours/week assigned to the various disciplines in the professional section in the royal athenaeums in 1850, 1860 and 1869²⁵

| Subjects | 1851 | | | Subjects | 1860 | | 1869 | |
|-------------------|------|----|----|-----------------------------|------|----|------|----|
| | C. | I. | S. | | I.C. | S. | I.C. | S. |
| French | 28 | 28 | 28 | French (Flemish provinces) | 40 | 40 | 40 | 40 |
| | | | | French (Walloon provinces) | 43 | 43 | 43 | 43 |
| German or Flemish | 24 | 24 | 24 | Flemish (Flemish provinces) | 13 | 13 | 15 | 15 |
| | | | | Flemish (Walloon provinces) | 12 | 12 | 13 | 13 |
| | | | | German (Flemish provinces) | 15 | 15 | 15 | 15 |
| | | | | German (Walloon provinces) | 17 | 17 | 17 | 17 |

²⁴ *Note explicative du projet de loi sur l'instruction publique*, in *Etat de l'instruction moyenne en Belgique 1830-1842. Rapport présenté aux chambres législatives le 1er mars 1843*, par M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur, Bruxelles, Em. Devroye et Ce, 1843, p. 99.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, see full note 16.

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|----|----|-----------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| English | 10 | 10 | 10 | English (Flemish provinces) | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| | | | | English (Walloon provinces) | 12 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| History and geography | 13 | 13 | 13 | History and geography | 14 | 14 | 11 | 11 |
| Mathematics | 14 | 14 | 24 | Mathematics | 20 | 31 | 20 | 31 |
| Physics | 4 | 4 | 4 | Physics | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Chemistry | 8 | 8 | - | Chemistry | 8 | - | 8 | - |
| Natural history | 2 | 2 | 2 | Natural history | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Astronomy | 1 | 1 | 1 | Astronomy | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Mechanics | - | 3 | - | Mechanics | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Descriptive geometry | - | 4 | - | Descriptive geometry | - | 2 | - | 2 |
| Bookkeeping | 4 | 4 | 4 | Bookkeeping | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Commercial sciences | 10 | 2 | 2 | Commercial sciences | 10 | - | 10 | 2 |
| Political economy | 2 | 2 | - | Political economy | 2 | - | 2 | - |
| Calligraphy | 4 | 4 | 4 | Calligraphy | 10 | 10 | 4 | 4 |
| Drawing | 16 | 21 | 21 | Drawing | 17 | 20 | 18 | 21 |
| Religion | 10 | 10 | 10 | Religion | 12 | 12 | 10 | 10 |
| C: commercial section; I.: industrial section; S.: scientific section; I.C.: industrial and commercial section. | | | | | | | | |

The situation in the professional sections of the royal athenaeums looks slightly different compared to the humanities. The relative proportion of school subjects devoted to languages and literary subjects is less significant than in the humanities. In 1851, they represented 3 school subjects (French, Flemish or German, English) out of a total of 17 for the country as a whole; in 1869 this figure, moved up to 4 subjects (French, Flemish, German, English) out of 18.

Looking at the number of hours/week assigned to each discipline, we observe that from 1851 to 1869, French moved up from 28 hours/week to 40, Mathematics from 14 hours/week (in the commercial and industrial section) and 24 (in the scientific section) to, respectively, 20 and 31. With respectively 40 and 43 hours/week in Flemish and Walloon provinces in 1869, French in the professional education took up the dominating position held by Latin in the section of humanities, followed by mathematics with (also in 1869) 31 hours/week in the scientific section and 20 hours/week in the commercial section; and drawing took the third position. In the Walloon provinces, German, Flemish and English appeared respectively in fourth, fifth and sixth position; in the Flemish provinces, German and Flemish were *ex-aequo* in fourth position,

followed by English. The rest of the rankings varied according to the regions and the sections at lower level.

Quite surprisingly, German overrides (in both regions in 1860 and the Walloon region in 1869) or matches (in the Flemish region in 1869) Flemish. Clues about the reason of this can be found in the 1860 inspection report, which contains the first assessments of the results in the professional section. Generally speaking, modern languages (German and English) were school subjects described as indispensable to significant development, and a series of important measures were taken towards this objective. The German language was privileged because it was perceived, by virtue of its structure, as closer to ancient languages and consequently susceptible to enrich the teaching of French literature through comparative study²⁶.

Table 6. Number of hours/week assigned to the various disciplines in the section of modern humanities of the royal athenaeums in 1887²⁷

| Subjects | Modern humanities, Flemish region | | Subjects | Modern humanities, Walloon region | |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------|---|--------------------------------------|--------|
| | S. | C. | | S. | C. |
| Religion | 14 | 14 | Religion | 14 | 14 |
| French | 45 | 45 | French | 46 | 46 |
| Flemish | 28 | 28 | Flemish or German (principal language) | 27 | 27 |
| German | 17 | 17 | German or Flemish (accessory language) | 18 | 18 |
| English | (10) | 10 | English | (10) | 10 |
| History | 14 | 14 | History | 14 | 14 |
| Geography | 7 | 7 | Geography | 7 | 7 |
| Mathematics | 34 | 23 | Mathematics | 34 | 23 |
| Natural sciences | 9 | 15 | Natural sciences | 9 | 15 |
| Commercial sciences | 3 | 14 | Commercial sciences | 3 | 14 |
| Drawing | 16 | 8+(6) | Drawing | 16 | 8+ (6) |
| S.: Modern humanities with scientific purpose; C.: Modern humanities with commercial purpose; Figures between brackets: subjects proposed as an option. | | | | | |

²⁶ One of the reasons why it was decided in 1860 to add one year to the professional curriculum (bringing it to six years) was to increase the number of hours devoted to the teaching of modern languages. *Enseignement*, in *Rapport triennal*, cit., 1862, p. XCIII.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, see full note 16.

Looking at the situation in 1887, one observes that the passage from the older «professional section» to the new «modern humanities» was accompanied by a decrease in the number of school subjects, which was reduced from 18 in 1869 to 11 in 1887. As a consequence, the proportion of the total number of hours represented by the languages and literary subjects (which remained 4) increased.

The classification of the school subjects by decreasing number of hours/week in 1887 results in the following rankings: in the Flemish region, French (passing from 40 hours/week in 1869 to 45 in 1887), Mathematics (science section) or Flemish – passing from 15 hours/week to 28 – (Commercial section), German (passing from 15 hours/week to 17); in the Walloon region, French (passing from 31 hours/week in 1869 to 46 in 1887), Mathematics (science section) or the principal language (commercial section), the principal language (science section) or Mathematics (commercial section). All the other disciplines (natural sciences, commercial sciences, history, geography followed at a lower level.

3. *Handbooks, programmes and the question of national authors*

The perspective in which the languages were taught can be apprehended through a look at the school practices, the kind of exercises and the materials which were used for its teaching. During the years of legislative uncertainty preceding the adoption of the first law on secondary education, the question of the books used in the secondary schools was a cause of great concern for the government. Indeed, the conclusions of an enquiry conducted on this subject were rather worrisome. It appeared that most schools relied on what the government described as a «particular library», composed of books which often were not the same, or when they were, were not used in the same editions²⁸. Among them, the two books at the top of the list were two French classical handbooks by, respectively, Noël and Chapsal, and Noël and Delaplace²⁹, which were followed by about fifty other books by French authors. This lack of homogeneity and the absence of Belgian authors were a dual source of concern for the teachers, who considered such a situation detrimental to the build-up of a true national state system of secondary education. In 1849, at the occasion of a meeting of the national «Professors' Congress», they deplored that their

²⁸ *Des livres employés dans les athénées et les collèges*, in *Etat de l'instruction moyenne en Belgique 1830-1842*, cit., p. XLVI.

²⁹ *Liste des livres employés dans les athénées et les collèges (année scolaire 1841-1842)* in *Etat de l'instruction moyenne en Belgique 1830-1842*, cit., 1843, pp. 250-267.

schools had to use «books from abroad»³⁰ and pleaded for the use of identical classical books in all schools and the recourse to Belgian authors.

To remedy this situation, article 33 of the law of 1st June 1850 invited the «Conseil de Perfectionnement» (the professors' representative body) «to examine the books to be used in teaching». Indeed, the government counted on the assistance of the Council «to build a collection of classical books [...] which [would] bear the seal of [the] national spirit»³¹. The idea was that the Council would examine books submitted to its scrutiny and publish a list of authorized and recommended books for use in the State secondary schools. The professors could choose from this list the books which were the most suitable to them. Every year they had to communicate their choice to the rector of their institution, who would transmit the information to the national administration³².

These measures helped improve the situation to a certain extent. A look at the handbooks authorized in the years 1850-1890 shows that they were written by professors from the Belgian secondary education system. The first handbooks for the teaching of Flemish recommended by the «Conseil de perfectionnement» – they were even formally suggested in the school programmes – were : *Keur van dicht en prozastukken ten gebruike van middelbaar, normaal en meer gevorderd lager onderwijs* by Jan Van Beers³³, *Leesoefeningen voor de jeugd* by Karel Frans Stallaert³⁴ and *Het Volklesboek* by P. Van Duyse³⁵ and Johan Michiel Dautzenberg³⁶. It is worth noticing that these authors belonged to the Flemish nationalist movement and were strongly committed to the cause of the Flemish language.

On the other hand, national authors appeared almost only in handbooks used for the teaching of Flemish literature. At the exception of the *Morceaux choisis des poètes belges* of B. Van Hollebeke³⁷ and the *Anthologie belge* of A. Struman-Picardy and G. Kurth³⁸, both published in 1874 (but neither formally

³⁰ *Séance du 13 avril 1849 du comité permanent*, in «Moniteur de l'enseignement. Journal du congrès professoral de Belgique», 1849, p. 18.

³¹ *Direction et résultats de l'enseignement. Considérations générales*, in *Rapport triennal*, cit., 1865, p. XXXVIII [my translation].

³² *Arrêté royal qui détermine les attributions générales des préfets des études dans les athénées royaux*, in *Rapport triennal*, cit., 1856, p. 39.

³³ Jan Van Beers (Antwerp 1821-1888), Flemish poet, author of several school handbooks. See: *Biographie nationale*, cit., 1936-1938, Vol. 26, coll. 161-162.

³⁴ Karel Frans Stallaert (Mechelen 1820-Everberg 1893), professor of philology. See: *Biographie nationale*, cit., 1924, Vol. 23, coll. 555-561.

³⁵ Prudens Van Duyse (Termonde 1804-Ghent 1859), poet. See: *Biographie nationale*, cit., 1878, Vol. 6, coll. 404-420.

³⁶ Johan Michiel Dautzenberg (Heerlen 1808-Ixelles 1869), poet, critic, education specialist. See: *Biographie nationale*, cit., 1967, Vol. 34, coll. 195-197.

³⁷ The author of the text quoted in epigraph to this article.

³⁸ Godefroid Kurth (Arlon 1847-Asse 1916), leading historian. See: *Nouvelle biographie nationale*, Bruxelles, Académie Royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 2005, Vol. 8, coll. 212-219.

recommended by the «Conseil» nor suggested in the programmes), no French-speaking literature handbook of this period comprised texts from French-speaking Belgian authors.

In addition to the handbooks, the school programmes deserve to be considered with attention. Indeed, the analysis of their content allows one to identify a series of elements informative of the spirit in which a language and its literature were taught, such as the successive steps taken in the learning process, the kind of exercises used and the authors proposed as models. The programme of French teaching, almost identical in the section of humanities and the professional section (the only difference being that it was more condensed in the professional section, which was one year shorter), was basically organized in three phases. The first years³⁹ were exclusively devoted to the teaching of grammar and spelling. The exercises varied and covered reading aloud, grammar (first elements of syntax, grammatical analysis), vocabulary, spelling, dictation, chrestomathy (explanation of selected pieces from easy authors), but also memorization, recitation and small exercises of composition and oral presentation.

In a second phase – which extended from the fifth year to the third, alongside spelling and normative grammar, the attention focused on writing and style, with exercises to learn how to apply the rules, composition (small narrations, letters) and training to oral expression (small narrations, oral descriptions). Finally, in the third phase, the explanation and analysis of selected pieces was further developed with the study of literary masterworks such as Fénelon's *Télémaque*, Lafontaine's *Fables choisies*, Boileau's *Satires* and *Épitres*, *Le Petit Carême* by Massillon and a few selected pieces of various authors, particularly some letters of Mrs. de Sévigné. The last two years focused on memory exercises, recitation and literary analysis. In the second to last year (called «Poésie»), the attention turned to Boileau's *Art poétique*, the equivalent work by Fléchier, and Racine's tragedies. In the last year («Rhétorique» – so called because of the emphasis put on eloquence), pupils studied Bossuet's *Oraisons funèbres* and dramatic masterpieces of the 17th century (by Corneille, Racine or Molière).

A comparison between the lists of books and writers mentioned in the programmes of 1841-1842 and 1847 (see Annex 2) shows the same small number of authors (Boileau, Bossuet, Fénelon, Lafontaine, Racine) at the top, with all the others following. As a matter of fact, in spite of some minor modifications, the list of authors studied remained practically unchanged

³⁹ Until a few years ago, in the Belgian secondary education system, school levels were identified according to a scale of numbers progressing in decreasing order. So, the first year was called the «seventh year», the second year was called the «sixth year», and so on. The next to last year was informally called «Poésie» and the last one «Rhétorique» (an appellation which is still used today to name informally the last year of the current six-years long secondary education course).

during the whole period 1830-1890. Strikingly, all of them were French⁴⁰ and despite the strong statements about the need to valorise the national literature, no French-speaking Belgian author appeared in the programmes.

The programmes for the teaching of Flemish in schools located in both Flemish and Walloon provinces were basically very similar in structure to those established for the teaching of French: the first years concentrated on basic grammar and spelling, the intermediate years focused on composition and style, subjects to be further developed in the final years. However, they differed from the French programmes in several respects: first of all, they varied according to the region where the institution was established. In the humanities and the professional section of the schools located in Flemish provinces, the teaching of Flemish started as from the seventh year, while in the corresponding sections of the schools located in Walloon provinces, it started respectively as from the fourth and the fifth year. Only from 1879 onwards would Flemish be taught as from the seventh year in schools in the Walloon provinces.

In 1879, a dual innovation was introduced, which marked the growing recognition of Flemish as a national language. The programme for that year stipulated that in the schools located in the Flemish region, the teaching of Flemish would henceforth take place in Flemish in the «Poésie» and «Rhétorique» (when it was not the case already), and conversely, that in the Walloon region, the same instruction in those two years would be dispensed mainly in Flemish (previously, Flemish was taught in French). 1887 marked an important moment in the history of the teaching of Flemish, since the new programme provided that starting from the fourth or third year according to the section, an «explanation of selected pieces and of a complete work in prose of the principal authors of the 19th century» would be part of the programme.

A second difference is that in the programmes of Flemish teaching, room was made, beside Dutch authors like Bilderdijk, Schrant, Vander Palm and Vondel, to Belgian Flemish-speaking authors like Conscience (*De grootmoeder, Eenige bladzijden uit het boek der natuur end Wat een moeder lijden kan*), Ledeganck (*De drie Zustersteden*), Tollens (*De Echtscheiding, Overwintering op Nova Zembla*) and David (*Vaderlandsche geschiedenis*).

⁴⁰ They were the authors studied in the French secondary schools. See: M. Jey, *La littérature au lycée: invention d'une discipline (1880-1925)*, Metz, Université de Metz, 1998.

4. *The issue of the Flemish language*⁴¹

Before drawing any conclusions at this stage of the analysis, a reminder of some basic features of what could be called the «Flemish language issue» is needed in order to place the findings of this enquiry in their proper perspective.

Generally speaking, during the years under consideration, public opinion in general acknowledged the existence of two major mother tongues in the country, which were clearly perceived as intrinsic components of the Belgian nationality. The idea that both languages should be taught and learned in the two regions of the country was broadly shared. Nevertheless, the room allotted to each of them in secondary education was not identical. For reasons of different natures (political, sociological and practical), the principle of equal treatment was difficult to implement.

A first difficulty stemmed from the political sensitivity of the issue and the connotations associated with the two languages. In the months following the independence, the representatives of the French-speaking middle-class in the government felt the duality of languages as a danger for Belgium. They estimated that in the interest of all, the use of a single language was necessary in order to rule the country effectively. The idea was not to establish a monolingual regime by extirpating Flemish; but French prevailed easily, for two reasons: the first was that Flemish was perceived as too close (even almost identical) to the language of the former Dutch occupants, whose attempts to 'Dutchify' the country had proved to be a true failure⁴². In addition, French, a language spoken by the elite of the country, was perceived as the language of culture, international policy and administration, and was considered by both the French-speaking bourgeoisie and the first Flemish nationalists⁴³ as the only language able to serve the cause of Belgium.

A practical reason was related to the history of the Flemish language and its slow codification. The linguistic situation of Belgium in 1830 juxtaposed an established homogeneous language, French, and a variety of Flemish dialects, ancestors of today's Flemish language. It is only with the development of the earlier Flemish nationalist movement – which presented itself at the beginning as a literary movement militating for the recognition of a culture and which waged

⁴¹ This section is largely based on the book by Astrid Von Busekist previously quoted. An abundant historiography exists on this subject. For an overview of the history of the Flemish language, see: L. Wils, *Waarom Vlaanderen Nederlands spreekt*, Leuven, Davidsfonds, 2001; E. Witte, H. Van Velthoven, *Taal in politiek of Belgische casus in een historisch perspectief*, Brussel, Vubpress, 1998.

⁴² The policy of 'Dutchification' of William I met resistance from both French-speaking people, relying on the strong linguistic base build by the previous 'Francization' of the country in the Napoleonic era, and the defenders of Flemish, who spoke a set of heterogeneous dialects and were eager to promote a language based on them.

⁴³ For a history of the Flemish nationalist movement, see: E. Gubin, *Bruxelles au XIXe siècle, berceau d'un flamingantisme démocratique*, Bruxelles, Pro Civitate, 1979.

cultural battles such as the «spelling war»⁴⁴ – that a codified and standardized Flemish, the current Flemish, was to emerge progressively from these dialects. The development of Flemish teaching was also slowed down by the absence of efficient mechanisms to train and recruit modern language teachers. A «capability diploma for modern language teachers» was created only in 1863, and serious measures in their favor were not adopted before 1870-1872⁴⁵.

Last but not least, the ‘diglossic’ character of the linguistic situation in Belgium at the time needs to be taken into account. Indeed, the linguistic diversity mirrored social inequalities existing across the country. The bulk of the population was cut off from the active citizenship by the tax threshold-based vote, illiteracy and the use of dialects, Walloon patois as much as Flemish dialects. Because the north of the country was less developed than the industrial Walloon region, Flemish was associated with economic lag, underdevelopment and insulation from modernity. Of course, the Flemish nationalist movement helped to gradually enhance the status of Flemish, but as a basically urban and literary movement, it took time to rally the bulk of the Flemish population, composed of small farmers.

5. Conclusion: a slow and hesitant evolution

By creating a new ‘professional’ section beside the classical humanities, offering an education which made considerable room for the French language, modern languages and scientific disciplines, the law of 1st June 1850 on secondary education opened up the public education system to what was perceived as the needs of a modern society. At the same time, by establishing in its article 22 that the Flemish and German languages would be taught in the regions where these languages were spoken, it paved the way for a bi(tri-)lingual State.

The analysis of the concrete practices of language teaching in the following years show, however, how slowly the changes supposed to result from such innovations were to actually appear. Clearly, in the eyes of a significant part of the middle-class, the traditional humanistic model of education no longer answered the needs of a society oriented towards industrial and commercial

⁴⁴ Between 1836 and 1864, a true ‘spelling war’ raged between the partisans of an orthography close to the Dutch one, and those who wanted to promote a spelling taking into account the particularisms of Flemish dialects. In 1864, the government of Vanderpeereboom, liberal minister and ‘flamandophile’, established once for all the orthographical unity, thanks to concessions from the Dutch, who recognized the cultural singularity of Flanders, at least as far as spelling was concerned.

⁴⁵ For instance the organization of weekly lectures for modern language teachers, with a view to reinforcing the teaching of modern languages and harmonizing the practices in this field, and a progressive harmonization with those of the teachers in other disciplines.

activities. The introduction of a curriculum centred on the teaching of modern languages and scientific disciplines aimed at meeting such concerns.

But as Dominique Grootaers rightly stresses, by fully maintaining the traditional section of humanities focused on the teaching of classical languages while at the same time introducing new sections, the law of 1850, far from breaking brutally with the past, upheld a strong continuity with it. The prestige of ancient languages was so high that the merits of modern languages were often evaluated according to their capacity to help the learning of ancient languages, especially Latin; and their introduction in a new curriculum at the expense of ancient languages was viewed as a way to consolidate the mastery of the latter, by offering the modern languages only to highly motivated pupils. In fact, the prestige of a classical education based on the knowledge of Latin and French as the most glorious way to train elites would stay intact far ahead in the 20th century, as long as the Belgian elites remained French-speaking. It would disappear only gradually, starting with the moment when the tax-based vote was suppressed and universal suffrage was progressively introduced. It is worth noting that the diplomas of classical and modern humanities would be recognized as equivalent and give equal access to the different university faculties only in 1964.

Because the country was small and young, the concern to develop a genuine national elite through language was at least matched, if not surpassed, by the desire to consolidate and extend the existing elite. This objective was pursued through an increase in the duration of education and the addition of new subject matters to the curriculum, as well as through the maintenance and strengthening of the traditional training of the elite, that is, the classical humanities, which never lost their enormous prestige.

Another insight emerging from the analysis is the lack of homogeneity in status and the inequality in treatment of the different modern languages. As a general feature, the teaching of mother and living tongues increased gradually, especially from 1860 onwards. But the importance attributed to each of them in the hierarchy of the school subjects and their weight compared to other disciplines varied significantly according to the year, the section and the geographical area where the language was taught. French appears as the winning discipline of the half-century, as it was taught in all institutions of the country, and in all sections of secondary education; and its study was reinforced throughout the various decades under consideration.

A series of reasons, partly linked, partly contradictory, explain this position of superiority. First, the status of French: as the language of the administration and the new state's operational language, it was regarded as the instrument able to optimally unite the population of the country. On the other hand, as the language of the whole French-speaking elite, French was perceived as the language of culture, the distinctive language of the cities compared to the countryside, and of the prosperous regions compared to the underprivileged ones.

By the same token, French was perceived as the language giving access to social advancement. In addition, as established by the first law on the subject in 1835, university education was dispensed only in French: it was not until the laws of 1930 (on the linguistic status of the University of Ghent) and 1932 (on the use of languages in administrative matters) that one was to see university lectures taught in Flemish at the universities of the Flemish region. Finally, at a time when most teaching theories shared the idea that the learning of a language could be significantly helped by the knowledge of another one, the study of French in the humanities was considered instrumental to the learning of Latin. Reciprocally, the study of German in the professional section was favoured because of a structural proximity to Latin, which was perceived as making German indirectly instrumental to the learning of French.

The teaching of Flemish offers a different picture. Not least in answer to pressure from the Flemish nationalist movement, the study of this language clearly was to gain increasing importance, in particular in the Flemish-speaking part of the country and in the professional section. But this process was to develop very gradually, and the teaching of Flemish at national level remained for long a marginal phenomenon. The clear desire to acknowledge the rights of the Flemish-speaking populations to deepen and consolidate proficiency in their mother tongue, and to recognize Flemish as a part of Belgian identity, conflicted with a no less clear refusal to consider French and Flemish on an equal footing and to impose knowledge of the latter to the population of the whole country.

The translation into political terms of the rights of the Flemish population to fully use its mother tongue, the legitimization of Flemish and the concretization of the idea that the bilingualism was an essential component of the Belgian identity, took time to take shape and proceeded in several steps. The promulgation of the first linguistic laws in administrative matters (Coremans Law of 1873 and Delaet Law of 1878), was followed by the Coremans Law of 1883 in educational matters, which granted a larger place to the Flemish language in this field⁴⁶. This process was to eventually lead to the *Law of equality* (1898), which consecrated Flemish as the second official language of Belgium.

In spite of this, the first national authors to be studied in secondary education in Belgium were Flemish writers – Conscience, David, Ledeganck and Tollens – called to enter soon into the national Pantheon. Conversely, it would take until the end of the 19th century for Belgian authors to be mentioned in the handbooks for the teaching of French: the prestige of France

⁴⁶ The main provision of the law established that in the athenaeums of the official secondary education system, in addition to the teaching of Flemish (placed on equal footing with French), and additional to the use of this language as a propaedeutic tool for the learning of German and English, two other subjects (history-geography and biology) should be taught in Flemish. For the first time, Flemish was considered as a working language in secondary education. It was no longer regarded as a language transitional to French, but as a full-fledged language of culture, comparable – albeit not exactly equivalent – to French.

among the elites and the overwhelming bulk of French literature slowed down the acknowledgement of local authors in the teaching of French-speaking literature. The idea of a national literature originally emerged in the Flemish linguistic region, a minority area in terms of power and prestige, but a majority area in terms of the population count. It is here that intellectuals started fighting for the recognition of their culture as a full-fledged component of Belgium's identity.

What is at stake in educational policy is never confined to pedagogical issues only. Educational policy is a choice battlefield for the confrontation between political, ideological, economic and cultural views and interests. In its efforts to build and to consolidate a national elite, as in all other European countries at the same moment, Belgium, due to the dominating mindset in its bourgeoisie and the balance of power between linguistic communities in the country's earlier history, implemented a model favouring the knowledge of French and Latin as a common cultural background serving as an instrument of social distinction.

Annexes

Annex 1. Living tongues taught in institutions of secondary education in 1841-1842*

| <i>Institution</i> | <i>Flemish</i> | <i>German</i> | <i>English</i> |
|----------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| Athénée de Bruxelles | taught | taught | taught |
| Collège de Nivelles | - | - | - |
| Collège de Tirlemont | taught | taught | - |
| Collège de Wavre | taught | taught | taught |
| Athénée de Bruges | taught | taught | taught |
| Collège d'Ypres | taught | - | taught |
| Athénée de Gand | taught | taught | taught |
| Ecole d'Audenarde | taught | - | - |
| Collège de Mons | taught | taught | taught |
| Athénée de Tournai | taught | taught | taught |
| Collège d'Enghien | - | - | - |
| Collège de Charleroi | - | - | - |
| Collège de Chimay | - | - | - |
| Collège de Thuin | - | - | - |
| Collège d'Ath | taught | taught | - |
| Collège de Soignies | - | taught | taught |
| Collège de Liège | - | taught | taught |
| Ecole de Verviers | - | taught | taught |
| Ecole moyenne de Huy | - | - | - |
| Collège de Herve | - | taught | - |
| Collège de Hasselt | taught | taught | - |
| Collège de Tongres | taught | - | - |
| Collège de Beeringen | taught | - | - |
| Collège de St-Trond | taught | - | - |
| Collège d'Arlon | - | taught | - |
| Collège de Bouillon | - | taught | - |
| Collège de Virton | - | taught | - |
| Athénée de Namur | - | taught | - |
| Collège de Dinant | - | taught | - |

* *Liste des livres employés dans les athénées et les collèges (année scolaire 1841-1842)*, in *Etat de l'instruction moyenne en Belgique 1830-1842*, cit., 1843, pp. 268-275.

Annex 2. List of authors studied in French classes in the royal athenaeums between 1841-1842 and 1847**

| | 6 th year | 5 th year | 4 th year | 3 rd year | «Poésie» | «Rhétorique» | Total |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Total number of authors explained</i> | 1841-1842 | 1847 | 1841-1842 | 1847 | 1841-1842 | 1847 | 1841-1842 |
| Boileau | 1 | - | 1 | - | 1 | 3 | 9 |
| Bossuet | - | - | - | - | - | - | 9 |
| Buffon | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 |
| Chateaubriand | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Corneille | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| D'aguèsseau | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| De Lamartine | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Fléchier | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Lafontaine | 4 | 9 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 2 |
| Massillon | - | - | - | - | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Molière | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Racine | - | - | - | - | 7 | 11 | 6 |
| J.-B. Rousseau | - | - | - | - | 3 | - | 3 |
| Fénelon | 6 | 11 | 5 | 9 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| | | | | | - | 2 | 1 |
| | | | | | | 1 | 21 |
| | | | | | | | 37 |

** For 1841-1842 see: *Etat de l'instruction moyenne en Belgique 1830-1842*, cit., pp. 250-267. For 1847 see: *Liste des auteurs français expliqués dans les différentes classes des établissements subventionnés, en 1847*, in *Rapport triennal*, cit., 1849, pp. 408-411.

Nationalisation through Contrasts: «the racial us» and «the colonial us» in the construction of Italian identity at school

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ABSTRACT: The long process that gradually gave rise to an Italian national sentiment also relied much on a sort of complementary feeling that was essential in identifying and stigmatizing anyone who was not part of the national community. As nationalism evolved in the period between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the identification and stigmatization of both foreigner and enemy, went hand in hand with the invention and attribution of an idealised and glorified national past. These processes of stigmatization actually contributed to reaffirm, 'from the outside', the boundaries of a nation that was still under construction; nevertheless, 'from the inside', they helped to encourage and reinforce the inner bonds of national identity *through contrast*. This essay deals with two particular issues regarding the role played by school curricula in the complex and indirect process of forming Italian citizens and national identity *through contrast*, in the period between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first part deals with the diffusion of the idea that the Italian colonisers were conquerors who «civilised» «barbaric and inferior» populations, while the second focuses on the notion of a national «racial» belonging to a «white» or Western community based on hereditary somatic and psychic traits.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Nationalization; Colonialism; Race Relation; School; Education; Italy; XIX-XX Centuries.

Introduction

The historical construction of citizenship never follows a straightforward historical path where inclusions happen automatically. The institutions and individuals that steer its course define its physical and mental borders and also

decide, every now and then, who has the right to be called a citizen and to be part of the nation. As a result, this very process not only sanctions inclusions, but also simultaneously defines who should be excluded, that is to say, anyone who does not fall within the necessary parameters for being defined a citizen. One could even say that the development of a national sentiment has to identify (and even oppose) anything that is not part of the nation.

Thus, the lengthy process that gradually gave rise to an Italian national sentiment relied much on a sort of complementary feeling that was essential in identifying and stigmatizing anyone who was not part of the national community. The most popular cases were foreigners, «dangerous» subjects, internal enemies, and enemies of the nation in the event of war. As nationalism evolved in the period between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the identification and stigmatization of both foreigner and enemy go hand in hand with the invention and attribution of an idealised and glorified national past. At times of conflict, «ethnic» hatred towards the enemy gathers momentum and becomes an essential element of the propaganda addressed to the armed forces and the home front. The enemy is always portrayed in the same stereotypical fashion, and this image is then used as propaganda to catalyze hostility and hatred, but also to promote a feeling of national cohesiveness. In critical circumstances, one way to strengthen national identity is to demonize the enemy. Farmers and workers and their families need to be convinced that they are involved in an inevitable war, which they are fighting for themselves, in other words, for the nation, against an enemy that threatens their very existence. However, this enemy is not always an external, foreign or dangerous force, but may even be lurking within the nation itself. The dangerous classes or the proletariat, southerners, bandits, and Jews can all be given the same negative connotation since they fail to meet with the new ethnic or social requisites. In fact, these processes of stigmatization actually play a role in reaffirming the boundaries of the nation that is under construction. In truth, the bonds of national identity are encouraged and reinforced through contrast.

This essay deals with two particular issues regarding the role played by school curricula in the complex and indirect process of forming citizens and national identity through contrast, in the period between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first part deals with the diffusion of the idea that the Italian colonisers were conquerors who «civilised» «barbaric and inferior» populations, while the second focuses on the notion of a national «racial» belonging to a «white» or Western community based on hereditary somatic and psychic traits¹.

¹ G. Mosse, *La nazionalizzazione delle masse*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1975; on the «nationalization through contrast», I take the concept from M. Nani, *Ai confini della nazione*, Roma, Carocci, 2006. Regarding the world of the education, on the internal borders you see R. Sani, «*Refining the masses to build the Nation*». *National schooling and education in the first four decades post-unification*, «History of education & children's literature», vol. 7, n. 2, 2012, pp. 79-96.

1. *The «racial us» and the «colonial us»*

The political process behind the establishment of a national sentiment and Italian identity was a gradual one, which unfolded throughout the nineteenth century and particularly after unification. This construction process was often hampered by the pre-existing forms of collective identity, which were loath to accept the idea of being Italian. For example, a pre-national and localist sense of belonging typically existed in all the lands that came together to form the new state. Or again, the political and religious identity of the Catholic church which, together with the Papal State, had long opposed unification, maintaining this position even after 1870 through its network of churches and church goers.

However, although such points of view frowned on Italian nationalism, there was another form of identity that was not at odds with the unification process. The so-called «colonial» identity had been around for at least three centuries and was common to all the European nations who were projected towards the conquest and exploitation of the world. The concept was easily absorbed in the new context and, in the following years, was to develop in synergy with the new national identity. This period of «long colonialism» could be said to have started in around 1492, or 1415 with the conquest of Ceuta by the Portuguese and was characterised by the so-called «West» assuming political and commercial control and then national dominion of the various colonies. The era only came to an end (at least formally) in 1997 when Great Britain returned Hong Kong to China².

There were several different stages in this European colonization and not every European country was involved in the same way. The last phase of expansion reached its heyday in the second half of the nineteenth century with the *scramble for Africa*, that is to say, the armed conflict that broke out between the European powers as they tried to carve up Africa. And the newly born Italian nation was no different, since it was determined to reclaim its role as a European power and also to get its share of the remaining African territories. This phase of territorial expansion was also witness to the development of a mass society and gradual improvements in education. Any information about these other parts of the world that were now being explored and conquered was deliberately designed to justify the conquests themselves. Everything was given the «racist» and evolutionist slant that was to emerge by the mid-century, but there were also other and often conflicting representations of otherness that had developed in the three previous centuries. The idea of the inferior and the barbaric American Indians had been the subject of many heated debates ever since the sixteenth century. The domination of these «savages», their exploitation, and the slave trade were justified by making use of either biblical or libertine theories,

² See N. Labanca, *Il razzismo coloniale italiano*, in A. Burgio (ed.), *Nel nome della razza*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1999.

whose conflicting ideas sparked off the hegemonic disputes between the various classes of Western thinkers who were so eager to evangelize and subjugate a large part of mankind. The clash between these two theories had actually given rise to a common basic idea of «white» and Christian superiority, which, in the nineteenth century, represented a main element of continuity between the old and new forms of domination. This was how the idea of a common European or Western identity based on ethnic, religious, and cultural grounds came to be accepted in the new positivist theories of «racial» superiority. For much of the twentieth century, the resulting synthesis was found as the basis of all the various national expressions of imperialist thought³.

2. «Races»: the otherness that builds identity

As previously mentioned, one of the two different processes involved in the definition of national identity is the construction of the absolute 'otherness' of the other non-European populations. This biological and cultural 'otherness' was formed from the fusion of long-existing traditional paradigms with emerging positivist ideas and also with the literature and news from this new era of exploration and conquest. We shall now take a more detailed look at some of the teaching materials that made use of this classification into «races» and see just how effective it was in the construction of a «white» identity in the recently formed nation.

The first examples are taken from textbooks published before Italian unification. They offer a picture of the early-nineteenth century, prior to the evolutionary studies that sparked off the numerous changes and debates between the forties and the seventies and the classification into «races» so typical of positivist anthropology. The fact of being published on the eve of «racial» codification and the *scramble for Africa* makes them a prime example of just how Self and Other were portrayed and taught at this time, and of how this image always underlay any future elaborations.

In Luigi Alessandro Parravicini's *Giannetto*, first published in 1837, the brief description of the five continents has a number of elements that inform the young reader of the existence of a clear hierarchy of «civilization». The author explains that the cradle of civilization originated in Asia, but that the torch had been passed to a Europe that emanated and spread civilization. Parravicini believed that settlers had already managed to bring European culture to the

³ About the racism see A. Burgio, G. Gabrielli, *Il razzismo*, Roma, Ediesse, 2011. A brief overview of the state of the studies about 'races' and colonies in education is in G. Gabrielli, *Finding out about the colonies. The role of schools, between the 1800s and 1900s, in establishing an Italian colonial identity. The state of research*, «History and Education & Children's literature», vol. 8, n. 1, 2013, pp. 319-341.

coastal area of the Americas, while the inland and central parts were still inhabited by savages and barbarians. And Oceania, the last continent to be discovered by the Europeans was even less civilized. Moreover, his description of the inhabitants of Africa also tells us that «They are black»⁴, whereas skin colour is barely mentioned for the other populations, and then only to refer to the location of their settlements.

Later on, we find an entire paragraph that is dedicated to the *Main varieties of mankind* (the word «race» is not yet used). The description of the three «varieties» refers to the geographical area of origin and lists the different somatic characteristics. In one part, Parravicini explains that, beyond the possible comparison between the different types of human beings, the European man is the «best formed variety» who surpasses all the others.

This hierarchy is then stated and indirectly repeated in the description of the physical features of all these varieties, made all the more explicit in some passages by the use of metaphorical language: Europeans «are mostly rosy-cheeked»; a somewhat less elevated style is reserved for the Mongolian variety, described as «withered oranges», while the terms chosen for the Ethiopian variant («more or less, they all have black and greasy skin») are undeniably belittling. Finally, a clear similarity is pointed out between the Ethiopian variety and animals, in an implicit, but unequivocal affirmation on the shape of their face, «their face is like a protruding snout»⁵.

This physical description is followed by a paragraph that explains the *Differences between populations in terms of customs and knowledge*. The customs, religion, and culture of non-European populations, or better, a description of their way of life, become a set of arguments to confirm their inferiority. The otherness of these peoples is described by blending legends and myths with information gleaned from explorers. Non-European populations are measured against the yardstick of European customs and the Christian religion. This description of mankind clearly refers to the stage-theories that had been around since the previous century: the lowest stage of society was the «savage» state, next came the «nomadic» populations, all the way up to the «civilized» people of Europe. The comparison between these so-called «savages» and «primitive man» also gradually emerges in the reconstruction of history and prehistory through the description of lithic artefacts and fossils («they lead a rudimentary existence just like the first men who lived on the Earth»). Such a comparison is also used for the second «nomadic» stage: «they are not as boorish and primitive as the savages. This was how Abraham, Jacob, and the other patriarchs from the Holy Scriptures used to live in ancient times»⁶.

⁴ L.A. Parravicini, *Giannetto. Opera che ottenne il premio promesso dalla società formata in Firenze per la diffusione del metodo di reciproco insegnamento all'autore del più bel libro di lettura morale ad uso de' fanciulli*, Venezia, Passeri Brigadin, 1843, pp. 95-96.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

This clear distinction between the different populations also contains several other elements that were commonly accepted by scholars: the «savages» were characterised by the fact that they lack any kind of social organisation, that they have no future aspirations, and that their savage nature culminates in cannibalism and nudity; the «nomads» were promiscuous, while the «civilized» populations with their ordered and well-functioning social hierarchies also stood out for their moral qualities, such as kindness, solidarity, and respect for others.

Marietti's textbook from 1846 already features the word «race» to designate skin colour and geographical origin. The paragraphs devoted to the description of the African continent clearly imply, and pass judgement on the levels of civilization of the different «races»:

Notwithstanding that some peoples, such as the Egyptians and the Carthaginians, were once very civilized, it can be said that, apart from a few recently founded colonies of free Negroes and a couple of European establishments, Africa is in a state of pitiful barbarism⁷.

For Marietti, therefore, the continent was engulfed in barbarism, although this primitive state apparently had little to do with the «race» of its inhabitants, since both the European establishments and Liberia were excluded. This inhumanity was a result of the peoples' customs and usages, since they were «pirates» and «cannibals» who drowned crippled children and sacrificed slaves on the tombs of kings, seeing that whenever one of their kings died, his servants and even a number of courtiers were put to death. A little further on, the people from Nigrizia (the area south of the Sahara, between Sudan and Mali, which included Ethiopia,) are described as:

lazy, thoughtless and slow-witted. They possess keen-sight and hearing, and are therefore quite fond of music. They see life as a fleeting moment that needs to be made the most of; they are never happier than when the sun goes down and they can dance all night. The songs and the sounds of a village are replicated in the others and they love to gamble. The traditional Negro religion is fetishism⁸.

As regards Cafreria (Southern Africa), some Hottentot tribes are referred to as «an example of the lowest of the low», to such an extent that «they have almost no idea of god, even though they do use magic»⁹.

Africa was thus presented as a little known land where savagery ruled. The scarce information that was available came from sources that had been collected over several centuries. Recently collected data was mixed with three or four-hundred-year old reports describing legendary characters (for example,

⁷ G. Marietti, *Elementi di Geografia moderna ad uso delle scuole*, 5a ed., Torino, Marietti, 1846, p. 163.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 175 and 177.

Leo Africanus is cited¹⁰). This gradual integration of myths and fables into the description of barbarism was another means of justifying the ever-growing European presence as bringers of civilisation.

Later on at the height of the positivist era, there was a decisive shift in this human variety framework towards an anthropometric analysis of «races». At the turn of the twentieth century, somatic data and «racial» category seemed to be essential factors in determining the hierarchy of civilizations. Quantitative factors such as facial angles or cranial capacity became ever more important, since they were objective data that could «explain» the advanced level of civilization in Europe, its successful expansionist policies, and its conquest of most continents.

For example, Francesco Maria Pasanisi's textbook published in 1894 states that the «Caucasian race, or rather, the Indo-Atlantic or even Mediterranean (white) race» is characterized by a facial angle varying «between 80° to just under 90°», adding that «average cranial capacity and brain weight is superior to that of other races». Whites have a «*highly sensitive* albeit balanced personality and a strong dose of intelligence, and these two qualities make the white race superior to all other races». As evidence of these superior qualities, Pasanisi cites the military and commercial success of the «white race», and how, in accordance with Darwin's theory, its power and migration have favoured its spread: «This race originally occupied a very small area, but today emigration and conquests have made it the most widespread and the most numerous»¹¹.

With the advent of the twentieth century, this clearly positivist attitude gradually faded away. However, most geography textbooks still contained most of the key elements of this point of view. Their pages still offer a clear distinction between «races», where whites were presented as the civilized populations, compared to the barbaric Africans and all the other «races», and where somatic features were now directly connected to racial hierarchy. Improved printing systems meant that books were now filled with images of paintings, plaster busts, and «race» tables that were visible and immediate proof of «racial» codification. The «white man» was always portrayed in a three-quarter length casual pose, with a beard and a hat and an air of self-confidence, which was in complete contrast to the typical «negro» image. In these pictures, the subjects were often naked and always shown side-on to highlight their protruding jaws. The way they stand conveys all their uneasiness in becoming the object of much scrutiny, and the pictures have much in common with anthropological mugshots.

¹⁰ Joannes Leo de Médicis, known as Leone l'Africano (1485-1534).

¹¹ F.M. Pasanisi, *Testo di geografia per le scuole secondarie superiori* (licei, istituti tecnici, scuole militari, scuole normali), Roma, Società Dante Alighieri, 1894, pp. 113-120.

3. *Colonialists, and thence Italian*

In the meantime, Italy had become a colonial country. The three periods which saw the most intense phase of Italian colonial expansionism (1882-1896, 1911-12, 1935-36) were presented to the public as challenges undertaken by the nation in arms. Each of these periods was marked by different kinds and amounts of propaganda and also by the possibility or non-possibility (in the fascist era) of expressing any form of opposition. However, whatever the case, the propaganda machine and any pro-expansionism school narratives turned the war into a struggle for the nation's very essence: students were obliged to become absorbed in these stories and identify themselves with the Italian soldiers. This was the perfect opportunity for textbook writers to update the pantheon of national heroes with leaders or martyrs from current events. All the enemy's peculiarities – the Africans' cultural and «racial» inferiority and their perfidious nature – promoted feelings of patriotism and made it easier to empathize with the Italian soldiers.

With an impeccable sense of timing, this was how the authors of history textbooks dealt with Italian colonialism in the Horn of Africa (1882)¹². This rapid growth of interest at school was encouraged by the national prestige that military campaigns could offer a recently born country of the likes of Italy. Later on, defeats like the one at Dogali, where five hundred Italians met their fate, once again focused attention and fuelled debates on Italy's presence in Africa. As Italians in the making, schoolchildren were often chosen to represent their schools at the public ceremonies held to pay tribute to the fallen or at the inauguration of war memorials in honour of Italian heroes and martyrs. It was also true, however, that in these early years of liberal colonialism, little agreement existed in policy-making for Africa, and indeed, discordant voices were also to be found in a number of school publications of the republican, socialist or even religious mould. Nevertheless, most of the texts confirm the great value of the colonial enterprise as a means of creating a national identity. We are shown an Italy in arms that is on its way to victory to procure lands for its «exuberant people». Each victory is presented as a glorious event and as tangible proof that Italy, just like the other European powers, is a growing nation. Such an attitude ensures that any chance defeat rarely produces feelings of doubt or regret, but actually evokes sympathy for these losses and a pride in Italian heroism. Therefore, even when Italy suffered a heavy defeat at Adua in 1903 – putting paid to any expansionist plans for the next fifteen years – a school textbook could still describe the first fifteen years of the war in Africa as a succession of martyrs to the Italian cause: the five hundred Italian soldiers were «massacred at Dogali [...] putting up a last stand that was worthy of the

¹² N. Labanca (ed.), *La Libia nei manuali scolastici italiani (1911-2001)*, Roma, Isiao, 2003, pp. 15-59.

ancient Greek and Roman heroes», and again, in 1895, Major Toselli who «preferred to die fighting to the last, rather than to cowardly surrender», and then, Major Galliano, who «with no ammunition and food, managed to fight on for around fifty days [and] eventually commanded even the admiration of his very own enemies».

An excellent example of the «nationalizing» impact of the colonial campaign emerges through the analysis of some of the articles published during the war for the conquest of Libya in the *I diritti della scuola* magazine for primary school teachers. Prior to the landing at Tripoli, this secular magazine had always been a firm supporter of peace pedagogy, but now most of its editorial staff had a change of heart and openly started to cheer on the nation in this patriotic war. The October 20 edition, published just three weeks into the military campaign, already has a section titled *Didattica occasionale per tutte le classi* [Occasional teaching activities for all classes]. In the first article (Italy in Tripoli), Norberto Dall'Armi gives his support to the cry of «Long live the war» which he sees as a sentiment common to many people. He tackles the pacifist principles that inspired school pedagogy by asking and then answering the following question:

Long live the war? But until yesterday, did we not teach that war was a dreadful thing? Did we not say that civil progress eschews all violence, that issues between one State and another would be tried in a special court, and, again and again, that the kingdom of Peace is becoming more of a reality?

He first answers his own question by reverting to patriotism: «In that war cry lie all the *hosannas* to the homeland». Next, he refers to political power, «the cheering on to a future greatness». Furthermore, he expresses the idea that expansionism may be a matter of national security and national prestige:

But was our Homeland at risk? Was our nation being threatened? Are we not the ones who set off to conquer a land that had previously belonged to others? Well, yes: our Homeland was in incredible danger of losing all its power in the Mediterranean Sea that the Romans used to call *Mare Nostrum*. Our Homeland was on the brink of losing the respect of the whole world.

Last but not least, he supports his claim with the colonialist and imperialist idea of being the bringers of civilization: «Italian honour demanded that Tripoli was ours, to save it from an ignorant and barbarous government, to allow the great works of civilization to be carried out in a serene manner, so that the Homeland could find a guaranteed outlet for business, trade, and emigration»¹³. The magazine then calls for any teaching activities that could be used to celebrate the courage of the Italian light infantry or to collect money for the soldiers' families.

¹³ N. Dall'Armi, *L'Italia a Tripoli*, in *La scuola in azione*, «I diritti della scuola», 20th October 1911.

In April, with the news of the first ever aerial bombardments using airplanes and airships¹⁴, Minister Calissano and the Aero Club of Italy followed the French example and launched an appeal to buy fighter planes for the Homeland, as a means of prolonging the success of this new kind of aerial warfare¹⁵. The idea sparked off great enthusiasm amongst all the pro-war forces, and a number of committees were set up throughout the land to try and collect funds. Even the *I diritti della scuola* magazine strongly supported the undertaking. Annibale Tona's editorial on 21st April 1916 discusses the enterprise¹⁶, explaining that any initial doubts on the part of the editorial staff had soon been quashed by the enthusiastic response from schools:

And what about schools? Will schools, the natural champions of brotherly love, take part in this mad dash to allow this strong and great Italy to avail itself of the latest weapons? Will the School play its part in ensuring that our skies are filled with these iron eagles that watch over our boundaries and adventure out over the seas, spreading death amongst our enemies? If we did have any doubts, our colleagues, our friends, have left us no time to think it over. In many places, with admirable zeal, they have shouted out: «It's a yes for us! A yes for school! Count us in!».

It is quite interesting to see what kind of replies the magazine got. Francesco Paolo Schiavo, a head teacher from Ariano di Puglia pledged 100 lire from his school and asked the magazine to organize the fundraising, certain that they would get an enthusiastic response from primary school teachers and pupils alike. Beniamino Bonaldi, a primary school teacher from Celano (Aquila) starts off by saying: «Anyone who doesn't step up is not a true Italian!» He urges teachers to give one lira each to try and donate two planes. Then the schoolmaster Giuseppe Buonocore from Piombino stresses the need to «enhance the legacy of power and prestige» of the fatherland and underlines the educational value of the initiative: «What is the role of a teacher, if it is not to educate and direct children's minds towards a real and heartfelt cause» A group of teachers from Chieti aims «for pupils to raise enough money to buy a plane to be called *Children of Italy*». Support also arrived from the Piedmont Congress of the Tommaseo Catholic Teacher's Association which firmly backed the appeal¹⁷. Teachers from Tunis and Goletta offered five days salary; Francesco Fera, on behalf of the teachers from Alexandria in Egypt, pledges his support in the name of «coexistence between civilized nations». Finally, a group of primary

¹⁴ For example, 7th March, 1912 on «La Stampa», the banner headline: *Il primo volo dei dirigibili su Tripoli e verso gli accampamenti nemici*, or *Bombe lanciate da un aeroplano sul campo nemico*, «La Stampa», 9th April 1912, p. 1.

¹⁵ *L'offerta degli aeroplani all'esercito. Il proclama dell'«aero-club»*, and *I postelegrafici offriranno un aereo*, «La Stampa», 5th April, 1912, p. 2.

¹⁶ Annibale Tona, *La flotta aerea e la Scuola*, «I diritti della scuola», 21st April 1912, pp. 197-198.

¹⁷ See also *Per la flotta aerea. L'inizio dei lavori del Comitato Liguro-Piemontese*, «La Stampa», 12th April 1912.

school teachers from Perugia, together with secondary school teachers, the school commissioner and the school inspector, had already set up a Committee to name a State airplane after an Italian schoolmaster. In short, the enthusiasm for the imperialist war put paid to the deep-rooted principles of teaching peace in the name of national belonging. The colonial war pushes teachers to give their teaching a patriotic vein and makes them active sons of the Fatherland even before the Great War.

4. *Africans as subjects: citizenship and colonial sovereignty*

Edward Said was quite right when he explained that citizenship in the Western nations developed alongside the parallel codification of the subjects of the conquered lands. An anthropological border line between citizen and subject runs through the whole colonial period. A citizen (in the European model of the nation-state) is someone who has rights and is part of a hierarchically higher level, whereas colonial subjects are forced to obey and carry out duties on account of their lower *status*. Citizenship is therefore a legal status based on an anthropological fact¹⁸.

This dialectic between citizenship and colonial subjugation had a dual function in teaching. On the one hand, it gratified the Italian schoolchildren insomuch that they too were a people with rights, as compared to the colonial subjects whose very «nature» excluded them. On the other hand, however, the description of these inferior subjects, who simply had to carry out their assigned duties, was also a means of reminding the popular classes that they were to stay in their «naturally» assigned place, low down the social hierarchy. Schools did not really offer any kind of social mobility, since a strong determinism ensured that pupils from the lower social classes were soon expelled from the system (if, indeed, they had ever been lucky enough to enter it). In this sense, membership of a class was a sort of natural and practically indisputable fact. There are plenty of examples of texts where the metaphorical description of the African subjects is really addressed to the Italian proletariat. The constant references to the faithful Askari and the meek and disciplined subjects in the African holdings was meant to scold the children of the Italian proletariat as they sat at their desks in their classrooms and show them the precise way to behave and accept their subordinated role¹⁹.

For example, a reading book from 1897 states that when Christopher Columbus discovered America, «he found men who did not show even the

¹⁸ E. Said, *Orientalismo*, Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1991.

¹⁹ Observations about this issue in S. Heathorn, *For home, country, and race*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2000, pp. 115-129.

slightest glimmer of civilization. They were savages and marvelled at everything they saw Columbus and his companions do». In the same way, one of these «uneducated savages» was certainly taught a lesson when he tried to steal the Europeans' hot coals and ended up burning his hands. The narrator ends with a clear allusion to the schoolchildren: «the ignorant resemble that savage»²⁰, where the schoolchildren are compared to the «savages» Columbus came across in the New World. The only way to avoid shame and ridicule was by obeying the teacher and working hard at school, although no one could ever rise above their assigned social class.

The distinction between citizenship and subjecthood often appears on the pages dedicated to the colonies, where two recurring themes are usually exemplified: the figure of the Askari and the practice of obedience to the conquerors.

The Eritrean Askaris were African soldiers who served in the colonial armies under the command of an Italian officer. The propaganda machine soon exploited them as the perfect example of the «domesticated» African, ever loyal and grateful to his Italian commander and master for whom he was always ready to lay down his life. He was also someone who could get by on very little and whose fine physical appearance harked back to the «wild» African way of life. The Askaris were often compared to animals, especially dogs, seeing that they were such trusted companions and always ready to obey. A story in Arturo Campani's 1911 book on Hygiene offers a prototype in the description of an explorer's servant: «He was my trusted native servant and he loved me with dog-like devotion... I speak evil of a faithful and intelligent friend. He would bend over backwards to satisfy my every whim». And indeed, the servant was fatally wounded by a leopardess in his completely spontaneous attempt to capture one of the cubs that his master had so long coveted. On his deathbed and almost with his last breath, he murmurs: «Ali do well, right, boss? [...] Ali love his boss»²¹.

Not long after, the cover of a school exercise book²² has a description of the orderly rows of Askari troops parading through Rome, led by a colonial soldier on horseback, his drawn sword held aloft. These were the Eritrean troops who had been taken to fight in the conquest of Libya and who were now being rewarded with this chance to take part in the parade through Rome. Several of the *topos* regarding physical and moral characteristics that were already commonly accepted in literature are taken up in the description:

²⁰ B. Rinaldi, *Il fanciullo italiano educato e istruito. Letture per la terza classe*, 3rd ed., Torino, Libreria scolastica di Grato Scioldo, 1897.

²¹ A. Campani, *L'esploratore africano e le bestie feroci*, in Id., *L'igiene insegnata ai ragazzi*, Milano, Solmi, 1911, pp. 18 and 21.

²² On the school exercise-books, see: J. Meda, D. Montino, R. Sani, *School Exercise Books. A Complex Source for a History of the Approach to Schooling and Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Firenze, Polystampa, 2010.

Strong, agile, hardy, modest, tireless, heedless of pain: under the guidance of our good officers, they are intelligent and brave soldiers and they are deeply devoted to, and immensely fond of Italy, their adopted Fatherland, which has brought them civilization, education, and well-being.

They are brought to visit the «Capital of Italy [...], and their faces shine with childish admiration and they look so happy and contented. Fine young men!» And when they return to the colony, «they will tell of the wonders of the country they have just seen. They will have plenty to say about the good King and the beautiful and affable Queen, who had smiled at them and commended them. And over there, a new flame of tenderness and affection for our Italy, for our King, will be lit amongst our distant brothers»²³. The cover of another exercise book depicts a *Fantasia of Eritrean Askari* performed before a number of Italian officers at the flying of the Italian flag. Once again the text abounds with significant elements:

Eager, strong, energetic young men, whose warlike nature still exudes something wild and primitive [...] The Askari like nothing better than to fight. They are born with what you might call a fighting instinct, so they were truly delighted to go to Tripoli [...] confirmed by the fact that as soon as they arrived, they performed a typical Fantasia before the flag of the 84th regiment²⁴.

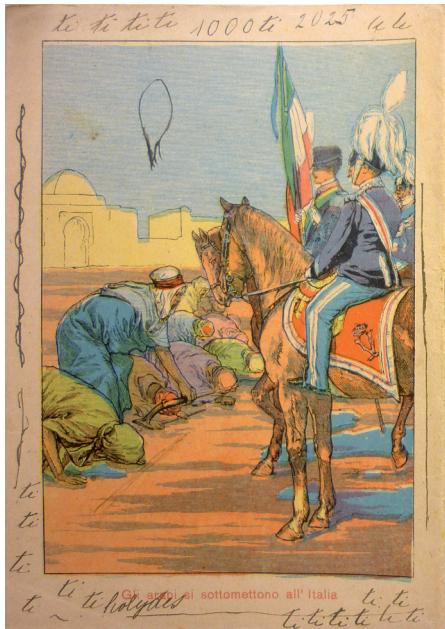
In summary, the Askari are depicted as having a fine physique that made them insensitive to pain. They were natural but wild warriors, who were loyal and devoted to the nation that had brought them civilization, and whose wonders never failed to amaze such young and primitive men. Their only means of collective expression was through the performance of rituals such as Fantasias. In return, the Italians are presented as being endowed with a superior level of civilization and as adopting a paternalistic attitude to these inferior subjects whom they help along the path to an evolution that maintains hierarchical relationships.

The celebrations for the victory in the colonial war once again conjure up the longstanding theme of submission. Historically speaking, enemies were expected to submit, and subjects had to publicly acknowledge their inferiority and their obedience. In terms of colonialism, submission had a strong symbolic role, since it involved a public ceremony where the colonial power's representative was recognised as the new chief. However, the process also implicitly embodied the acknowledgment, even worship, of a superior *status*. In fact, there are plenty of examples where there is an overlap with forms of religious worship, such as the subject prostrating himself at the feet of his new master²⁵.

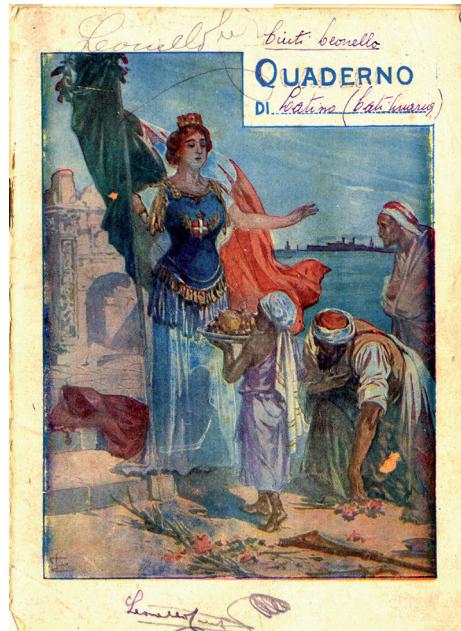
²³ Cit. in L. Marrella, *Fratelli d'Italia, compagni di scuola*, Manduria, Note a margine, 2011, Fig. 70 p. 107 and pp. 87-88.

²⁴ Cit. in Marrella, *Fratelli d'Italia, compagni di scuola*, cit., Fig. 71 p. 107 and pp. 86-87.

²⁵ In order to only bear in mind a classic of the literature that also circulated in the schools,



Pic. 1. Cover: *The Arabs submit to Italy*. Cover of a school exercise book. Undated, but probably of the second decade of the 20th century (Courtesy Paolo and Ornella Ricca School Museum, University of Macerata. Photograph by the Author).



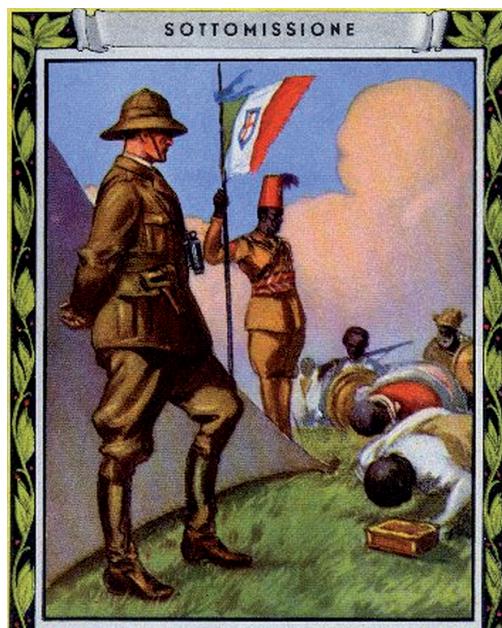
Pic. 2. Cover of a school exercise book (without title). The exercise books belongs to the series *The King and the Queen visit the Ascani* and it dates back to the second decade of the 20th century (Courtesy Indire Archives, Florence. Photograph by the Author).

Much of our analysis on this form of submission is based on the iconography found on the covers of the afore-mentioned exercise books, which offer us more informal records than official textbooks. Our starting point is the war for Libya. The very title of the first exercise book (Pic. 1), *The Arabs submit to Italy*, compares a people and a nation: the Arab people are depicted in different and casual garb, lying face down on the ground in the act of laying down their weapons, while the Italian nation is represented by a military parade of soldiers mounted on horseback and carrying the flag.

here below the Daniel Defoe's description of the encounter between Robinson and Friday: «At last he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before; and after this made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how he would serve me so long as he lived» (D. Defoe, *The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. Transcribed from the 1919 Seeley, Service & Co. edition, by David Price, Progetto Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/521/521-h/521-h.htm>, accessed: December 10, 2014).



Pic. 3. Cover of a school exercise book (without title). The exercise book is printed by the stationery *Cartoleria Libreria Pasini & Nocente, Pordenone* and it dates back to the second decade of the 20th century (Courtesy Indire Archives, Firenze; colloc. I1047. Photograph by the Author).



Pic. 4. Cover: *Submission*. The exercise book is printed by the tipography *Edizioni Carte d'Oriente*. Date: 1930 ca. (Courtesy Indire Archives, Firenze. Photograph by the Author).

Another exercise book (Pic. 2) has a battleship, the symbol of technology and military power, in the background, and the remains of what seems to be a Roman arch, the symbol of the historic right of possession. In the foreground, there is a female personification of the Homeland, crowned and holding a flag and dressed in the robes of an ancient Roman soldier. She is standing on a step and receiving an offering from an Arab child, while another two adults lie face down on the ground, which is strewn with offerings of guns and flowers.

The third example (Pic. 3) shows a number of Italian officers with their typical pith helmets standing on a fortification alongside the Italian flag. Two Arabs bow down before them, presenting them with weapons and gifts, while in the background, we can catch a glimpse of a dromedary, a palm tree, and a mosque²⁶.

²⁶ In this way Luigi Marrella describes an other cover (*Gli arabi si sottomettono all'Italia*, school exercise book used in 1914): the Arab leaders «kneel down in front of the Italian flag, while



Pic. 5. Cover: *Submission of some leaders to His Excellency Graziani in the racing field of Addis Abeba*. Series: African views. Date: ca. 1936-1937 (Private collection of the Author and photograph by the Author).

When Ethiopia was conquered more than twenty years later, images of submission once again adorn the covers of school exercise books. In this case, alongside the classic drawings (Pic. 4), we also have photographs that show «real life» images of Ethiopian big-shots (Pic. 5). Once again we see these kings bowing or kneeling, bearing gifts or weapons, as they transfer their sovereignty to the conquerors. The latter receive their homage, standing upright and unarmed, often flanked by Askari soldiers, who symbolise the historical effectiveness of colonial supremacy, which has managed to incorporate the subjected peoples into its ranks.

It is clear that all these acts of recognition of sovereignty could not have failed to impress the young schoolchildren of the time, who identified themselves with the conquering Italian soldiers and the nation behind them. The images were the last step in the long route that had seen four centuries of white European possession of the lands of «savages» and the enslavement of the local populations. Even further back in time, the act of submission embodied the

a star – that encloses the face of a young Vittorio Emanuele – radiates the light of civilization over barbarism; the light is already fertilizing the land, which has suddenly become fruitful» (Marrella, *Fratelli d'Italia, compagni di scuola*, cit., p. 82).

essence of military victory and demonstrated the affirmation of the power and might of the conquerors compared to the conquered territories and peoples. After the Second World War, images of these episodes from Italian colonial history more or less disappeared from exercise books and textbooks, but one example can still be found in the sixties. The Italian-born explorer, Savorgnan di Brazzà, albeit part of a French expedition, is depicted as he receives the capitulation of a group of West African natives. Since the colonies had now been lost, any attempt at representing submission was obliged to set foot outside the traditional territories and search for subjects that were less implicated in the military conquest of the recent past.

5. Fascism and the heyday of the Italian-Aryan concept

The last decade of the fascist regime saw the «racial» paradigm of Italian identity gather more and more steam and become more widespread, especially after the conquest of Ethiopia and the introduction of racial discrimination. At first the standards were applied to the colonial subjects (1937), but a year later, they were extended to Jews. Racist laws established strict boundaries between blacks and whites and between «Aryans» and «Jews» (considered as a «race»). The rules and propaganda also demonized the so-called «mestizos» (born from mixed marriages), who were considered dangerous and sick beings, the symbols of a loss of «racial» purity which was the only bulwark of civilization. The imperial racist laws served to rule and to split society into different areas for settlers and for the locals, and also to ensure that the white settlers and the African women never came into contact. Within the kingdom, racist legislation met the need to blame the Jews for everything and to make them unpopular with everybody. Furthermore, persecution was a way to form a bond between the people who, according to the principles of «racial» purity, were considered the pillars of the nation.

School textbooks were now introduced that taught pupils to be proud of their «racially» connoted white and Aryan national identity. The most obvious example was the 1939 *Secondo libro del fascista*, a book for primary and middle schools, where the biological determinism of physical and psychological characteristics was obviously combined with a valuation/devaluation of the groups in question:

The obvious inferiority of some races, and especially of what is normally called the Negroid race, is due to a gradual decline over very long periods of time. Other scientists attribute this inferiority to an arrested development²⁷.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

The superiority of the «white race» – which in this context becomes «Aryan» – was repeated time and time again. For example, the opening lines of the chapter on white supremacy read as follows: «History records that in every age the most civilised peoples have always been those of our race»²⁸. In actual fact, the conceptual framework referring to Italian «racial» identity was far more widely accepted than traditional historiographical works on the subject would have us believe. The Fascist racism taught in schools did not limit itself to the mere preservation of a biological purity that scorned mixed marriages and crossbreeding, but was indeed determined to beset the worlds of culture, politics, and even social welfare (a genuine sort of biopolitics) that were absorbed within racist policy.

Moreover, the exaltation of the nation's biological identity remained one of the key features in the widespread national profile of those years. For example, Italian «racial» identity (from cephalic index to character traits) is a common focus in many books on geography – such as the one by Umberto Toschi (we are still in 1934). The defining features of this description of Italian human beings seem to recall, on the one hand, the heights of positivism while, on the other, also seem to foresee «racial» legislation:

Most of the inhabitants from the north are dolichocephalic with a tall stature and a well-developed physique [...] on the contrary, in southern Italy, brachycephalic prevails, with relatively short stature, a leaner physique and a browner complexion [...]. Apart from these physical differences, it is known that the southerners are generally of a more passionate and fickle nature; they have a quick and penetrating intelligence and are lively and expressive communicators, while northerners are less passionate, slower, and more reflective and they are diligent workers²⁹.

6. *After colonialism*

Following Italy's defeats in the various war campaigns, the loss of her colonies in the Second World War was an event that was to have a number of significant consequences. In general, Italy's imperial fervour was now transformed into a loss of possessions, even though this was marked by the lack of any kind of public debate on decolonization. This was in complete contrast to the other colonialist countries where the matter spawned years of wrenching discussions at a public and political level.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

²⁹ U. Toschi, *Italia e colonie. Testo di geografia economica ad uso della sezione commerciale degli istituti tecnici*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1934, pp. 40-41.

This avoidance of public elaboration of the colonial past was also adopted at school³⁰. The new Republican ministerial authorities decided that the fascist period should no longer be studied, which cast a somewhat embarrassed silence as regards the historical responsibilities involved in the affirmation of the dictatorship and their nature. This silence also threw its shadow over the promulgation of racist laws and the subject of the conquest of Ethiopia. As a consequence, over the next thirty years, the new generations of the Republic were only taught history up until the First World War, and the conquest of the first colonies was portrayed as a positive and almost peaceful endeavour, which had dealt kindly with the conquered peoples. Textbook compilers only had to draw a veil of silence over fascism to cajole school children into accepting the illusion of a liberal colonialism that was not only devoid of shadows, but, to all extents and purposes, even something to be commended.

At the same time, the discussion about the «racial» identity of Italians and the other populations lost the strident tones of fascist racism, but was still featured in schoolbooks, where it was to remain for about another twenty years. Then, as a side effect of the civil rights struggles in America, it gradually began to disappear or was only found in more conventional textbooks.

It was not until the seventies – as a result of the 1968 protests – that textbook publishers and authors started to «polish up» the pages dedicated to geography and to slowly shelve the «racial» paradigm related to human diversity. However, this was only a partial solution, put into practice more to support the African Americans' anti-racist struggles in the United States or the fight against apartheid in South Africa, than to call into question Italy's own racist history and tradition. Furthermore, the effects of years of racial stereotypes and prejudices were still deeply engrained concepts, which were all too ready to resurface, given the slightest opportunity. A small but concrete example of this was the re-emergence of the classification into «races» («Negroid, Mongoloid, Europoid») in a 2004 book for the primary school³¹. However, there is a far more serious implication underlying the words used to present a motion passed by the Italian parliament in 2008 regarding foreign students, who were forced to attend separate classes before being allowed into the mainstream system. The proposal foresaw that these classes would receive schooling in both the Italian language and also follow a modified school syllabus, which would provide them with «a) an understanding of rights and responsibilities (respect for others, tolerance, loyalty, respect for the laws of the host country); b) support for democratic life; [...] e) respect for the moral diversity and religious culture of the host country». The authors of this motion use words that ring out once again with

³⁰ On this topic, see G. Gabrielli, *Razze e colonie nella scuola italiana*, «aut aut», n. 349, January-March 2011, with *Appendice di materiali*.

³¹ C. Scataglini, *Geografia facile. Unità didattiche semplificate per la scuola elementare e media*, Trento, Erickson, 2004.

the idea that foreigners have a «natural» tendency to be disloyal. There is also an allusion to their presumed intolerance, while the Italians – simply because they are Italian – are «naturally» endowed with a «moral diversity» which must be «taught» to immigrant schoolchildren, who are obviously believed to be lacking³². The motion was eventually dropped due to opposition from the unions and numerous associations, but the very proposal itself clearly shows that the identitarian force that stigmatizes the *Other* was still smouldering and ready to re-emerge in the new scenario of the immigration that is part of the Italian scene today³³. We therefore have a collective imagination that attributes foreign populations with a host of discriminatory elements. This shared set of perceptions is partly the heritage of a past that has been never been reworked, but also partly due to Italy's new status as a country of immigration that started back in the 1990s. These popular beliefs can be put to political use, as in the motion presented by Roberto Cota or they may resurface in educational materials, or even circulate informally in the students' minds, as Paola Tabet's case study of primary school children clearly shows³⁴. If citizenship is not freed from an anachronistic *ius sanguinis*, many hurdles lie along the road to creating inclusive citizenship and to promoting a national identity that does not look down on those who do not fit into the nation's legal and imaginary framework. Every school today, Italian or not, is called to rise to this challenge, to ensure that every boy and girl, whatever their skin colour or their parents' place of birth, is made to feel at home and is guaranteed an education. It is time to do away with projects that are rigidly based on identity and to develop a critical attitude and a heightened sensitivity towards all forms of prejudice. Moreover, this new perspective should then also be applied to those particular, often erased forms of «colonial» and «racial» identity, which – regardless of the embarrassment it causes today – certainly had a role in the formation of an Italian national identity.

³² Cota and others' Resolution n. 1/00033, approved from the Camera dei Deputati on 14th October, 2008. For a thorough examination of this subject consult: G. Gabrielli, *Scuola di razza. Gli anni del fascismo e quelli delle classi ponte*, 28th October 2009, <http://www.carmillaonline.com/2009/10/28/scuola-di-razza-gli-anni-del-fascismo-e-quelli-delle-classi-ponte-22/> (accessed: December 10, 2014).

³³ To this it must add at least the strongly restrictive law for the acquisition of the Italian citizenship from the children been born in Italy but sons of foreign nationals.

³⁴ P. Tabet, *La pelle giusta*, Torino, Einaudi, 1997.

On the access of the working class to higher education in Spain: from the *Institute of Scholar Selection* to the *Institutes for Workers*

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ABSTRACT: Although several significant educational projects were developed in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century, the field of Popular Education remained as almost neglected for decades. It would not be until the 1930s that the first effective projects aimed at young workers with proven talent would really materialize: They represented new challenges through which gifted workers would enjoy different and specific academic conditions as compared to the rest of their fellow scholars. In this paper, two highly significant projects are analysed: the *Instituto de Selección Escolar Obrera*, a private high school conceived before the advent of the Second Republic, and the *Institutos para Obreros*, public high schools created by the Republican Government during the Civil War in different towns of loyal Spain. The comparison between these two initiatives will evoke the differences between the 'Republic in peace', the 'Republic at war' and the aims and scopes of the new Regime raised after the war: Francoism.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Popular Education; Workers' Education; Higher Education; Educational Innovation; Spain; 19th and 20th Centuries.

Introduction

Along late nineteenth and early twentieth century numerous innovative educational experiences were carried out in Spain. New conceptions embodied in new centres vitalized the stagnant Spanish educational landscape in the decades preceding the Civil War: *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (ILE, Free Institution for Teachings), *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios* (JAE, Board for Advanced Studies), *Residencia de Estudiantes* (Residence for Students), *Instituto-Escuela* (the Experimental High School), *Escuela Moderna* (Modern School), *Escuela de la Democracia* (School for Democracy), amongst others.

By 1917, the most original proposal in the field of Popular Education in Spain that could be added to those mentioned above was socialist Manuel Núñez de Arenas's *Escuela Nueva*. But all these institutions had been conceived in a context and from several perspectives that would be masterfully summarized by Salvador de Madariaga while offering the Spanish society news about the English «Worker's Educational Association», which Madariaga translated as the *Asociación de Instrucción Obrera*:

Paying attention to the interests the Society has, any plan for public instruction must achieve the following conditions:

Complete elementary education for the working classes and the idle rich. Secondary education for the middle classes not engaged in specialized professions. Higher education for the middle classes wishing to become professionals, clergymen, academics and politicians. Finally, a system of selection that allows easy passage from manual to ruling class for every intelligence deserving such upgrade. Thus, each class will receive the appropriate training in order to fulfil its social mission, and, on the other hand, Society ensures the best possible conditions recruiting its leading intelligences¹.

At a certain extent, Madariaga's view had a 'revolutionary' scope when compared to previous points of view. Thus, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century Antonio Luis Carrión, follower of the doctrines of German philosopher Karl Christian Friedrich Krause, had begun the publication of *Revista de Andalucía*. This had a definite aim: to educate, enlighten and moralize the people, and several prestigious intellectuals collaborated in this task. One of them, former President of Spanish First Republic, Nicolás Salmerón, wrote in the first issue his opinion on the problem of illiteracy:

In fact, you can't blame the people for their own ignorance. Those responsible for it are, in the first and almost exclusive place, the upper classes, who intentionally keep them illiterate in order to exploit them. Short-sighted and selfish individuals! They fear popular instruction because enlightened people would prevent the monopoly they enforce [...]. Not too many days ago an illustrated Chancellor of Public Instruction proposed a major reform of primary education: he wanted to pile up those contents offered to popular classes; and,

¹ S. de Madariaga, *La Asociación de Instrucción Obrera*, «España», n. 152, 1917, pp. 9-10.

in order to better serve the demands of the time while looking for solid guarantees for peace and the progress of the nation, he pretended that, among other teachings, it should be taught the undisputable right to educate valuable and virtuous citizens. This quaint project caused scandal and horror – which would be called ‘clamour’ if we were talking about the gathering of common people – in such a learned and respectable assembly as the Council of Public Instruction, where it was rejected without discussion for its disturbing and demagogic character. The wise, conservative and salutary agreement adopted there was that it would suffice for common people to learn «the four rules and catechism», so they will remain fearful of God and faithful servants of the established legitimate rulers².

Within the followers of Krausism only Fernando de Castro showed particular interest in popular education³. In fact, even if certain correction factors were added to his words, there is some truth in the statements of Professor José María Marco when he writes, referring to the founder of the *Free Institution for Teachings*:

Giner [de los Ríos] was never interested [in popular education]. Nor he was interested in the problems posed by primary education, or the challenge of eradicating illiteracy. His scope was a different one: to educate a minority, to influence on decision makers, and to try *avant garde* experiences with which to mould a new man, other than the [traditional] Spanish he despised so much⁴.

By the late nineteenth century several renewal movements had emerged both in Europe and America. These movements will receive different names depending upon the proponent thinker, the country where it was proposed, the aims and scope of the proposals, the pedagogue that materialized the ideas that had been advanced, the historian of education who reconstructs the historical research, etc. And all them would find their way into Spain educational media: *Escuela Nueva* (New School), *Educación Nueva* (New Educación), *Nueva Educación* (Novel Education), *Escuela Progresiva* (Progressive School), *Escuela Activa* (Active School) and even, in Francisco Ferrer y Guardias's Spanish libertarian views, the *Escuela Moderna*⁵ (Modern School). In general, all of them agreed on the criticism of the traditional roles attributed to teacher and to students: personal and interactive gap between them, authoritarianism, abusive recourse to memorization, etc. But all of those movements shared one common objective: to bring education and culture to all the people through the application of new educational and teaching methodologies.

² «Revista de Andalucía», 1st January 1875, pp. 65-71.

³ F. de Castro, *Discurso leído en la solemne apertura del curso académico de 1868 a 1869 en la Universidad Central*, in A. Jiménez-Landi, *La Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, Madrid, Taurus, 1973, pp. 642-648.

⁴ J.M. Marco, *Francisco Giner de los Ríos. Pedagogía y Poder*, Barcelona, Península, 2002.

⁵ «Escuela Moderna» was also the name of a journal of educational innovation created in 1891 by Pedro de Alcántara García Navarro, independent personality at the time that, among other things, was the introducer of German pedagogue Friedrich Fröbel's ideas in Spain.

But these lines of thought, and all the innovative centres arising from them, were the result of modest private initiatives which by no means could solve a structural problem in Spain: the extension of education to all citizens, at least in the restricted view of education as eradication of illiteracy. In fact, at the *Congreso Nacional Pedagógico* (National Pedagogical Conference) held in Madrid in 1882⁶ it had already been advanced one of the first steps to be taken in this regard: the Government itself should assume the organization and provision of instruction of to the people, engagement in those days dependent on municipalities, councils, parishes, etc. And indeed instruction, even in the primary levels, did not reach the masses who, in many cases were attended in fee-paying schools dependent on religious orders or in institutions such as Father Andrés Manjón's *Escuelas del Ave María* (Schools of Ave Maria), intended for impoverished families of Granada and later on spread throughout Spain.

This situation could start changing in Spain after 1900 when, having digested the so-called 'disaster of 98'⁷, the Conservatives in power decided the creation of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts, and designated Antonio García Alix as first Minister of Education. Since then, those educational responsibilities formerly assumed by municipalities were placed under the State: organization, selection of teaching staff, funding, etc.

But the structural problem inherited was overwhelming and the continuous shift in the ruling parties was to be blamed for the Government never devoting the necessary funds, even to maintain the proportion of schools and teaching posts in the primary stage required by the continued increase in child population. Both Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship (1923-1930) and the Second Republic (1931-1936) were obliged to undertake daunting tasks of schooling, the former in mid-size towns and the later in thousands of small towns and villages unattended until then. Of course, ones and the others would undertake the task from opposite starting points, as highlighted from the *Federación Española de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza* (FETE, Spanish Federation of School Workers), the educational department of the socialist trade union *Unión General de Trabajadores* (UGT, General Union of Workers):

The school has never been neutral. All regimes have used education as an instrument of power struggle, in the past but also in present times. Some prepare faithful children and paladins of the Church, while others provide obedient servants and competent workers. But also, others forge generations made up of conscious defenders of a new life, generations who affirm the revolutionary conquests of the people, who oppose the previous conquests of the traditional powers. In fact, the purpose of education is to mould future citizens and influence their formation⁸.

⁶ «La Correspondencia de España», 26th May 1882, p. 2.

⁷ That is, the Spanish defeat in the war against the USA, which meant the loss of the remains of the old Spanish Empire (Cuba, Puerto Rico, Philippines).

⁸ *La Escuela es esencialmente antifascista*, in C. Escrivá Moscardó, *La Escuela iluminada, 1931-1939*, Valencia, L'Eixam Edicions, 2010, pp. 99-106.

In order to supersede the type of education still in force, and also the unwillingness of the governments resulting from the alternating two-party system of power sharing between conservatives and liberals, that impeded popular classes' access to elementary education, several private initiatives were conceived. Among them stood up the innovative experience of the *Escuela Moderna* (Modern School) in Barcelona (1901) which spread, with some variations, throughout the country, bearing different names: *Escuelas Laicas* (Secular Schools) in Sevilla (1902) and Cordoba (1903), *Escuelas Modernas* (Modern Schools) in Valencia (1906), *Escuelas racionalistas* (Rationalists Schools) in Barcelona (1917), etc.

Nevertheless, secondary education was still reserved for students from the upper classes living in provincial capitals, as these were the only towns where *Institutos de Bachillerato* (Public High Schools) had been established, almost one per capital, and where also most of the religious orders' educational institutions were to be found.

In any case, as Salvador de Madariaga had done in 1917, socialist Julian Besteiro resumed in 1924 the suggestive ideas propounded in the Oxford Conference organized to commemorate the anniversary of the foundation of The Workers Educational Association, translated by Besteiro as *Sociedad para la Educación Obrera*. The Conference also served for summarizing the state of Public Instruction in force in England in those years of Labour government. Thus, while highlighting that compulsory education had been extended till at age 14, and it had even been proposed its extension to 16, Besteiro remarked:

The aim is, in fact, to prevent industry [in the case of Spain at the time, it would be more proper to say «agriculture»] taking up young people who still do not enjoy an adequate education; also to establish a more perfect bond between primary and secondary school, and in order to transform high schools (those equivalent to our *Institutos*) from educational bodies of the English middle class as they currently are, into educational organs for all adolescents of the English nation, whatever their social class and whatever their means of fortune [...]. The extension of school age up to sixteen or eighteen years, would eventually remove from high schools all privileges and would also extend considerably the right to acquire education to the families of workers⁹.

Besteiro continued his reflections by linking these reforms, aimed for the future of children and youth, to those initiatives intended for bringing literacy and instruction to adults that were already underway in *Ateneos* (Atheaneum), left wing Associations, *Casas del Pueblo* (socialists Houses of the People), *Universidades Populares* (Folk High Schools), etc. Indeed, all these were remarkable educational projects conceived to educate workers. Nevertheless, they constituted modest advances when contrasted to the immensity of the problem of education in Spain.

⁹ J. Besteiro, *La Universidad y la Organización Obrera bajo el Gobierno Laborista*, «La Escuela Moderna», vol. XXXIV, n. 397, 1924, pp. 750-754.

1. The Instituto de Selección Escolar Obrera

At the beginning of July 1931 the first applicants to the newly created *Instituto de Selección Escolar Obrera* (ISEO, Institute of Scholar Selection for Workers) finished their exams, which had taken place at the *Instituto Psicotécnico* (Psychotechnological Institute), previously known as the *Instituto de Orientación y Selección Profesional* (Institute of Vocational Guidance and Selection), directed by César Madariaga under the Ministry of Labour¹⁰. The aims of the ISEO were widely advertised in those days in the Spanish press: «to make available secondary and higher education, in fact forbidden at the present to the children of workers, among which there are outstanding intelligences, condemned to a fruitless death for lack of economic and social aid»¹¹.

While studies about all the schools that have been named so far in these pages are easily found in literature, the ISEO has gone virtually unnoticed by the Spanish educational historiography until now. In fact, the few existing mentions to this unique educational initiative have been advanced essentially from the perspective of the instruction of gifted students, not from the field of Popular Education¹², a perspective that was even assumed by Spanish society during the first years of the centre.

The background to this so unique institute can be found in the report on the potential creation of a centre for selecting gifted students, released at the International Conference of Psychotechnology, held in Paris in 1927, by José A. Germain¹³ and Mercedes Rodrigo Bellido¹⁴, members of the *Instituto Médico Pedagógico* (Medical Pedagogical Institute) led by Gonzalo Rodríguez Lafora. Shortly afterwards, and in collaboration with José Mallart, these studies were extended in the form of a second report presented to the Minister of Public Instruction, Eduardo Callejo, justifying what actions would be appropriate for the provision and implementation of a public institute with those characteristics advanced. The initial efforts were fruitless, but in 1928 María Laura Luque Garrido, school teacher at the municipal council of Madrid who also held a Degree in Philosophy and the Arts, took up the idea. After two years of

¹⁰ «ABC», 16th July 1931, p. 43.

¹¹ «ABC», 9th August 1931, pp. 10-11.

¹² F.J. Mönks (ed.), *Education of the gifted in Europe. Theoretical and Research issues*, Amsterdam, Council of Europe, 1992; M.T. Medina Balmaseda, *La formación del profesorado en la educación de los niños superdotados*, «Revista Complutense de Educación», vol. 8, n. 2, 1997, pp. 43-55; M.C. López Escribano, *Ánalisis de las características y necesidades de las familias con hijos superdotados*, Tesis Doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2003; M.A. Zavala Berbena, J.L. Rodríguez Gutiérrez, *El campo educativo de niños y jóvenes con aptitudes sobresalientes. Relieves históricos y problemática actual*, «Educar», April-June 2004, pp. 35-44; R. Mateos Martínez, *Atención educativa al alumnado con sobredotación intelectual*, «Práctica Docente», n. 3, 2006, pp. 1-8.

¹³ M. Yela, José A. Germain, «Papeles del Psicólogo», 1987, pp. 28-29.

¹⁴ M. Yela, *La forja de una vocación*, «Psicothema», vol. 8, Suppl. 1996, pp. 43-51.

consultation with experts, applications for funds, etc., she presented the by-laws of the new Institute for gifted students from humble backgrounds, to approval by the General Directorate of Security.

As results of all the paperwork done, Laura Luque accomplished the constitution of a selected Board of Trustees. It was integrated by personalities gathered from different but significant provenance: the Viscount of Eza (President), Miguel Artigas Ferrando (Director of the National Library), Rufino Blanco Sánchez (conservative pedagogue, professor of the High School for Teachers), Father Luis Alonso Getino (high representative of the Dominican Order), Alvaro Lopez Núñez (journalist, member of the Royal Academy of Political Sciences), Juan Negrín Lopez (professor of Physiology, socialist politician; in charge of the medical examinations of the students), Vicente Machimbarrena y Gogorza (Director of the School of Civil Engineering), César Madariaga (Director of the Psychotechnological Institute), Gregorio Marañón (physician, member of the Royal Academy of Medicine), Ramón Menéndez Pidal (liberal professor, member of the Spanish Royal Academy) Montero Monzón, José Mouriz Riesgo (physician and pharmacist, socialist politician), Pedro Muguruza Otaño (professor at the School of Architecture), José Rogerio Sánchez García (conservative politician, professor of the High School for Teachers), Valentín Ruiz Senén (businessman and banker), Rafael Salazar Alonso (republican politician), Esteban Terradas Illa (professor, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences) and José Torán de la Rad (engineer, journalist and monarchist politician)¹⁵. Several teachers of the Institute also formed part of the Board of Trustees: María Laura Luque Garrido (Director-Head Teacher), Cristina Arteaga, Julia Corral and Pilar Ferrández de Vega.

On 11th March 1931, just over a month before the Second Spanish Republic was proclaimed, the Board of Trustees met for the first time at the Cervantes Room of the Spanish National Library. There, Ruiz Senen, General Secretary of the Urquijo Bank, made public his donation of what would become the premises of the ISEO in Madrid's *Ciudad Jardín* (Garden City): the House No. 81 from the *Cooperativa de Casas Baratas* (Housing Cooperative) erected by the electrical company *Unión Eléctrica Madrileña*. The Viscount de Eza contributed 25,000 pesetas. Machimbarrena granted the School of Civil Engineers would donate 1,000 pesetas per year¹⁶. And there was also confirmation that many individuals have made donations from 100 up to 1,000 pesetas. Finally, it was agreed to address several public institutions asking for new grants: Ministry of Public Instruction¹⁷, Madrid's Provincial Council, Madrid's Town Council, Madrid's Central University, etc.

¹⁵ «ABC», 9th August 1931, pp. 10-11.

¹⁶ «ABC», 22nd March 1933, p. 35.

¹⁷ «ABC», 29th June 1934, p. 21.

Once the Republic was proclaimed on 14th April 1931, the new minister of Public Instruction manifested the «extraordinary affection and enthusiasm» with which the Provisional Government welcomed the Institute, promising strong support for «the work of justice and social progress» it meant.¹⁸ Indeed, the Government would end up supporting the centre with the inclusion of a specific item of 10,000 pesetas in the National Budget for 1932¹⁹.

Some media had fully understood the nature and scope of the project. Thus, F. Sánchez Ocaña, while remembered the call that could be read in several newspapers («we need to open the doors of University to the poor»), would also claim:

Not only the doors of University; also the doors to all the Special Schools of Engineering. And not with petty scholarships for high school graduates, but through a total and early tutelage that not only would take care of outstanding children since their middle childhood, but would also give sustenance and the most appropriate and insurmountable means for their instruction²⁰.

Sánchez Ocaña understood that the ISEO could transcend the outdated concept of 'protection' and demanded that the initiative should become «the nursery for breeding a large-scale experiment», and even the model for all those private foundations that the Government should protect. Going one step further, the editorialist of the newspaper *Crisol*²¹, although perceiving that the ISEO was an interesting and worthy of praise attempt, remarked that «this vast enterprise should be performed by the Nation», and that this would be one of the fundamental problems that the Republican Ministry of Public Instruction should address.

The implementation process of the strictly private ISEO went smoothly during the first months of the Second Republic. Thus, along June 1931, the selection of children between ten and thirteen years old out of the total 98 candidates was completed, so that by the middle of July the *Institute* was ready to commence its activities. With an individualized academic attention at all stages, the teachings would begin with a preparatory course, previous to the studies that would complete the bachelorship at the *Institute*. Next, students would attend higher education and specialized studies at universities or at Special Schools, for example, of Engineering, while the ISEO would provide continuous mentoring and even complementary teachings to the particular degrees chosen by the students.

The idea of personalized and continuous mentoring was considered to be one of the most important developments of the modern teachings to be developed at

¹⁸ «El Sol», 14th July 1931, p. 2.

¹⁹ «ABC», 29th June 1934, p. 21.

²⁰ «ABC», 21st July 1931, p. 1.

²¹ «Crisol», 20th June 1931, p. 1.

the *Institute*, «so that not only the cultivation of the student's particular skills will be favoured, but also, and especially, their character, to allow a perfect and balanced training of each student's personality as a whole»²².

The socio-political situation at the time of the opening of the ISEO appeared to be the most propitious, because in 1931 the general belief was that society could not remain indifferent to the fate of children who, if properly attended, could play an unexpected role in the appropriate social agreement of the nation. But this was a private and almost unique initiative, because the 'Republic in peace' was primarily involved in what was considered their priority task of building primary schools and ultimately eradicating illiteracy. Consequently, the Republican Government didn't seem to be willing to assume the costs of financing the access to secondary and higher education for students without financial means.

Little more than a year after the first classes began, the experience was valued by Gervasio Manrique, in the chapter «The social environment and children» of his book *La selección de los bien dotados* [*The selection of the gifted*], published in 1933, which was quoted in Madrid's press with the following words:

The main purpose of the special schools for gifted children is not to create an elite of finely cultivated gentlemen, who will lose their social compromise and forget the needs of the poor. What is sought is that their good education and superior intellectual capacity would benefit the moral and social elevation of the people²³.

During the following years the *Institute* followed the progress of its first classes and could have witnessed its great success working with gifted children from poor backgrounds... if the Spanish Civil War had not triggered.

2. From the 'Republic in peace' to the 'Republic at war': the Institutos para Obreros

Today no one questions the special attention paid by the Second Republic to the problem of education in Spain. We can ascertain it through Minister Marcelino Domingo's statements as reproduced in the newspaper *La Voz* in August 1931 – a few months before leaving the Ministry of Public Instruction to chair the Ministry of Agriculture –, when he was advancing the reform of Secondary education and announcing the creation of new public high schools:

Institutes must be created in every capital city capable of centralizing populated groups of scholars so that they become the complement and final stage in the process of acquiring

²² «ABC», 9th August 1931, p. 11.

²³ «Luz», 7th September 1933, p. 10.

general culture. Some of these Institutes will be *Institutos-Escuela* [Experimental High Schools] following the inspiring pedagogical exercises witnessed at the original one in Madrid. Some other Institutes will be boarding schools and will serve to complement the tasks of scholar selection, granting scholarships to selected impecunious students whose sustenance will depend on the state.

And indeed, in addition to the prestigious Madrid's *Instituto-Escuela*, active from the academic year 1918-1919 until the summer of 1936, successive ministerial decrees would give life to new *Institutos-Escuela* in Barcelona (9th October 1931) Valencia and Sevilla (2nd March 1932), Málaga (17th February 1933) and a second Institute in Barcelona (25th September 1933). However, none of them acted as boarding school for impoverished students, and, except for the very special experience of the ISEO,²⁴ the masses would have to wait until the outbreak of the Civil War to start gaining access to the baccalaureate through the creation of the *Institutos para Obreros* (IOs, High Schools for Workers).

To put this in meaning, we must refer to the circumstances of war in Spain and the revolutionary process experienced inside the republican side along the summer of 1936. Thus, in July of that year the authorities of the Republic delegated the defence of loyal territories to the only organizations willing to fight against the rebel's army: trade unions and youth organizations of the Popular Front parties. This actuality was accentuated from 6th November 1936, when Franco's troops approached and besieged Madrid, while the republican government moved to Valencia (which was selected as the new republican capital town), delegating the organization of the resistance against the enemy in Madrid to the *Junta de Defensa* (Board for the Defence of Madrid).

The 'Republic in peace' had been reluctant to extend compulsory education to high schools, while not accomplishing the complete extension of primary education to all children in that school age. But circumstances had changed after the outbreak of the war. In the new revolutionary Spain defended by workers, a unique educational initiative would come into being in the country, organized by the Ministry of Public Instruction of the 'Republic at war', communist Jesus Hernandez. And it will be in Valencia, the new capital of republican Spain, where the educational project would begin: the *Institutos para Obreros de Segunda Enseñanza* (Institutes for Secondary Education Workers),²⁵ or just *Institutos Obreros* (IOs, Institutes for Workers), conceived for the children of those workers fighting at the trenches.

These high schools tried to put together many of those educational innovations advanced during the previous decades. Among its ideologists was to be found already mentioned above Manuel Núñez de Arena y de la Escosura, who participated in Valencia's IO since its inception, and was its last director

²⁴ F. Sánchez Ocaña, *Los superdotados*, «ABC», 21st July 1931, p. 3.

²⁵ «Gaceta de la República», n. 328, 23 November 1936.

until March 1939. Núñez de Arena, PhD from Madrid's Central University, advocate of the socialization of culture, had created in 1910 the *Escuela Nueva*, a school aimed for the study and dissemination of social action, or, in his own words: «a mixture of socialist university and professional school»²⁶. Pursued by Primo de Rivera's Dictatorship and exiled in France in the twenties, he returned to Spain once the Second Republic was proclaimed, entering successive public high schools as professor of French.

The *Institutes for Workers* benefited from Núñez de Arena's experience as director of the *Escuela Nueva*, and inherited a significant part of its 'spirit'. But, somehow, the project of the IOs also integrated approaches advanced by the ISEO: young candidates should come from the working classes; they would be selected using stringent tests to evaluate intellectual capacities through qualifying exams that would last several days. In sum, examiners wanted to select the best minds of the people, as they could become, for the first time in Spanish history, part of the ruling class of the future, hitherto reserved for the middle and upper classes.

At the same time, paying attention to the war situation, the IOs introduced new requirements: first, the parents of all the applicants had to be affiliated to any of the political parties or trade unions integrated in the Popular Front; and second, all eligible students should have been put forward by one of those trade unions and youth organizations fighting against fascism.

Although the text of the decree creating the IO made no literal reference to the «giftedness potential» as the criterion for the selection of the scholars, in fact, the new educational experience was intended, explicitly, to «the best intelligences» and «the best capacities» among the people. Furthermore, the initial stage of the teachings would be conceived as a «crash course», which would provide the necessary cultural level to those «applicants with positive talent but insufficient primary instruction». Consequently, prospective students who had demonstrated their intellectual capability but had not received appropriate education, would be able to catch up with the other students before commencing their baccalaureate.

Candidates also had to be young workers or apprentices, and would enjoy a studentship similar to the earnings they gained in their respective jobs²⁷. This pay would be considered a real salary and would be estimated according to the dependents the young worker had²⁸, but it would not be delivered to anyone who could not warrant having had a previous paid job. In fact, the opening of Valencia's IO was conceived as an experimental model for studying how to extend secondary education to all workers up to 35 years old, although the creational decree explicitly stated that «while the war that the people was

²⁶ «Vida Socialista», n. 103, 21st January 1912, p. 20.

²⁷ «Gaceta de la República», n. 90, 31st March 1937.

²⁸ «Gaceta de la República», n. 49, 18th February 1938.

fighting against fascism continued» only «young men and women, between fifteen and eighteen years of age» could enter the *Institute*.

Thus, when comparing the experiences in higher education for workers undertaken in Spain during the thirties, it can be concluded that, while the *Instituto de Selección Escolar Obrera* was a private experience that the 'Republic in peace' could not (or did not want to) assume as of its own competence, nor extend it as a model to public high schools either, the 'Republic at war' organized and financed the *Institutos para Obreros*, for the first time, through the Government budget.

In December 1936 the press advertised the opening of the first IO in Valencia, and on 9th January 1937 began the tests to select the 150 most qualified adolescents from the 501 candidates that attended the call. As it might be expected, trade unions and political organizations devoted a special effort for the preparation of these young candidates, establishing specific schools for this purpose. Among them stood out the newly created anarchist CNT's *Internado-Escuela Durruti* (Durruti's Boarding School). Finally, a total of 143 students would be admitted, 130 boys and 13 girls²⁹. The *Institute* was inaugurated on 31st January 1937 and classes began on 1st February.

All subjects covering the bachelor's degree were structured in only four semesters. Nevertheless, only the first three could be accomplished at Valencia's *Institute for Workers* by a total of 356 students. Although the qualifying exams for the fourth semester were completed, the civil war came to an end in the Spring of 1939 before teachings could be completed.

The immediate enthusiasm generated by this first IO's educational experience among those parents-workers defending the Republic, inspired numerous city councils to request more *Institutes for Workers*. These demands encouraged the opening of new IOs in Sabadell (10th March 1937)³⁰ and in Barcelona and Madrid (11th May 1937)³¹. While the war progressed, several other *Institutes* were planned in Almeria, Bilbao and Alcoy (Alicante), but only the latter attained to organize admission examinations.

Sabadell's IO offered 100 seats for young workers in May 1937, although classes finally didn't begin until 1st November, while the official opening took place on 19th December. Subsequently, classes in Barcelona's IO began on 20th December²⁰. In these two Institutes only two semesters would finally be completed, although the second and last one in both of them practically only had female students, as most boys were mobilized by the republican army to fight at the final and desperate Battle of the Ebro river.

On the other hand, Madrid's IO should not only accomplish the same educational aims as all the precedent ones. It should become the basis for the

²⁹ «Gaceta de la República», n. 20, 20th January 1937.

³⁰ «Gaceta de la República», n. 73, 14th March 1937.

³¹ «Gaceta de la República», n. 139, 19th May 1937.

international appeal to democratic powers to support the 'Republic at war' from the tragic reality of the besieged capital. Perhaps more strongly than in other cities, political organizations and trade unions devoted a remarkable effort in Madrid instructing candidates prior to the admission examinations. Two centres were conceived for this special preparation: the *Federación Universitaria Escolar*'s (FUE, Scholar University Federation) Popular University, and the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo*'s (CNT, National Confederation of Labour) *Instituto Ferrer*, named to honour Francisco Ferrer Guardia, anarchist pedagogue executed in 1909. Once the students had been conveniently selected, classes at Madrid's IO began in October 1937, although, as in the case of the two Catalan *Institutes*, only the first two semesters would be completed.

The *Institutes for Workers* had been conceived to allow access to political power in the future for the children of the working class. This would be achieved through a new structure, concentrating the efforts of the young students living in a boarding school in just two years, divided into four semesters, and giving them, divided in groups of up to 25 boys and girls, by means of an active teaching, a new co-education that should be rational, secular, scientific and artistic.

The former Jesuit College where Valencia's IO was located, improved with rationalist architectural refurbishment undertaken by the Republic, provided the perfect socio-cultural environment which facilitated the aims of the school. Students shared with all the teachers and their families the boarding facilities, dining rooms, schoolyard, gymnastics, health care, cultural outreach, excursions, etc. In sum, they enjoyed a 24 hour a day encouraging and novel educational experience, supported by the Government and with no cost for the young workers' families.

The methodology was aimed to make the most of all the courses, many of which were taught in the laboratory or even outdoors in direct contact with the environment object of study. Great use of the library was made, not only for readings and completion of homework, but also for personal research and even for collaborative work in groups. Great emphasis was made both in the arts and graphic design, and the students were introduced in the new educational technologies of their time, edited printed bulletins, prepared mural journals, etc. They attended and even gave lectures, while enjoying a wide range of outreach activities (concerts, visit to museums and exhibitions, educational games, sports...), taking advantage of the continuous advice of mentors seven days a week as an inherent part of the educational process.

The programme structure, organized in four semesters, illustrating the distribution of courses and schedule, was as follows:

| Subjects | First semester Weekly hours | Second semester Weekly hours | Third semester Weekly hours | Fourth semester Weekly hours |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Spanish Language and Literature | 6 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| French | 6 | 6 | 3 | Reading |
| Natural sciences | 3 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| Physical Chemistry | 0 | 3 | 6 | 3 |
| Mathematics | 6 | 6 | 6 | 3 |
| Geography | 3 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| History | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Economy | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Drawing | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| English | 0 | 0 | 6 | 3 |
| Specialties | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| <i>Total Weekly hours</i> | 30 | 33 | 33 | 30 |

Source: «Gaceta de la República», 4th December 1937.

The implementation of the educational innovations managed to penetrate the curricular life of the *Instituto Obrero*. The new methodologies, together with the hard work and positive attitude of the students, permitted the substitution of the classical recourse to memorizing strategies – widely used in Spanish high schools – for the effective assimilation of knowledge. Thus, teachers acted as intermediaries between knowledge and learning. Verb-rote learning was eliminated in favour of praxis. Convenient explanations inside and outside the classroom presided learning processes, while old fashioned textbooks were substituted by active note-taking and, even, the preparation of new and up to date specific note-books for many of the IO's courses. In fact, the young workers undertook research activities as a means not only for learning the contents of the different courses, but mainly to acquire competences for the organizational tasks they were to develop in Spanish society after leaving the *Institute*, something that definitely encouraged the students.

Several advantageous elements averted monotony and tedium, and kept away those problematic issues that could have arisen in such special boarding high school, full of boys and girls from 15 to 18 years of age, sharing housing facilities with the teaching staff and their families in the midst of the civil war. Indeed, all of them focussed their aims on the teaching-learning process, benefiting from the advantages of an innovative comprehensive educational space, surrounded by gardens and so many elements for entertainment: friendly mentoring experiences, recreational games in the club, choir, scientific film screenings, comedy movies, etc. All this created an atmosphere of collective

optimism, where everyone assumed their respective entrusted educational mission.

Reference books had a place in the well stocked IO's library, which was equipped with a wide selection of printed editions specifically purchased for the young workers, with topics ranging from universal literature and encyclopaedic texts to poetry, science and technology, social and political fiction, etc. Students also had access to popular science journals, literary magazines and international press, a supplementary educational tool conceived in order to contribute to their success. Boys and girls could make use of the library until 10 pm, the time recommended to cease learning tasks and rest.

The application of all these innovations in the school practice, initially conceived only for especially talented students eager to learn, also worked out well in those young workers without optimal skills, who improved their learning through the active methodology. Indeed, as a test for measuring the achievements at Valencia's IO, a competition was conducted with the also elitist but 'bourgeois' *Institute-School*, and it could be confirmed that the students attending the IO had learned in six months more than what was the standard after two whole years at any high school. As Vicente Peña, one of the alumni of the *Instituto Obrero de Valencia* summarized in an interview made in 2007 in relation to the practice-learning methodologies: «We were taught how to learn»³².

On the other hand, when comparing the *Institutes for Workers* with the *Institute of Scholar Selection for Workers*, several differences arise, being the most significant that the students at the ISEO could not participate in organizational duties, did not take active action in the teachings, were not paid a salary for their duties as students, did not live together with the teaching staff under a mixed boarding scheme, and probably did not experience such an intensive apprehension of knowledge.

In any case, the educational success of the IOs not solely relied on the methodology described, but also on the category and authority of the prestigious teaching staff. For example, in Valencia's IO, the course of Spanish Language and Literature was taught by Samuel Gili Gaya, Alfredo Milego Díaz, María Antonia Suau Mercadal and Magdalena Folch Solé. The importance given to the course of Drawing is palpable in the international significance of the artist-teachers selected. Thus, war circumstances permitted the gathering in Valencia of leading figures of Modernism as Rafael de Penagos Zalabardo, Rafael Pérez Contel, Francisco Carreño Prieto and Alberto Sánchez Pérez, all of them creators of consecrated prestige who taught their artistic views to that group of students that dreamed to reconstruct the country when the war ended.

³² Project of Oral History of the *Asociación Cultural Instituto Obrero*, Valencia, Spain, 2002-2012.

In physics and chemistry the young workers enjoyed the spirit and skills of Juan Bautista Puig Villena, one of the pioneering scientists who were first interested in Spain in the new quantum physics. Among others, Enrique Moliner Ruiz taught Mathematics and Juan Renau Berenguer Geography and History. In charge of the courses of French language were already mentioned Manuel Núñez de Arena, María Antonia Suau Mercadal and Eugenio García Lomas. Natural Sciences were in charge of Enrique Rioja Lo Bianco, a disciple of master naturalist and last president of the *Board for Advanced Studies*, Ignacio Bolívar. His fame as a marine biologist crossed the Spanish borders. He had been professor at the College of Teachers and at Madrid's Central University, and Head of the Department of Malacology and lower animals of the *Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales* (National Museum of Natural Sciences). Among his many positions, he was member of the Council of Public Instruction and the Central Committee of the Board of Educational Missions since its inception in 1931, president of the Technical Board for the Inspection of High School Teachings, etc.

Complementary to all what has been detailed, it should be noted that the prospects the IOs opened to young workers within the tragedy of Spanish civil war, multiplied the demand for seats. This led the Ministry of Public Instruction to decide the setting-up of an intensive Baccalaureate at ordinary Institutes in order to provide secondary education to the greatest number of students as possible³³. In these so complicated circumstances in the final stages of the conflict, the 'Republic at war' had assumed decisions that the 'Republic in peace' did not know how, could not, or did not want to carry on with.

3. Final Remarks: Popular Education in Franco's Spain

The modernization project of the *Instituto Obrero* was based upon the generation of a definitive sense of responsibility and solidarity and the acquisition of a good knowledge base. Once the civil war came to an end, the encouraging aim of rebuilding the nation through those new approaches which had been carefully devised and which had been offering promising results banished. The defeat, surrender and demolition of Republican Spain also cut sharply the project of the IOs, scattering and even prosecuting those teachers and students who had compromised with the Republic and had also lost the war. The *Institutos Obreros* were closed down and their memory removed.

But on 16th December 1938, a few months before the end of the war, the first Minister of Education of Nationalist Spain, Pedro Sainz Rodríguez, signed a significant provision, probably under the influence and conditioned by the

³³ «Gaceta de la República», n. 304, 31st October 1937.

developments in the field of Popular Education carried out first by the private initiative of the *Instituto de Selección Escolar Obrera* before the war, and later on by the *Institutos Obreros* during the conflict³⁴. Thus, in the preamble of the provision, the Minister was committed to make culture a common heritage for the Spanish people, so that no gifted child would be left out of secondary education due to his/her modest origins. The objective sought was to substitute former 'educational charity' establishing a wide national scholarship program managed by a new *Superior Board for Scholar Selection and Protection*, under the Secretariat of the Ministry.

The selection would be made at two stages; first at the end of primary school and again after the first years in high school. Those students awarded with grants would enjoy continued guidance and supervision to ascertain the correct use made of the protection provided by the State, who would not assume «the character of a gratuitous gift, but that of a just reward for each individual's meritorious own effort, as well as a profitable and efficient use of those natural talents who lack of economic means». The protection would guarantee exemption of tuition fees and provide personal grants (1,500 pesetas in 1938) to cover accommodation to those students with low familiar incomes (being 6,000 pesetas the upper limit established in the provision). As a whole, this wartime Nationalist initiative would become the starting point for the scholarship program articulated throughout Franco's dictatorship, later inherited by democratic Spain after 1976 and still in force well into the 21st century.

Nevertheless, after the end of the civil war, on 18th June 1940, in the frame of the general reconstruction of all the Spanish educational institutions, the new Minister of Education, José Ibáñez Martín, signed an order changing the status of the formerly private *Institute of Scholar Selection*: it became an official school incorporated within the Institute of Philosophy's section of Experimental Pedagogy, one of the institutes which conformed the new Francoist *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (CSIC, Higher Council for Scientific Research), created in order to substitute the democratic *Board for Advanced Studies*³⁵. This new ascription intended «to gather and guide those private initiatives that more directly contribute to their own functions», including stood «that experiment undertaken in Madrid by generous private initiative named *Institute of Scholar Selection for Workers* conceived for gifted children».

According to the order, the word 'Obrera' ('for Workers') was removed from its name, reduced then to *Instituto de Selección Escolar* (ISE)³⁶ while, as in the pre-conflict stage, the *Institute* would focus on the selection and training of

³⁴ «Boletín Oficial del Estado» (henceforth cited as BOE), n. 175, 22nd December de 1938, pp. 3080-3083.

³⁵ BOE, n. 175, 23rd June 1940, p. 4319.

³⁶ M^a.M. del Pozo Andrés, T. Rabazas Romero, *Exploring new Concepts of popular education: politics, religión and citizenship in the suburban schools of Madrid, 1940-1975*, «Paedagogica Historica», vol. 47, 2013, pp. 221-242.

the gifted «who will successively receive instruction and elementary, secondary and higher education, according to that particular intellectual capabilities such students enjoy».

A second provision, signed that same day³⁷, appointed the members of the new Board of Trustees, in which maintained their seats the Viscount of Eza, Artigas, Machimbarrena, Muguruza, Father Getino, Rogerio Sánchez, Ruiz Senén and Terradas. Laura Luque continued as Head Teacher, while several new members were incorporated as trustees; amongs others, Carlos Blanco Soler, Ángel González Palencia, Pedro Puig Adam, Manuel Aleixandre, Conde de Gamazo, Marquee of Aledo, etc.

The ISE remained part of the CSIC's *Institute of Philosophy* for only two and a half years: a new order signed by Ibanez Martin on 26th February 1943 provided that «The *Instituto de Selección Escolar* must regain its private character while its Board of Trustees will cease its duties»³⁸. In fact, the Board continued its tasks once recovered its 'private' nature with minor changes in its constitution. Laura Luque warranted that both Madrid's Provincial and Town Councils would continue subsidizing the institution granting scholarships for students without financial resources³⁹. Thereby, the initial 20,000 pesetas granted by the Town Council in 1943 would rise up to 30,000 in 1946⁴⁰, while the Ministry of Education even took over the costs of reforms in some of the successive locations, as it was the case with the premises in Rafael Calvo Street in 1952⁴¹.

Perhaps one of the most important personalities among the many who provided funds for the ISE was José María Aguirre Gonzalo. His identification with the *Institute's* effort was so determined that, in an interview published by Marino Gómez Santos in the newspaper *ABC*, when asked about if most students at the ISE had been children of his companies' employees (Agromán, Banco Español de Crédito, etc.), Aguirre answer: «Not necessary the children of my employees. All the students must have had low incomes, so that the *Institute* also attended children of families who did not belong to the company»⁴².

In fact, although the *Institute of Scholar Selection* could not survive the retirement of its founder and head teacher Laura Luque in 1967, we should not forget another project initiated during Franco's regime also conceived for the children of the workers: the *Universidades Laborales* (Universities for Workers), which gathered more than 500,000 students between 1955 and 1981, in 21 different locations across Spain, with the aim of facilitating the right to

³⁷ BOE, n. 175, 23rd June 1940, pp. 4319-4320.

³⁸ BOE, n. 66, 7th March 1943, p. 2143.

³⁹ «ABC», 29th April 1944, p. 15.

⁴⁰ «ABC», 10th August 1946, p. 17.

⁴¹ BOE, n. 255, 11th September 1952, p. 4167.

⁴² «ABC», 26th October 1968, p. 23.

education of the working population under the patronage of the government and the tutelage of the Catholic doctrine.

But these educational experiments of the *Universidades Laborales*, circumscribed to vocational education and technical training, were carried out from different perspectives to those already discussed for the ISEO and the IO's, and deserve a monographic analysis in a new article.

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Tito Speri: an apprentice revolutionary on the eve of 1848 insurrection. The Municipal Lyceum of Lodi and the development of local patriotic spirit in the first half of the XIX century

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ABSTRACT: Well before 1848, the insurrection was already smouldering, concealed under an apparently resigned normality, amongst the chairs and desks of the Municipal Lyceum of Lodi. Although his pupils were sometimes involved in skirmishes with the Austrian officers, the deputy principal of the high school, Luigi Anelli, could sleep peacefully. Everything changes in a matter of a few years: three young students from Brescia, enrolled in the Lyceum, ignite the fuse of the coming insurrection of 1848. The most passionate in spurring on his comrades to revolt against the Austrian, in lively debates held in theatres or cafes, is Tito Speri. The future Martyr of Belfiore arrives in Lodi after having spent one year in the seminary of Brescia. His political maturing takes place in Lodi, where he senses immediately that his teachers share his very own resoluteness, and that the town is ready to strive with all its strength – if necessary, losing everything at stake – for the cause.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Patriotic Movements; Political Education; Secondary School; Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia; Italy; XIX Century.

1. *Lodi, 1841*

There is no need to wait for the events of 1848 to cast light on the patriotic feelings of the students attending the Philosophical Institute in Lodi. As long ago as 1841 the Imperial Royal Deputy Principal of the lyceum had to plead for three of the best pupils at the Police station. As if that was not enough, in February of

the same year he managed to settle a «quite serious argument involving a group of pupils and some officers from the local garrison»¹.

Three documents, which have unfortunately been lost², relate a frequent occurrence in those days; nowadays, these facts are a useful tool for the comprehension of the intolerance harboured by the people from Lodi against the Austrian. Such hatred steadily brewed from year to year, fostered by the student opposition. Moreover, they introduce the multifaceted character of Luigi Anelli, who managed the educational institution from 1838 to 1856³.

¹ O. Lennovari, *Le provocazioni di un ufficiale degli Ussari e l'energia di un Preside*, «Archivio Storico Lodigiano», I s., n. LVI, 1937, p. 58.

² The above mentioned documents are indirect sources, already published in *Ibid.* Despite a search conducted both in the records of Liceo Verri in Lodi and in the historical archives of the City of Lodi, it hasn't been possible to find the original papers relating the facts of February, 1841. Therefore, we must trust the work of Lennovari, also because Nicola Minervini, former principal of the Lyceum and author of a valued historical essay about the institution, in 1957 stated that after the publication of Lennovari's work no trace remained of the original papers. According to Minervini, Lennovari, «formerly librarian and deputy principal of this school», used the papers «for a publication in the aforesaid *Archivio Storico per la Città e i Comuni del Circondario e della Diocesi di Lodi* in 1936: nevertheless, although having been repeatedly asked by letter for any news about these papers, he never took the trouble of answering!» (in N. Minervini (ed.), *L'Istituto di istruzione classica lodigiano in una ricorrenza centenaria 1857 – 6 febbraio – 1957*, Milano, Ubezzi e Donez, 1957, p. 11). A handwritten note by Alessandro Caretta, who reorganized a part of the school archives during his appointment as headmaster (1976-1988), is equally clear. The note has been retrieved from the Archives of Lyceum Verri (hereinafter: ALV); Caretta wondered if the documents were «already missing when Minervini was the principal» (ALV, *Documenti storici del Liceo* (hereinafter: DSL). The binder doesn't bear any further classification). In fact, after a thorough examination of the correspondence folders (hereinafter: ALV, CC. 1818-1836 / 1837-1857) between the Lyceum and the city institutions, duly sorted by year, the aforementioned papers and the whole folder 1841 are missing. The same goes for the sources related to the events of 1848: the folder 1847 and 1848 have vanished. However, we were able to recover some brief first-hand news about the subject of this paper, especially in the manuscript *Protocollo del Liceo Comunale della Regia Provincia di Lodi 1823* (actually, 1821-1847) (in ALV, *Protocollo del Liceo Comunale della Regia Provincia di Lodi. 1821-1847* (hereinafter: P.), ms., vol. I and P., 1848-1856, vol. II, ms. Also, two very interesting original documents were found: a report of the police of Lodi, admonishing Tito Speri, then a high school student in Lodi, and a petition of the same Speri asking to be allowed to take the exams of the final year.

Besides this, most of the documents listed in the following pages, except where appropriately quoted, are drawn from the works of local historians, related to Lyceum Verri either as principals or teachers, who had in the past, between 1820s and 1850s, the chance to study the documents and sources which nowadays have disappeared. It should be noted as well, in addition to the work of Lennovari, the one by T.A. Ferraretto, *Tito Speri, studente del Liceo di Lodi nell'anno scolastico 1847-1848*, Lodi, Biancardi, 1928. We have chosen to quote some of the documents already published in the works of Lennovari and Ferraretto for their comprehensiveness, and most of all due to the rarity of local publications, very hard to be found. About 1848 in Lodi also see M. Schianchi (ed.), *Dentro il 1848: memorie di Genebardo Crociolani del battaglione degli studenti lombardi*, Azzano San Paolo, Bolis, 2007 and F. Mauri, *Uno studente lodigiano nelle vicende del Quarantotto: Genebardo Crociolani (1827-1864)*, «Archivio Storico Lodigiano», n.s., n. CXXXII, 2013, pp. 126-221.

³ ALV, *Fascicoli personale docente* (hereinafter: FPD), 22/1, *Direttore, Anelli can. Luigi 1838-56*.

On 13th May 1841, the students Carlo Formenti, Antonio Barbavara and Ferdinando Cornacchia report in writing to Anelli the facts happened a week earlier, when the three were involved in a quarrel with a party of non-commissioned Austrian officers.

The report was intended to «prevent any unpleasant impression in our esteemed Superiors, aiming also at rectifying any potential unfortunate accident in the future», asking also the headmastership «to prevent, in the future, any scandal caused by the soldiers»; moreover, they intended to «reaffirm [...] the [signatories'] reputation, safeguarding [themselves] from any uncontrolled, however legitimate, resentment»⁴.

The denouncers – it's obvious – are looking for a way to protect and secure themselves against any consequence. Their concern is equally obvious, and it's easy to imagine the turmoil they had to face within their families when the fact was made known. It's plain: Formenti, Barbavara and Cornacchia are all prominent representatives of the local bourgeoisie, and their school *curricula* leave no doubt nor on their skills or their social position. Cornacchia and Formenti belong to the class of landowners and attended, respectively, the Imperial Gymnasium of Cremona and of Lodi; Barbavara is the son of Alessandro, no less than «inquisitor» working for the I.R. Finance office in Lodi. Barbavara, moreover, has already attended the I.R. boarding school of Wiener Neustadt, and in fact is the only one, amongst the three, who actually knows the languages in which him and his companions are badly addressed. Finally, their habits, as we can gather from the *Catalogo del Primo Corso Annuale degli Studi filosofici d'obbligo nell'anno scolastico 1840-41*⁵, are «distinct» and «appropriate»; their marks, both in the first and in the second term, vary in all the different subjects from «diligent» to «very diligent», and the three of them received several lauds.

A few days before their confession to Anelli, the students – as reported in their own words – were «walking after lunch, along the avenue leading from Porta Castello to Porta Cremona, and precisely at the junction with the promenade of Contrada Maldotti. We were debating academic matters, [...] strongly excited. Without any apparent reason, three Hussar officers, passing by on a gig, overheard a *damned* innocently slipped from the lips of one of us [...] during the dispute. Therefore, they reversed the gig towards us; two officers descended from it, and approached us asking if we were speaking of them. We frankly answered [...] that no, we were involved in a debate concerning only the three of us, and no one else. This answer persuaded one of them, who calmed down and politely moved away, while the other, named Ottinger, still feeling discontented, uttered grumbling in an insulting way words like *redress*, *slapping*, etc., adding in German language that louts like us deserved only *slaps on the nose*». This was

⁴ ALV, P., ms., A.S. 1841, chapters 40-41.

⁵ ALV, *Catalogo del Primo Corso Annuale degli Studi filosofici d'obbligo nell'anno scolastico 1840-41*, ms., one volume.

understood by the one «who knew that language», «who also replied in German that this proposition was an affront, because menacing with slaps and tweaks young and honest guys who were merely discussing private matters in public was rude. The threat, the tone it was uttered with, and the sheer number of the people surrounding them irritated» the students, and «led them, the next day, before the Colonel Count Pallfy, from whom they parted, however, unsatisfied»⁶.

The draft of the complaint was probably drawn up personally by Luigi Anelli: the prose is very considered, and balanced between an indictment and a plea, saving both the reputation of the three students involved, and the respectability of the philosophical institution, suggesting a notable writing talent, a mature practical thinking, and firm rhetorical skill: the text is clear yet covert, blames and defends, rises and then sinks different subjects.

After a second altercation with Ottinger – this is detailed by Anelli himself in the note accompanying the complaint – the three students related him the facts, and the teacher acted accordingly, presenting the Police Chief with the report. The note is considerably less cautious than the official document. Anelli, without hesitation, writes:

Your Lordship
The Police Commissioner
Lodi

On May the 7th it happened that Mr. Ottinger, Hussar officer in charge of the district De' Maldoti in this town, addressed sharp and insulting words to three students of this Municipal Lyceum, namely Mr Carlo Formenti, Mr Antonio Barbavara and Mr Ferdinando Cornacchia. Nobody of them deserved this treatment for any account. This morning the three students, which are persons of excellent conduct and commendable for their diligence in studying, reported verbally the facts to this office, asking for protection and measures against any future circumstance. Moreover, a teacher of this Institute related that, last Sunday, the very same Mr Ottinger set off his horse impetuously towards two other students of this Lyceum who were just walking on the promenade, steering clear of them only at the very last second. I do care to bring these facts to the attention of Your Lordship the Police Commissioner, so that you can banish any further inconvenience caused by the aforementioned Officer, warning him that the whole Lyceum is very upset by these facts, and will consider any event of public shaming of one of its members as bearing on the whole institution.

Lodi, from the Head Office of the Municipal Lyceum, 14th May 1841.

⁶ Lennovari, *Le provocazioni di un ufficiale*, cit., pp. 59-60. The documents quoted in the next paragraphs are drawn from the same source.

A week later came a reply. Anelli perhaps learned with surprise that the sender wasn't the Police Commissioner, but the Provincial Delegate, the highest authority in Lodi in those days, who, however, remitted the matter again to the Commissioner, Count Pallfy, ascribing to him the responsibility for the event and for any future inconvenience:

The Police Commissioner forwarded me your note n. 40, dated May 15th, from which I've learnt about the loathsome encounter that took place between the students mentioned in the note and the Hussar Officer Mr Ottinger. I referred the matter to Colonel Count Pallfy, the Police Commissioner, so that the aforementioned Officer can be warned and the proper measures against such unpleasant kind of events can be enacted.

However, estimated Deputy Principal, I suggest to recommend to the students under your guidance, and particularly to those involved in the incident, to refrain from any gesture or phrase that could barely resemble a provocation, so as to elude further problems and avoid to be exposed to consequence for questionable behaviours. I would also love to be informed, in the future, of any fact that might deserve further action.

Lodi, May the 19th.

The I.R. Government Counsellor
Provincial Delegate
Berchet

It hasn't been possible to retrieve further sources on the matter, neither first- or second-hand. It's supposed that there wasn't any sensational aftermath, nor any consequence concerning the public opinion.

In 1841 the deputy principal couldn't possibly think that just a few years later, both to fulfil his role as school-guard and for personal beliefs, he would have acted just as energetically, distinguishing himself for two complaints between 1847 and 1848: this time, however, against the students of his own high school. Even if he didn't nourish explicit pro-Hapsburg opinions, and at least not inclined to uprisings, even the smallest, the deputy didn't share the aspirations of his pupils and, indeed not even those of some teachers of the institute, very close to Mazzini's creed.

The attitude of Anelli would eventually shift: the deputy principal became one of the most sharp-eyed pro-Hapsburg informants about the internal affairs of the school, willing, if needed, to report his own pupils. Of course, we can grant Anelli some extenuating circumstances, dictated by the constraints and duties required by his role. In fact, while denouncing to the authority the corrupt moral and the poor performance of the students, turning therefore a didactic and educational evaluation into a political accusation, the deputy principal never made explicit references mentioning the names of the students. However, Anelli didn't share the resolute stance of some of his colleagues, who, although respecting a role they've decided to transgress to – even though within their official duties, chose to fulfil their stance in deeds and words, venturing far beyond the boundaries of official didactics, quietly preparing their students for revolt.

2. *The young Tito Speri between vocation, local history and youth literature*

It's easy to imagine that the school year between 1847 and 1848 in Lodi was not the quietest ever. The bubbling of events that would soon lead to the uprisings reverberated from the nearby city of Milan, since 1847, and, of course, the tempers of a class of students not insensitive to the patriotic spirit flared up.

Once again, as a few years before, three students were suspected to inflame the minds of their comrades, thus spreading the fire that would bring them to the barricades.

They came to Lodi from Brescia, in early November 1847. One of them is called Tito Speri. He has «a powerful build, a passionate soul, a sharp mind, wide and deep»; he has «a broad forehead, black eyes» reflecting «the energy and the sweetness of his temper, [has] fluttering brown hair, lean and agile frame, a carefree yet martial attitude»⁷. He's twenty two years old when he enrols in the first year of gymnasium. This delay could be ascribed to several reasons. Few in Lodi, for example, are aware of the fact that the young man had been a student, for a few months, in the seminary of Brescia, which has left in 1847, once he realized that his mission was of a different nature⁸. After having left the seminary, however, Speri doesn't enrol in his hometown lyceum. In all likelihood, he chose so to elude the gossip about the betrayal of his vocation, although we can't shut out political reasons, closely related to the social and school environment of Brescia, certainly no less hot than Lodi, as will be better observed later.

Speri arrives in Lodi with a presentation letter by the parson of Sant'Alessandro, in Brescia. The letter has been lost, yet it was copied and published by Ferraretto in the second half of 1920s, and describes «a young man of the most excellent manners, spotless habits, rare piety, as well as sublime talent which he intensely cultivates» and, even though it doesn't mention any reference to the reasons for his move, attests the interruption of his studies between 1845 and 1846, due to an alleged unspecified «illness».

From the second half of nineteenth century the biography of Speri, popularized also in the literary milieu, becomes one of the many educative writings inspired to the lives of the heroes of the Risorgimento which were proposed to the children as role models of self-denial and heedless of death: a genre fully belonging to the pedagogics of civic example. In fact, since the 1880s teen literature works dedicated to the facts of the Risorgimento were countless, and their message quite unmistakable. This educative aim was integral part in setting a new national mythology, which was being built up

⁷ L. Siotto Ferrari, *Tito ed Angela Speri*, «Corriere dell'Adda», 11th July 1901.

⁸ Archives of Seminario Vescovile Diocesano di Brescia (hereinafter, ADB), series 11.5, *Cataloghi Annuali di tutti i corsi*, register VI, 1847. In the aforementioned register there are no grades for Tito Speri, and the following year his name isn't anymore in the list of the seminarists.

also through an equally modern pantheon of lay tutelary deities, including Giuseppe Mazzini and his followers. This goal found a perfect carrier in literary works and publishing products expressly aimed at teenagers and children, but also at a wider audience of adult readers. Short biographies, literary portraits, nineteenth century *res gestae*, historical accounts were meant to glorify an hyperbolical heroism; although often spoilt by forged tales (such as many pages by De Amicis), they enriched the publishing market and the popular literature with several different proposals.

The story of Tito Speri, as narrated by Larissa Siotto Ferrari in the pages of «Corriere dell'Adda», is no exception. Her prose is nearly hagiographic, and can be listed within the realm of youth literature: actually, the writer herself declares explicitly her target («You sure did see him, my children, going three times to the barricades in Santa Eufemia della Fonte, during those unforgettable days»⁹).

The biographical tale *Tito e Angela Speri* was published between 11th July and 1st August, 1901. A statement in the footer was added by the editors of the Lombard newspaper, declaring it a publishing anticipation:

We publish a chapter from an educational work which is being completed by the distinguished Mrs Larissa Siotto Ferrari, who does mean to dedicate it to the city of Lodi – many details about the heroic Speri were provided directly by his sister¹⁰.

This prose would have to be part of a book tentatively titled *Ammaestramenti e racconti della zia Caterina*, yet it's impossible to find such a title either in Italy or abroad. It is however certain that Larissa Siotto Ferrari published *Tito e Angela Speri* in a volume dated 1915, a collection named *Novelle Italiche*, with a foreword by Jolanda¹¹. It's easy to imagine, then, that the publishing project announced by the «Corriere dell'Adda» with a lot of anticipation wasn't immediately realized. The fictionalized biography focuses briefly on the childhood of Tito Speri, and gets around to making clear to the reader that the «higher education» of Tito Speri wasn't at all taken for granted, and that his enrolment in the lyceum was the outcome of «no small sacrifices» of his mother. This caused as well some delay in his curriculum.

Angela Speri seemed from the beginning doomed to sacrifice: wound in her maternal tenderness by the death of three children, she remained a widow soon after. But the young woman, of angelic and courageous disposition, did not lose heart. She doubled her workload, aided by the excellent Santina and by her adopted daughter, and the children

⁹ Siotto Ferrari, *Tito e Angela Speri*, cit.

¹⁰ *Nota della Redazione*, *ibid.*

¹¹ L. Siotto Ferrari, *Tito e Angela Speri*, in Ead., *Novelle italiche*, Bologna, Cappelli, 1915, pp. 47-63. About *Novelle italiche* as an educational tool and about their partial publication on «Cornelia», see G. Tortorelli, *Il torchio e le torri. Editoria e cultura a Bologna dall'Unità al secondo dopoguerra*, Bologna, Pendragon, 2006, p. 294.

grew up lavished with any possible attentions. She tried to convey them the kind feelings harboured in her character, noble and generous. Imposing herself no small sacrifices, she managed to grant Tito an education higher than the one permitted by her meagre means. Although she wasn't finely educated, she sensed that her son harboured noble feelings, a very rare thing, purity, and a reckless character that, in the future, would have driven Tito to sacrifice himself on the Altar of the Homeland¹².

Two other students from Brescia enrolled in the high school of Lodi together with Tito Speri, again in 1847: Giuseppe and Giovanni Trebeschi. The three, who attended the first year with thirty-four schoolmates, were accused of night disturbances and «not commendable behaviour». These complaints seem almost to announce the imminent outburst of 1848. Speri and the two brothers Trabeschi are immediately «seriously warned» by the «Provincial Police Office, which admonished them to behave in the future, and to refrain from wandering at night and patronizing inns and taverns»¹³.

On 30th June 1847, Anelli first reported the Provincial I.R. Delegation to have learned «from the teachers» that many students used to gather «night and day, gambling» in taverns and asked that «the politics find an appropriate remedy». He himself, he wrote, would act to punish the offenders (whose names, anyway, he didn't mention) enforcing the school rules that prescribed sanctions against «the offenders who break the rules forbidding gambling and patronizing taverns»¹⁴. Both Speri and the brothers Trebeschi, actually, were already known to the authorities, if only because they were included in a list, as we can infer from the lyceum protocol book of the years 1821-1848, forwarded to the Provincial I.R. delegation at the beginning of the school year urging the authorities to keep watch on them, «in accordance with the Disciplinary Statute of 30th July 1825», informing the headmastership that the students were «found gambling in cafes and taverns»¹⁵. Anelli's concern for the economical and moral damage caused by poor studies soon turned into more serious issues, plainly political.

On 15th February 1848 Anelli submitted for the second time a complaint to the Provincial Delegation, regretting «public gatherings of students wearing felt hats who, with an insolent demeanour and even with provocations, try to ignite disorders»¹⁶. In a previous note, dated 11th February and sent from the Provincial Delegation to the Lyceum headmastership, there's a serious warning to Speri and his fellow citizens from Brescia¹⁷.

¹² Siotto Ferrari, *Tito e Angela Speri*, cit.

¹³ *Alla direzione del Liceo Comunale*, Lodi, 11th February 1848, ms. in ALV, DSL.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ ALV, P., v. II, ms.

¹⁶ Ferraretto, *Tito Speri, studente del Liceo di Lodi nell'anno scolastico 1847-1848*, cit., p. 19.

¹⁷ ALV, DSL, ms.

To the Municipal Lyceum headmastership.
Lodi.

The brothers Giuseppe and Giovanni Trabeschi, sons of the late Andrea, from Brescia, enrolled in the Liceo Comunale, and Tito Speri, student in the same school and coming from Brescia too, have made themselves conspicuous due to their despicable behaviour, including wandering at night making a racket, patronizing taverns and the theatre – where the former of the three is known for being one of the most inveterate public nuisance. This Provincial Police station seriously warned them to refrain from patronizing cafes and taverns, and to behave quietly and honestly, under the threat of more strict measures, including forced conscription.

We inform you esteemed office of this fact, resting assured that you will enact, on your side, any measure your wisdom will suggest to remind those youngsters of their duties of a better demeanour.

Lodi, 11th February, 1848.
The I.R. Government Counsellor.

The name of Tito Speri will no longer appear in the correspondence between the Police Office and the Lyceum authorities, yet it's hard to rule out that he belonged to the group of students reported to the police by the headmastership when, in 14th February 1848 they obstructed the promenade of Porta Cremona forming a long line, ending up in an altercation with some police officers¹⁸. In this case, however, Anelli claimed that the complaint had been made by police informants referring to the I.R. local Command which the officers who had been insulted and provoked belonged to.

Therefore, he excluded categorically that the provocateurs could be the Lyceum students. The police pretended to give credence to the allegations of the deputy principal, and told him that they were informed that the next day, 17th February, many students would intervene «during the Mass, in the Cathedral, with the purpose of organizing an unseemly demonstration». Anelli was urged to act, warding off the contingency of such demonstration, «which might bear, also in the future, ominous consequences for the protesters, besides the effects of ordinary law». However, in a police report dating 17th February, the I.R. Provincial Delegate informs the deputy principal that, in spite of his measures, «many students, especially from the Lyceum, actually took part [...] to the aforementioned unseemly demonstration in the Cathedral». Anelli was thus forced to carry on an internal investigation in the school, yet his report to the Police leaves out once again the names of the five or six students who had been identified amongst the protesters.

¹⁸ Ferraretto, *Tito Speri, studente del Liceo di Lodi nell'anno scolastico 1847-1848*, cit., p. 19.

3. *The cradle of the conspirator*

The environment that moulded the political awareness of the young Speri is therefore Lodi. Indeed, Lodi can be considered the cradle of the political maturing of the future martyr of Belfiore, who operated especially in Milan, Brescia and Mantua. In Lodi Speri was protected by his status of lyceum student with a clean record, and was free to organize or take part in several student demonstrations, so unwelcome to Luigi Anelli.

The disturbances would soon become the least problem for the authorities, utterly unprepared to the events close at hand. The fire smouldering under the ash would trigger the fuse of the uprising in Milan, followed by the establishment of many insurrectionary committees in many of its satellite towns.

Even some high school teachers took part in the committee in Lodi, especially Pasquale Perabò¹⁹, a priest teaching Latin Philology as well as Universal History, and the abbot Luigi Anelli, who in 1845 took the place of Pietro Nesi²⁰ at the chair of Philosophy. They plotted a conspiracy amongst the chairs, often winking at the students who understood their goals.

The homonymy between the Philosophy professor and the deputy-principal has often aroused confusion in the sources describing and investigating their roles in the facts of 1848, which were substantially different. The abbot Anelli, former librarian and deputy principal of the I.R. Gymnasium of Lodi took service as a professor of philosophy in the high school in 10th November 1845, and would be dismissed from his position and all his other school assignments in 19th May 1849²¹. In the file n. 10008 from the archives of the I.R. Plenipotentiary Commissioner we read that «the abbot Luigi Anelli [...] absolutely doesn't deserve anymore his appointment as a civil servant». Therefore, by explicit order of His Excellency the Field-marshal Radetzki he's forced to lose office²².

The two Anelli nurtured opposing political ideologies. The abbot had been entrusted with the representation of the provinces of Lodi and Crema within the provisional government of Milan, while the deputy principal of the high school, canon Luigi Anelli, never missed the chance to report the colleague's conduct, as well as that of all the teachers and the students involved in the uprising. The reason of the removal of the philosophy professor was later sought (and found) in his own active revolutionary participation, and in his direct involvement in the riots of the previous year, which, amongst other things, caused the temporary transformation of the municipal lyceum in provincial high school, only to revert to its original jurisdiction after its return under the Austrian

¹⁹ ALV, FPD, 14/8, *Perabò de Colombani Pasquale 1821-1854*.

²⁰ ALV, FPD, 1/5, *Nob. Abate Luigi Anelli insegnante di filosofia teoretica 1845-48*.

²¹ ASCLo, Archivio Storico Municipale – Risorgimento (hereinafter: ASMR), folder 74, file 141, p. 38.

²² *Ibid.*

rule²³. The administrators of the City of Lodi, in fact, recalled that during its meeting on 31st March 1843 the City Council had affirmed the principle that the operative costs of the school, which benefited the whole province, shall not be born only by the City of Lodi. Therefore, as soon as the Provisional Government took office, they made sure to do this issuing a decree, dated 10th April 1848, dissolving the Municipal Lyceum and creating a provincial high school «provisionally depending on this Province, unless in the future the whole nation would assume responsibility for it, recognizing it as equal as the other schools of the Provinces of Lombardy»²⁴.

During the same uprising Paolo Gorini was a professor in Science and Physics in the same lyceum. He supported the revolt and was close to the ideology of Mazzini, and proposed the insurrection committee to mine the streets that led to Milan, so as to prevent the return of the invader after the battle of Custoza. Gorini himself reports the facts: «In April I had discovered a sure way to ignite the gunpowder from a distance, through a telegraph wire. This thing has been re-discovered by others in 1850, and now it is a trivial knowledge. But then no one had thought about it, and in those circumstance its use, hitherto unknown, would have been even easier»²⁵. We know that the plan devised by Gorini and approved by Fanti, Maestri and Restelli was not implemented due to the lack of time. But at least the scholar had overcome the restlessness that had paralyzed him in the past days. He would later recall that «I knew no peace because, even though I was still young, my poor health didn't allow me to take part in the battles that were fought, and I tried in every way to repay my debt of gratitude to my country»²⁶.

Certainly Paolo Gorini was cautious, and probably his attitude seems to be more lukewarm, in terms of patriotism, than that of some of his colleagues. In his *Autobiografia*, the professor wrote:

I considered teaching of physics as a mean to eradicate from the soul of the young despicable preconceptions, instilling in them patriotic feelings. I had to be very cautious and weigh every utterance to avoid compromising myself and attract the cunning and suspicious eyes of the surveillance enforced by the curia and the police. But, even though I had spoken covertly, later I realized that my messages had been understood: in fact the youth of Lodi during the battles for the Independence proved to be as brave as that of our most combative cities; furthermore, there is no city who could boast more than Lodi of being without blame, free from any nefarious prejudice²⁷.

²³ Cf. A. Carli, "Non gridava. Ammoniva dolcemente". *Il magistero di Paolo Gorini presso il Liceo comunale e la formazione del ceto dirigente lodigiano*, «Archivio Storico Lodigiano», n. CXXX, 2011, pp. 45-89.

²⁴ ASCLo, ASMR, folder 11, file 4.

²⁵ P. Gorini, *Autobiografia*, Roma, published by Dossi, Perelli, Levi, 1881, pp. 48-49.

²⁶ *Ibid.* The official autograph documents are kept in the Municipal Library of Lodi (section: Autographs documents, folder Paolo Gorini).

²⁷ Gorini, *Autobiografia*, cit., p. 44.

His opposition against Austrian rule, as well as its acceptance, can be defined, rather than passive, mitigated by convenience. It was already clear in the official documents sent in 1834 to the City of Lodi by the aspiring teacher in physics: while he declared that «his moral and political conduct never gave any reason for complaint» it is known that Paolo Gorini would soon be suspected by the police, and the soundness of Hapsburg suspicion is equally clear.

4. *Tito Speri and Paolo Gorini*

The son of a professor of the University of Pavia, Paolo Gorini was born on 28th January 1813. During the events of 1848 and in the subsequent ones, which would eventually lead to national unification, the scientist played the role of a flanker, being sometimes directly involved in the action. Paolo Gorini choose to keep a low profile, compared to the revolutionary demeanour of some of his colleagues involved in the conspiracy against the Austrian, such as the abbot Luigi Anelli. Nevertheless, his ideological stance was even then clear to everyone. For reasons beyond his teaching and his academic career, tightly bound to his scientific accomplishments as a geologist and anatomical preparer, Paolo Gorini was already a well-known figure in Lodi, and his idea were not a secret at all. The teenage years and those of his education were not particularly happy, but they did contribute greatly to mould and strengthen his character, developing in him a political *vis* against any form of domination on persons and, of course, on peoples.

Between 1820 and 1823 the young Gorini attended the first three years of gymnasium in the College of the St. Saviour in Pavia²⁸. He spent the next two years attending the state school, returning back to the family, «in the square of the Collegio Ghisleri»²⁹ in which he would enrol a few years later. The family and the cultural environment in which the future scientist grew up were hardly pro-Hapsburg, although his father always kept an almost completely observant demeanour, still failing in dodging a few mishaps. For instance, his mentor Alessandro Scannini was sent to the gallows «of Barabba» following the uprising of 6th Februray 1853 in Milan, recalled by Cletto Arrighi; his father

²⁸ For further information about the history of gymnasiums in the first half of 19th century in Lombardy, cf. S. Polenghi, *La riforma del Gymnasium austriaco dall'età teresiana al 1819 e la sua applicazione nella Lombardia della restaurazione (1818-1835)*, in A. Bianchi (ed.), *L'istruzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento. Lombardia, Veneto, Umbria*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2007, Vol. I, pp. 17-63; E. Pagano, *Ginnasi e licei (Lombardia e Veneto, 1802-1848)*, in *ibid.*, pp. 268-302; V. Chierichetti, *I ginnasi e i licei di Milano nell'età della restaurazione: professori, studenti, discipline (1814-1851)*, Lecce-Rovato, Pensa Multimedia, 2013.

²⁹ Gorini, *Autobiografia*, cit., p. 38.

Giovanni Gorini³⁰, born in Palazzolo in 1783, a few years short of death saw his academic career being restrained and slowed down due to the same suspicion of political opposition that years later would have threatened his son.

Then Paolo Gorini was only a child, but it's easy to outline the ideological climate in which he was grown. This, of course, not only clarifies the moral *weltangschauung* of the teacher of Physics and Science of the Lyceum, shared as well by his colleagues directly involved in the uprising, but lays the foundation for a later positioning of Gorini in the cultural milieu of the intellectuals of Lodi, particularly favourable to the uprisings of 1848. The ideological formation of a conspirator-teacher such as Paolo Gorini takes roots in Brescia – the very same hometown of Tito Speri. Gorini, too, was orphaned very young. Here we could already notice two reasons for the affinity and the sympathy that would eventually develop between the teacher and the student. Having been orphaned very young was indeed one of the main motives driving both of them to opt for some forced choices. Giovanni Gorini passed away on 25th January 1825: his death exposed his family to the dangers of indigence – the same happened to Speri's family. It's only thanks to the help coming from the former colleagues of the late Giovanni Gorini that his first son was able to continue studying³¹. In fact, Paolo Gorini moved to Brescia, where he'd be looked after by Alberto Gabba, professor in Mathematics in a high school. In Brescia Gorini attended the last year of gymnasium and the first one of lyceum, until he secured a free place at the Collegio Ghisleri, thanks to the efforts provided by the famous surgeon and university professor Carlo Cairolì, father of Ernesto, Giovanni, Enrico and Benedetto.

It's likely that the time spent in Brescia shaped in even greater details the political beliefs and the proverbial hatred of the Austrian rule shown by the older Gorini. In fact in Brescia the liberal ideology, which percolated steadily through society, led to a fracture between the high school teachers, who were the driving force of this seepage, and the Austrian authorities. This fracture resulted in resignations, searches, imprisonments and exiles, such as those inflicted against Camillo Ugoni, Giacinto Mompiani, Giuseppe Nicolini, Cesare Arici and, above all, the same Alberto Gabba, who in 1826 was already «under suspect and surveillance by the police for having made “inconsiderate speeches” criticizing, perhaps in the presence of his pupils, the new disciplinary statutes for high schools»³². There is little direct evidence of the participation of Paolo

³⁰ Cf. E. Mazzella, *Giovanni Gorini*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, Milano, Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. 1, n. 1148, pp. 676-677. Also, about Giovanni Gorini, cf. V. Peroni, *Biblioteca bresciana*, Bettoni, Brescia, Vol. II, 1823, p. 131 and I. Ciprandi, *L'università di Pavia nell'età della restaurazione*, in I. Ciprandi, D. Giglio, G. Solaro (edd.), *Problemi scolastici ed educativi nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento. L'istruzione superiore*, Milano, SugarCo, 1978, pp. 223-224.

³¹ Gorini, *Autobiografia*, cit., p. 42.

³² D. Giglio, *I ginnasi e i licei lombardi nell'età della restaurazione*, in Ciprandi, Giglio,

Gorini in the insurrectional committee constituted in Lodi in 1848, regardless of the aforementioned war plan devised, approved and then set aside. Yet, his friendship with abbott Luigi Anelli is renowned³³. The steady relationship with the latter put the scientist amongst the circle of the teachers who kept conspiring against constituted authority, still being always in formal compliance with laws and regulations, at least until 1848.

Gorini taught physics in the first and second year of the Municipal Lyceum. He «loved both science and the Homeland», and one of his former pupils, in 1881, recollected in an obituary for the late professor that «during his lesson [Gorini] sometimes strayed from physics, extolling instead Italy with fond affection»³⁴.

5. *The defeat*

It's likely, although not certain, that Tito Speri took part in the Five Days of Milan. Taking into account the temporary closure of the schools in Lodi, on 19th March 1848, the fact that many students, professors and even seminarians left the city to take part in the riots, and considering that Anelli and Perabò, both teachers of Tito Speri and fond supporters of a revolt, were members of the insurrectional committee, there's little argument against his departure towards Milan.

It is certain, however, that Speri left the lyceum in Lodi before the end of the school year to join the regiment of students from Brescia. Towards the end of July 1848, in fact, the battalion received the baptism of fire before the fort of Pietole, near Mantova. His abandonment of Lodi and the lyceum was obviously due to patriotic reason, as recalled by Lucio Fiorentini: «[The riots of] 1848 found us [Fiorentini and Speri] in town. We parted from the contingent from Trento [...] and gathered south of Mantua, where the student battalion we were enlisted in was shot by the cannons of Pietole. We had our baptism of fire, including a few victims and some wounded»³⁵.

The consequences of 1848 riots were not negligible. Both the university and high school seats were shut down for some months, although the Imperial Commissioner Montecuccoli had sent the provincial delegates, the diocesan teachers and the principals of the two lycei in Milan a memorandum allowing «private teaching of any high school subject». However, the teachers in Lodi

Solaro (edd.), *Problemi scolastici ed educativi nella Lombardia del primo Ottocento. L'istruzione superiore*, cit., p. 182.

³³ *Carteggio Gorini – Anelli*, Municipal Library of Lodi (section: Autographs documents, folder Paolo Gorini).

³⁴ P. Monferrini, *Il professor Paolo Gorini*, «Il Crepuscolo», 20th February, 1881.

³⁵ L. Fiorentini, *Memorie sulle dieci giornate di Brescia dal 1849*, Roma, Bocca, 1899, p. 15.

refused to give private courses. Only after complaints from the parents the communal authorities threatened to stop the payment of the teachers' wage, in case the latter refused to call off their unrest. After several negotiations, the deputy principal Luigi Anelli managed to convince the teachers, who gave in on 27th November 1849. The lessons were held «in the halls of the Municipal Lyceum», «according to the schedule and the rules implemented in similar circumstances by the two Lycei in Milan», for a restricted number of students: eight of them were chosen for each course by the city council, drawing from a pool comprehending «the students with the best marks in the previous courses»³⁶.

After the unfortunate conclusion of the first part of the independence war, Speri had resumed his studies to take the exams at the municipal lyceum in Lodi, in a supplementary session, which took place regularly. The «plea of the student Tito Speri» is dated 15th January 1849:

The student Tito Speri, formerly enrolled in the First Course of Philosophy, trusting in the indulgence of this commendable office, humbly begs for permission to take the final examinations of the first and second terms of the last school year 1847-48. With the exception of a small break at the end of said school year, he attended assiduously the lessons, and therefore is confident of being pardoned. Respectfully, the devoted suppliant of this commendable office,

Tito Speri

It wasn't possible to retrieve first-hand documents about the marks of Tito Speri. Yet, according to the writings of Alvise Ferraretto and, later, Nicola Minervini, he got excellent and flattering grades in Latin Philology, Religion, Fundamentals of Pure Mathematics and Philosophy. Having obtained his qualification, Speri returned to Brescia, where he spent some months full of fervour and hope. Everybody, in fact, felt that the match with Austria wasn't over, and for the resumption they gathered weapons and restored tempers.

The schools in Lodi, however, got back to normality between 1850 and 1851. Amongst the new school regulations implemented after 1848, one of the most interesting is the one issued in the ministerial decree n. 6183, dated 6th January 1850. For the first time it is stated that the teachers are direct collaborators of the principal, and that they're required to meet monthly to discuss the state and the proceedings of the institute. The Lyceum in Lodi, at first, didn't feel compelled to comply with these new provisions, although its formal requests, repeatedly submitted in 1832 and 1838, to be granted the status of Royal high school, were both repealed. However, in April 1850, the first periodical meeting of the teaching staff was held: this might be due to a solicitation received from the authorities. During this first meeting Giuseppe Bosia, who had replaced the abbot Anelli, suggested that the admission to the

³⁶ ASCLo, ASMR, cart. 11, fasc. 4.

high school could be granted only by exam. The idea, according to the file n. 15613 of the Lieutenancy of Lombardy, was deemed «very appropriate»³⁷. However, many other changes were brewing for the Municipal Lyceum, since a notification dictated by the same Lieutenancy, on 23rd October 1851, following on the reform of the grammar schools and high schools, joined in one single institution the Gymnasium and the Lyceum in Lodi, under the direction of the canon Anelli. The reform of 1851 resulted in several problems: amongst them, the new principal was worried especially by the redistribution of the workload and the schedule organization, having to manage sixteen teachers; some were on the permanent staff, some substitutes; some were paid by the city council, some by the state. Probably because of his age and decaying health Anelli asked, in a few years, to go into retirement. On 18th December 1856 the Lieutenancy of Lombardy, with the decree n. 6272, stated the «exemption from office» for Luigi Anelli³⁸, who was replaced by Francesco Tagliabue. The Municipal Lyceum of Lodi was close to its final transformation: in a matter of a short time it would be granted the status of Royal high school. Not only, in fact, the school was urged in 1850 to comply with the corrective measures which anticipated the reform of the following year; but, as we have seen, the authorities didn't hesitate at all in unifying the Lyceum and the Gymnasium, despite the different legal status of the two institutions (the gymnasium being a royal school, while the lyceum was municipal).

Despite the unification, the two classes of the high school still burdened the town's treasure, although several instances of legal equalization had been repeatedly submitted. Finally, on 20th February 1857 a delegation led by the Podestà Guido Pavesi and the counsellors Francesco Martani and Carlo Pavesi was received by the Emperor Franz Joseph, thus «humbly presenting [...] the official thanksgiving of the city council, which has been relieved of the considerable expenditures for the support and the upkeep of the VII and VIII classes, henceforth officially to the account of the state Treasury»³⁹.

A little less than ten years before the hopes of freedom of Lodi had arisen, just to be wrecked in a few months. Soon, the wind of new ideas, which could be already felt in the air, would again spread the sparkles of insurrection, with unimaginable consequences for the Austrian.

³⁷ ALV, CC 1837-1857 (folder without indexing – 1851).

³⁸ *Ibid.* (folder without indexing – 1857).

³⁹ ASCLo, ASMR, folder 75, file 151.

The teaching of Rights and Duties in the schools of united Italy: between ideological control, social discipline and citizenship education (1861-1900). Part Two*

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ABSTRACT: Using a variety of documentary sources, the article analyses for the first time the features (syllabus, contents, times etc.) and, above all, the purposes of the teaching of *Rights and Duties of Citizens* in the aftermath of national unification (1861). This discipline was introduced in the Italian schools of different types and levels with the aim of promoting the values of citizenship and the feeling of belonging to the new state to the new generations. Actually, as the authors will prove at the end of their well-structured and original reconstruction, the teaching of *Rights and Duties of citizens* in the Italian schools during the first forty years after the unification (1861-1900) was inevitably influenced by the ideology and the political system typical of the oligarchic structure of the new State, thus reviving the deep gap between the *ideal citizenship*, the one outlined on the basis of the 'rights' and 'duties' abstractly recognized in the articles 24-32 of the *Albertine Statute*, and the *real citizenship*, expression of the overall idea of society – and of the State – that the ruling classes intended to achieve. So, it presented itself as a teaching aimed at the ethical and legal legitimization of the *system of values* supported by the bourgeois élites and at the

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acquisition of it, rather than as a tool for the education of citizens aware of their rights and duties and able to assume their civic responsibilities.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; School; Political Education; Civics; Cultural Identity; Italy; XIX Century.

3. To prepare the «generous educators of the sons of the people» for their «high office»: the teaching of Rights and duties of citizens in normal and teachers' schools

With reference to the normal schools, as we have already said, the art. 358 of the Law of 13 November 1859, n. 3725, established the teaching of «General elements on the rights and duties of citizens in relation to the Statute, the electoral law and public administration»¹ among the lessons that could be taught in male courses, in order to provide future primary teachers with the knowledge necessary to teach this subject in higher primary schools and, at the same time, to carry out also outside the school a work of cultural and civil animation of the popular classes, especially in the rural areas and in more marginal areas of the peninsula².

In a few months, however, following the re-introduction of religious education in normal schools by the new Minister of Education Francesco De Sanctis³, Casati's decision was largely questioned. With the introduction, by the new Minister, of the *Programmi per le scuole normali e magistrali* (*Programs for normal and teachers' schools*) approved with R.D. 9th November 1861, in fact, the teaching of «General elements on the rights and duties of citizens in

¹ Art. 358 of the Law 13th November 1859, n. 3725 – *Sul riordinamento della Pubblica Istruzione* (Legge Casati), cit., p. 93.

² See R.D. 24th June 1860, n. 4151 – *Regolamento per le scuole normali e magistrali degli aspiranti Maestri e delle aspiranti Maestre*, in *Codice dell'istruzione secondaria, classica e tecnica e della primaria e normale. Raccolta delle Leggi, Regolamenti, Istruzioni ed altri provvedimenti emanati in base alla legge 13 novembre 1859*, Torino, Tipografia Scolastica di Sebastiano Franco e figli e comp., 1861, pp. 472-496; and the M.C. 29th September 1860, n. 89 – *Variazioni da introdursi negli insegnamenti praticati nelle scuole normali*, in *Codice dell'istruzione secondaria, classica e tecnica e della primaria e normale. Raccolta delle Leggi, Regolamenti, Istruzioni ed altri provvedimenti emanati in base alla legge 13 novembre 1859*, Torino, Tipografia Scolastica di Sebastiano Franco e figli e comp., 1861, pp. 554-556. But also see *Istruzione ai Maestri delle Scuole primarie sul modo di svolgere i Programmi approvati col R. Decreto 15 settembre 1860*, cit., pp. 415-416.

³ Francesco De Sanctis was Minister of Education in the IV government led by Camillo Benso di Cavour and in the I led by Bettino Ricasoli, from 23rd March 1861 to 3rd March, 1862. Later, he returned to lead this ministry from 24th March to 19th December 1878, and again from 25th November 1879 to 2nd January 1881, respectively in the I and III governments led by Benedetto Cairoli. On the choices made by De Sanctis in his first ministerial experience, see: A. Carannante, *Francesco De Sanctis educatore e ministro*, «Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento», vol. LXXX, n. 1, 1993, pp. 16-34; and L. Rocco Carbone, *L'educazione al Risorgimento. Francesco De Sanctis da esule a ministro, 1848-1861*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1993.

relation to the Statute, the electoral law and public administration» disappeared, to merge into a new teaching called «Religion and Morality».

Being consistent with the new curricular arrangement, it seems to be profoundly changed in its organization and cultural and educational contents: the strong civil and political character, originally given to it by Casati's dispositions, was abandoned, to become a sort of theoretical introduction to the principles of Christian morality and the duties of man, without any reference to the need to promote in teachers a deep sensitivity towards the «worthy office of educating citizens» and promoting the civil growth of the country⁴. With reference to the first year of normal schools, in this regard, the syllabus of «Religion and Morality» included:

Definition and division of moral science. On human freedom: concept and demonstration of it. On the supreme law of man: recognize through words and activities the truth that the reason shows you. Universal duty arising from the law to behave towards each institution according to its nature and dignity, which is known by reason. Duties to God. Duties to human nature considered in ourselves and in other men: namely 1. Duties towards us – about the body – about intelligence – about the will. 2. Duties to the neighbour – to parents – brothers – bosses – friends – enemies.

The syllabus for the second year of normal schools was very similar. It, while on the one hand, aimed to complete the theoretical study of Christian morality and the duties of man started in the previous year, on the other wanted to give to the future primary teachers a clear guidance regarding the education of the character and the way in which promote good behaviour in children, as well as a comprehensive illustration of the so-called «urbanity duties»:

The custom to fulfil the duty is called *virtue*. The custom to violate it is called *vice*. On the four cardinal virtues: 1) Prudence – Cognition of oneself, intellectually and morally – Docility – Diligence – Cultural Memory – Solicitude to acquire the knowledge and aptitude required to one's profession or employment. 2) Justice – On the respect for the lives of others – the honor of others – possessions of others – Duty to repair the damage caused – On the charity – On the charities that you can practice in the various social conditions. 3) Temperance – Observance of the order in the actions and conduct of life – sobriety – modesty – diligence – contrary vices – Description of their sad consequences. 4) Fortitude – magnanimity – patience – perseverance – duty to educate and strengthen the will – pride – humiliation – weakness and inconstancy in will – sad consequences – useless and unhappy life of the man who could not want constantly a purpose of his own life – Appendix on the urbanity duties.

Only in the syllabus of the third and last class of the normal school, the one reserved to those who wanted to obtain the license to teach in primary school, there were some references to the constitutional order of the Kingdom of Italy and the civil and political rights recognized by the *Albertine Statute*:

⁴ R.D. 9th November 1861, n. 315 – *Programmi e regolamento per le scuole normali e magistrali*, cit., pp. 366-372.

The state of society is natural and necessary to man – On the family – On Civil Society – On law in general – On property law – On the government of society – On representative Monarchy – On the King and his ministers – On the Senate and elective House – Civil and political rights recognized by the Statute of the Kingdom of Italy. Duties of the citizens in a free state⁵.

In order to fully analyze the different parts of the syllabus, the teacher of «Religion and Morality» could use a series of textbooks specified in the footnotes of the *Programs* of the discipline. The list included: «1. The essay *Degli Uffizi* by Cicerone; 2. *Principii di filosofia morale* by Proff. Armandi e Testa, 2nd edition 1854; 3. *Etica* by P.A. Corte, new edition 1860; 4. *Doveri degli uomini* by Silvio Pellico; 5. *Doveri del cristiano* y Felice Cuniberti; 6. *Libro del popolo* by prof. Scavia»⁶.

The prevalence, among these textbooks, of elementary ethics manuals and treatises devoted to the duties of the Christian man, and, conversely, the absence of works about the presentation of the civil and political system of the Kingdom of Italy and the analysis of the rights and duties of citizens, confirmed the lack of attention given by the *Programmi per le scuole normali e magistrali* (*Programs for normal and teachers' schools*), approved with R.D. 9th November 1861, to the civil and political education of future primary teachers.

A lack that was in direct contradiction to the already mentioned ambition of the ruling class to promote, through the teachers' work and the spread of the primary schools, the sensitivity towards the «duties to the State Government and to the other citizens» among the Italians; and, in particular, «the duty that contains all the social ones, i.e. the obligation to love and serve the country»⁷.

However, with reference to the early period after the unification, this was not certainly the only contradiction characterizing the attitude of the liberal ruling class towards primary school teachers and their role as promoters of the «social conscience» and as educators «of the future citizens». This was clearly demonstrated by the petition presented in January 1865 by Giuseppe Sacchi's *Associazione Pedagogica Italiana* (Italian Pedagogical Association), in which he pointed out how «the political rights of the electorate were legally denied» to «more than 14,500 public teachers of the Kingdom», working full time against illiteracy and for the cultural and civil growth of the Italian people. Due to the

⁵ R.D. 9th Novemer 1861, n. 315 – *Programmi e regolamento per le scuole normali e magistrali*, cit., p. 376.

⁶ B. Armandi, C. Sola, V. Testa, *Principii elementari di filosofia morale. Compilati secondo il programma ministeriale per gli esami di magistero ad uso delle scuole secondarie*, Torino, Paravia, 1852; P.A. Corte, *Elementi di etica. Ad uso degli studenti di filosofia nelle scuole secondarie*, Torino, Favale, 1852; S. Pellico, *Dei doveri degli uomini. Discorso ad un giovane*, Torino, Bocca, 1834; F. Cuniberti, *Dei doveri del cristiano*, Torino, Tip. Scolastica di S. Franco, 1855; G. Scavia, *Il libro del popolo, ossia, Trattatello d'igiene, esposizione dei doveri dell'uomo, breve dichiarazione dello Statuto del Regno, esempi di lettere, conti, suppliche [...]. Ad uso delle scuole rurali e serali*, Torino, Vaccarino, 1856 (9th edition: 1869).

⁷ *Istruzione ai Maestri delle Scuole primarie sul modo di svolgere i Programmi approvati col R. Decreto 15 settembre 1860*, cit., pp. 415-417.

electoral system in force based on the census, the active participation in the political life of the unitary State was precluded to the teachers, the same State that asked them to be responsible for the civil and political growth of the population:

Therefore – it was stated in the petition of the Associazione Pedagogica Italiana – we repeat the hope to see soon a law changing the political status of the educators of the Nation, permitting them to practice the noblest offices of the free citizens⁸.

Despite the hopes of the Italian educators, the law giving the primary school teachers («the modest soldiers of wisdom and freedom», as the Minister of Education Domenico Berti defined them) the «rights of the political electorate» would come only twenty years later, following the reform introduced by the laws 22nd January and 7th May 1882⁹.

The R.D. 10th October, 1867, n. 1942, enacted as a part of the measures to reorganize the school system prepared by the Italian Minister of Education Michele Coppino after the annexation of Veneto¹⁰, modified the *Regolamento* e and introduced the new *Programmi per l'insegnamento nelle scuole normali e magistrali*¹¹.

Unlike those issued in 1861, entirely without indications for the teachers on how to apply them, the *Programmi per l'insegnamento sui Diritti e i Doveri del cittadino nelle scuole normali e magistrali* (*Programs for the teaching of Rights and Duties of the citizen in normal and teachers' schools*) introduced in 1867 were preceded by a series of *Instructions*. They established the general aims and objectives that the teaching of the «Rights and duties of citizens» should pursue, as well as the approach and teaching methodology to use in order to make such teaching fruitful and really effective, in terms of training:

There is no doubt – we can read in the above mentioned *Instructions* – that in the country in which all the citizens fulfilled their duties and, with equal conscience, exercised their rights, the

⁸ G. Sacchi, *Studi della Società Pedagogica in risposta ai quesiti pubblicati dal Consiglio Superiore di Pubblica Istruzione per miglioramento dell'istruzione primaria in Italia, in Sulle condizioni della pubblica istruzione nel regno d'Italia. Relazione generale presentata al Ministro dal Consiglio Superiore di Torino*, cit., pp. 483-496 (quotation from p. 491).

⁹ The Law 22nd January 1882, n. 593, along with the Law 7th May 1882, n. 725, and the R.D. 13th June 1882, n. 796, was then conveyed in the *Testo Unico* approved with the R.D. 24th September 1882, n. 999 – *Testo unico della legge elettorale politica*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 27th settembre 1882, n. 226, pp. 3534-3610. Thanks to the new laws, also the elementary teachers obtained the right to vote at the elections. There are interesting notes on this topic in G. Talamo, *Istruzione obbligatoria ed estensione del suffragio*, in *Stato e società dal 1876 al 1882. Atti del XLIX Congresso di Storia del Risorgimento Italiano*, Roma, Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1980, pp. 57-100.

¹⁰ See *Istruzioni e programmi per l'insegnamento secondario classico e tecnico, normale e magistrale, ed elementare nelle pubbliche scuole del Regno*, Firenze, Tipografia Eredi Botta, 1867.

¹¹ R.D. 10th October 1867, n. 1942 – *Istruzioni e programmi per l'insegnamento nelle scuole normali e magistrali*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1867 ed altre anteriori*, cit., pp. 591-644.

society and the State would reach easily and fully their purpose, and the progress and welfare of each citizen and of all of them (again thanks to the factors of civilization) would reach almost an ideal aim. This, though perfectly clear from a theoretical point of view, is very difficult to realize: but it is clear that the respect of the duties and the exercise of the rights depends very much on the prosperous or miserable trend of the society and the State. If, then, the teacher with the task of teaching Duties and Rights in the normal or teachers' Schools, understands the importance of such a task, he will also see that the wisdom and effectiveness of his words can become beneficial source of culture and virtue for the people who will not receive other political education. If they do not benefit of this teaching, instead, they will remain in that ignorance that perpetuates the shames and the evils of slavery, also among free institutions.

The discipline now called «Rights and duties of citizens», in contrast to that of «Religion and Morality», was aimed at the spread of the feeling of citizenship among the future primary school teachers and, through them, in the new generations; a citizenship understood as awareness of the need to fulfil «their duties» and to exercise «their rights». It was characterized by the significance of the curriculum, aimed at providing students of normal and teachers' schools with a complete, although essential, «political education» and by a very concrete educational organization:

Not to distort the spirit and the purpose of the teaching – it was stated in the *Instructions* attached to the *Programs for the teaching of Rights and Duties of the citizen in normal and teachers schools* of 1867 –, the professor will avoid the subtle and erudite disquisitions, he will not raise any doubt, he will avoid any antisocial or dangerous theories, and even too scientific forms of explanation. On the contrary, he will focus only on the fundamental things, allowed by the common sense and characterized by the most fruitful and immediate implementation; he will prefer the Socratic method, arousing in the students, by means of questions, inferences and conclusions, the knowledge of the truth. [...] He will be very careful in clarifying that the ideas of the right and the duty can be distinguished very well from an abstract point of view, but not so in practice, because, especially in a free state, the exercise of the right (in general) is a duty. He will also point out that to a greater range of rights is associated a greater range of duties, because to take only the advantages of the former and to avoid the latter would be unfair and absurd; and that the one who violates the law, even if unknown and unpunished, offends his Country in a much more dangerous and guilty way of the enemy who fights openly.

As a further evidence of the will to make the teaching of «Rights and duties of the citizen» something more and better than an abstract and totally unnecessary explanation of the constitutional organization and its principles, the *Programs* issued in 1867 emphasized the need to develop «the moral part» of the teaching «along with the positive one, so that the instruction can be education, no matters if a man knows how many votes are necessary to the validity of an election or of a judgment, or if he does not possess the reason and incorruptibility necessary to the voter and the juror». At the same time, the teacher should pay a special attention «to the reading and explanation of the *Statute* (that the pupils should learn by heart)», which, because of its peculiar nature of fundamental regulatory

act, should have been the main point of reference for the analysis and discussion on the rights and duties of citizens¹².

Finally, the *Programs* enacted in 1867 listed the «principal points» on which the teaching of «Rights and duties of citizens»¹³ should be based, and then provided precise information about the textbook to use, warmly recommending to teachers of normal schools «the use of the little work: *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto*, by Dr. Pietro Castiglioni, 1859»¹⁴.

The specific and exclusive reference to Castiglioni's book raises many questions, and this not only because the «little work» recommended by the *Programs*, with its nearly nine hundred printed pages, had the characteristics of a real treatise on constitutional law rather than those of a manual for the study of the rights and duties of citizens in normal and teachers' schools¹⁵, but also because it was printed in Milan on the eve of the national unification, following the annexation of Lombardy to the Kingdom of Sardinia, so it seemed to be out-dated and strangely preferred – without specific reasons – to a series of textbooks published in more recent times and prepared just for the use in primary and secondary schools¹⁶. To understand the reasons for such a choice, it is necessary to clarify the origins and peculiar characteristics of *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto*, as well as the meaning and scope of the ethical-civil educational propose it conveyed.

Pietro Castiglioni was a patriot and doctor from Cremona, who took refuge in Turin after the insurrection of 1848 in Milan and here was engaged in a number of philanthropic and educational activities for the popular classes¹⁷.

¹² *Programmi per l'insegnamento sui Diritti e i Doveri del cittadino nelle scuole normali e magistrali*, *ibid.*, pp. 611-613.

¹³ «The teaching will be based on the following principal points: 1. The man, the family, the society; 2. the needs of society, the conditions of its existence; 3. power; 4. forms of government; 5. natural and civil rights that belong to all men; 6. the Statute of the Kingdom of Italy; 7. political rights belonging to Italian citizens; 8. general and special duties of the Italian citizen» (*ibid.*, pp. 612-613).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 613. The quoted work is: *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto e le leggi del Piemonte. Trattato popolare con una appendice contenente lo Statuto, le ultime leggi organiche e politiche e altri documenti del dottore Pietro Castiglioni. Opera premiata dalla Società d'istruzione e d'educazione degli Stati Sardi*, Milano, Tipografia Guglielmini, 1859-1860, 2 vols.

¹⁵ See L. Borsi, *Storia, nazione, costituzione. Palma e i preorlandiani*, Milano, Giuffrè, 2007, pp. 275-277.

¹⁶ As an example, we indicate: *Catechismo costituzionale o nozioni intorno ai diritti e ai doveri dei cittadini. Coll'aggiunta del testo dello Statuto. Opera compilata da Francesco Berlan professore di Lettere italiane, Geografia e Storia*, Voghera, Giuseppe Gatti Tipografo Editore, 1861; G. Giani, *I diritti e i doveri del cittadino. Operetta compilata ad uso delle scuole italiane*, Oneglia, Tip. Ghilini, 1863; *Catechismo dei doveri e dei diritti dell'uomo e del cittadino ad uso delle scuole primarie per Annibale Chiarolanza prof. pareggiato di Filosofia nella Regia Università di Napoli*, Napoli, Tip. di Michele Salvi, 1866.

¹⁷ On Pietro Castiglioni's life and works (1824-1878), see: D. Pantaleoni, *Necrologia del socio*

His «popular treatise» entitled *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto* was his first work and a sort of reworked version of a paper presented by the author in the competition for a book of popular education on the theme «*On the rights and duties of citizens in the constitutional government, particularly directed to the citizens of the Sardinian States*» promoted by the newly formed Società d'Istruzione e di Educazione (Society of Instruction and Education) of Turin on the occasion of his first general congress held in Turin at the end of October 1849¹⁸.

On that occasion, as it would occur also the following year, in the second edition of the competition, the Società d'Istruzione e di Educazione of Turin decided that none of the numerous works presented was «worthy enough for the prize», because «they require a more popular, more practical book, with more examples of implementations of the particular laws of the State». Only in the third edition of the competition, in 1854, «the consolation price of the amount of 600 lire» was won by the essay written by Pietro Castiglioni, who, in the following years, commissioned its pressing, after having re-elaborated it in many parts so that it can be used as a manual for the educated people, as a guide for the teachers, and as the explanation of our form of government and our laws to the less educated people»¹⁹.

The establishment, with the Law of 20th June 1858 n. 2878, of the normal schools in the Kingdom of Sardinia²⁰, drove Pietro Castiglioni to further and deeply modify the essay rewarded by the Società d'Istruzione e di Educazione of Turin, in order to make the text suitable not only for families and primary

Pietro Castiglioni letta all'Accademia Medica di Roma nella seduta del 29 dicembre 1878, in Atti della R. Accademia Medica di Roma, Roma, Tip. Romana, 1879, pp. 116-130.

¹⁸ The Società d'Istruzione e di Educazione of Turin was founded in January 1849 in Turin by Giovanni Antonio Rayneri and its president was Vincenzo Gioberti (Rayneri was vice president for a long time) and included among its members personalities such as Cesare Alfieri di Sostegno, Carlo Boncompagni, Giovanni Maria Bertini, Carlo Cadorna, Domenico Berti, Vincenzo Troya and Giovanni Scavia. It was moderate-liberal and had a major role in the educational and pedagogical renewal of the Kingdom of Sardinia at the turn of the forties and fifties. It was dissolved in 1854. On the work of this association see: G. Chiosso, *L'educazione del popolo nei giornali piemontesi per la scuola*, in Id. (ed.), *Scuola e stampa nel Risorgimento. Giornali e riviste per l'educazione prima dell'Unità*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989, pp. 25-61; Id., *Rosmini, i preti liberali e la scuola nel Piemonte di metà Ottocento*, «Archivio Teologico Torinese», vol. IV, n. 1, 1998, pp. 58-83; Id., *Giornale della Società d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, in G. Chiosso (ed.), *La stampa pedagogica e scolastica in Italia, 1820-1943*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1997, pp. 365-367; M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003, pp. 210-230.

¹⁹ *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto e le leggi del Piemonte. Trattato popolare con una appendice contenente lo Statuto, le ultime leggi organiche e politiche e altri documenti del dottore Pietro Castiglioni. Opera premiata dalla Società d'istruzione e d'educazione degli Stati Sardi*, cit., I, pp. XIII-XV.

²⁰ Law 20th June 1858, n. 2878 – *Istituzione di Scuole normali per Maestri e Maestre elementari*, in *Raccolta di leggi, decreti, circolari ed altre provvidenze de' magistrati ed uffizi*, Torino, Speirani, 1858, t. XXII, pp. 590-612.

teachers, but also for the students of these schools, which included «General elements on the rights and duties of the citizens according to the Constitution and the laws of our ancestors [...] among the subjects to be taught to the future teachers».

The «little work» *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto*, therefore, was conceived as a sort of *proto-manual* to be used in the new normal schools of the Kingdom of Sardinia, which, according to the author, had the «double advantage of preparing the teachers for the day when this part of education will be widespread and compulsory in all the municipalities, and, at the same time, of rendering them propagators of an oral and voluntary political teaching. In fact, the municipal teacher is, by his own nature and mission, the educator of the citizens and their families, when he himself is a suitably educated citizen»²¹.

It is necessary to stress, however, that among the undisputed advantages of this «popular treatise», thanks to which primary school teachers now considered it as the ideal teaching material for the presentation of the discipline in class, there were not only its mainly practical and formative character, perfectly responding to the teaching of «rights and duties of citizens» and advocated in the *Programs* of 1867, but also the moderate interpretation of the State system and of the discipline of rights and duties itself²².

The book *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto*, in this regard, as well as being very far from «raising doubts» and «bringing to the development of antisocial or dangerous theories»²³, had also the great merit to devote significant space to the condemn of the «deceptive and dangerous social utopias» and of the materialistic political ideologies («Of

²¹ *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto e le leggi del Piemonte. Trattato popolare con una appendice contenente lo Statuto, le ultime leggi organiche e politiche e altri documenti del dottore Pietro Castiglioni. Opera premiata dalla Società d'istruzione e d'educazione degli Stati Sardi*, cit., Vol. I, pp. XII-XIII.

²² Even in the early nineties, however, there were a lot of normal schools where teachers, violating the ministerial guidelines, didn't use textbooks and merely dictate notes, requesting then «the summaries of the lessons». See, for example, the *Report* written on 12th May 1892 by the central inspector Gian Iacopo Agostini for the Minister of Education Pasquale Villari on reports presented by the Italian headmasters of normal schools: «Until 17th February – Agostini wrote – I had the task of examining the reports that the headmasters of normal schools are required to send to the Ministry, under the art. 29 of the regulation of 14th September, 1889. Now I have accomplished this exam and I have the honor to report it to Your Excellency. The reports that were handed to me for the examination amounted to 92, of which 63 are of female schools and 29 of male schools. [...] Finally, I reported that many teachers have not followed any textbook, preferring to dictate or to request summaries of the lessons. The inappropriateness of this teaching method is perfectly clear, and we are astonished noticing that they persevere in this practice condemned for a long time, raising the suspect that the teachers want to abolish it, considered a means of control of their teaching» (the Central Inspector Gian Iacopo Agostini to the Minister Pasquale Villari, Rome 12th May, 1892, in ACS, MPI, Divisione Scuole primarie e normali (1860-1896), b. 445).

²³ *Programmi per l'insegnamento sui Diritti e i Doveri del cittadino nelle scuole normali e magistrali*, cit., p. 612.

the communistic and socialistic doctrines») that threatened the constitutional order and the liberal institutions:

I wanted that the man of the people – Castiglioni wrote – was convinced of the good and preserved from the evil, that is often painted with graceful colours, before his inexperienced and dazzled eyes, by insincere friends; so trying to hide the mistake under a charming and seductive veil, which give the false the appearance of the truth. If the political parties don't consider such matters, due to indolence or unnecessary fear, they permit the opponents of parliamentary government to freely act, who are expert in beautifully adorning their ghosts with freedom and perfect happiness, concealing behind them the greatest of all the miseries, the brute force, and the expression of slavery, the blind faith and the indifferent ignorance.

And also:

I am determined not to fear neither the criticisms of those who, wanting to keep the people just on the edge of the temple of truth, oppose the ones who present them free principles, instilling in their souls the full consciousness of jurisprudence; nor those people who, wanting to direct popular education to the triumph of political abstractions and vague future hopes, drowned the feelings of freedom and duty in the materialism of social utopias and in the moral and political indifference. [...] Full, absolute and not licentious freedom of principles; continuous, graded and appropriate, not progress; full awareness of the law, full observance of duty; firm faith in the constitutional freedoms; unconquered patriotism; here is the spirit of my work²⁴.

During the eighties and nineties, the normal schools for men and women were subjected to a series of ministerial measures aimed at improving it and upgrading its teaching methods and syllabus. «One of the main limitations of teachers' education – Redi Sante Di Pol pointed out – was that of not having a preparatory study course, after the primary school and before the studies in the normal school. Female students could be admitted only when aged fifteen and male students when they were sixteen, thus creating an interval of four years which was used in the strangest ways».

The girls, in particular, who until the beginning of the eighties couldn't attend the two-year school preceding the Liceo and technical schools, were forced to attend the primary study course until they were fifteen. In most cases, however, boys and girls «preferred to find a job, while waiting to be old enough to take the entrance examination. [...] The low cultural base of the students caused a distortion in the professional nature of the normal schools, transforming them into general education schools, furthermore of a modest level»²⁵.

²⁴ *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto e le leggi del Piemonte. Trattato popolare con una appendice contenente lo Statuto, le ultime leggi organiche e politiche e altri documenti del dottore Pietro Castiglioni. Opera premiata dalla Società d'istruzione e d'educazione degli Stati Sardi*, cit., Vol. I, pp. XVII-XVIII. On these topics, see: Capo XI. *Diritti imperfetti dei cittadini. 1. – Dottrine comunistiche e socialistiche* (pp. 389-410).

²⁵ R.S. Di Pol, *Cultura pedagogica e professionalità nella formazione del maestro italiano. Dalle scuole di metodo all'istituto magistrale*, Torino, Sintagma Editrice, 1998, pp. 63-65.

The Minister of Education Francesco De Sanctis, established, with the R.D. 30th September, 1880, n. 5666, the preparatory course – or «two-year preparatory class» – in normal female schools²⁶ in order to fill such a gap. It would be subjected, three years later, to a series of changes by the new Minister of Minerva, Guido Baccelli²⁷, who expressed his appreciation for the significant advantages brought to female pedagogical education by the creation of what he considered a kind of «connecting link between the primary and normal school». According to Baccelli, in fact, the «two-year preparatory class» remedied two serious lacks in teachers' education: 1) the inability to give a firm and effective education to the students in only three years, due to the petty culture they obtained from primary school; 2) the gap of two or three years between the end of the primary course and the admission to normal schools»²⁸.

The remarkable success of the female preparatory course encouraged the new Minister of Education Paolo Boselli to transform, in a few years, such a course from two years to three years and, above all, to extend it to the male normal schools²⁹. This reform, however, did not produce the desired effects, so that, despite the effort undertaken in 1891 by Pasquale Villari to renew and upgrade male preparatory courses through the enhancement of its education programs³⁰, the new Minister of Education Ferdinando Martini decided to abolish such courses in 1893,³¹ because of the small number of students attending them and the criticisms on them by several people³².

²⁶ R.D. 30th September 1880, n. 5666 – *Regolamento modificativo dei regolamenti 24 giugno 1860 e 9 novembre 1861 per le scuole normali e per gli esami di patente dei maestri elementari e Programmi per le scuole normali*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 18th October 1880, n. 249; 19th October 1880, n. 250; 20th October 1880, n. 251; 21st October 1880, n. 252.

²⁷ R.D. 21st June 1883, n. 1590 – *Regolamento per l'ordinamento delle scuole normali e magistrali e per gli esami di magistero*, in *Raccolta Ufficiale delle Leggi e dei Decreti del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, Stamperia Reale, 1883, Vol. 57, pp. 227-231.

²⁸ M.C. 1st October 1883, n. 722 – *Istruzioni e schiarimenti intorno al regolamento approvato con R.D. 21 giugno 1883*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica», n. X, 25th October 1883, p. 86.

²⁹ R.D. 14th September 1889, n. 6493 – *Regolamento per le scuole normali*, in *Raccolta Ufficiale delle Leggi e dei Decreti del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, Stamperia Reale, 1889, Vol. 95, pp. 114-127.

³⁰ R.D. 29th October 1891, n. 671 – *Programmi per i corsi preparatori alle scuole normali*, in *Raccolta Ufficiale delle Leggi e dei Decreti del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, Stamperia Reale, 1891, Vol. 97, pp. 361-384.

³¹ R.D. 6th August 1893, n. 477 – *Abolizione dei corsi preparatori nelle scuole normali maschili*, in *Raccolta Ufficiale delle Leggi e dei Decreti del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, Stamperia Reale, 1893, Vol. 99, pp. 287-288. Two years later, Guido Baccelli was Ministry of Education again, and transformed the female preparatory course in a real «complementary female course» of lower secondary character. See: R.D. 24th November 1895, n. 704 – *Istruzioni e programmi per i corsi complementari e per le scuole normali*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 24th December 1895, n. 302.

³² See Di Pol, *Cultura pedagogica e professionalità nella formazione del maestro italiano. Dalle scuole di metodo all'istituto magistrale*, cit., pp. 66-67.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, within the framework of the measures aimed at the upgrading of the educational syllabus of normal schools, the Ministry of Education modified the educational programs on several occasions, sometimes very closely from a temporal point of view, in a time-span of fifteen years: in fact, after the introduction, in 1880, of the new programs for normal schools prepared by Francesco De Sanctis, intended to replace those of 1867, Guido Baccelli introduced his own ones in 1883, that, in 1890, were replaced by the educational programs developed by Paolo Boselli, and then again, in 1892 and in 1895, by those prepared respectively by Ferdinando Martini and the previously mentioned Guido Baccelli, ministry of the Minerva again after the establishment of the fourth and last Crispi's government.

In presenting the *Programmi per le scuole normali* (*Programs for normal schools*), enacted with the R.D. 30th September 1880, n. 5666, Francesco De Sanctis emphasized as they primarily derived from the desire to render the «primary school teachers», the «main factor of the true educational popular school», inspiring in the young people, destined to become the «generous educators of the sons of the people», a vigorous patriotism, first and necessary «foundation of the political education». It was essential, in this regard, to train teachers able to accomplish the fundamental and delicate task to inspire in the young generation the feeling of belonging to the Nation and a strong awareness of their civic and patriotic duties: «The spirit of the child is like shapeless wax – it was stressed in the *Relazione a S.M. del Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica fatta in udienza del 30 settembre 1880* (*Report to Your Majesty by the Minister of Education in the hearing of 30 September 1880*) – to which you can give any form. And the first impressions are very important for the future development of man. There is no intention, therefore, to put it into unskilled or evil hands, which will spread seeds bringing miseries and misfortunes»³³.

For what concerns the teaching of «Rights and duties of citizens», whose total number of hours was slightly increased compared to the past and included two hours a week in the first class and one hour each in the other two³⁴, the *Programs* enacted in 1880 advocated an «essential» and «concrete» teaching, limited to the «fundamental things, permitted by common sense, and with a fruitful and immediate implementation». It should analyze the more general topics («Man, family, society, the needs of society, the conditions of its existence; power; forms of government; natural and civil rights that belong to all men»), but also

³³ *Relazione a S.M. del Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica fatta in udienza del 30 settembre 1880*, in R.D. 30 September 1880, n. 5666 – *Regolamento modificativo dei regolamenti 24 giugno 1860 e 9 novembre 1861 per le scuole normali e per gli esami di patente dei maestri elementari e Programmi per le scuole normali*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 18th October 1880, n. 249, p. 4411.

³⁴ Both the curriculum of the normal course of 1861 (see R.D. 9th November 1861, n. 315 – *Programmi e regolamento per le scuole normali e magistrali*, cit., p. 377), and that of 1867 (see R.D. 10th October, 1867, n. 1942 – *Istruzioni e programmi per l'insegnamento nelle scuole normali e magistrali*, cit., p. 613) include an hour of this teaching per week for each class.

necessarily focus on the study of the principles established in the «Statute of the Kingdom of Italy» on the «political rights belonging to Italian citizens» and, in particular, on the «general and special duties of the Italian citizen»³⁵.

After three years, the new *Programs* issued by the Minister of Education Guido Baccelli, with the M.D. 1st November 1883, established that the teaching of «Rights and duties of citizens» was taught for an hour a week not only in the traditional three-year course, now become normal school (and in which the programs introduced in 1880 by Francesco De Sanctis remained in force), but also in the new two-year course, whose pupils had to assimilate, in the first year, a series of social and moral precepts:

First class. The man. Duties to himself. Duties of conservation. Condemnation of suicide. Cleanliness. Hygiene. Gymnastics. Sobriety. Order. Economy. Savings. Duty to cultivate the intellect through education and personal will, and with the creation of good moral habits. The man in the family. Rights and obligations resulting from the union of the various members making up this first fundamental group of society.

In the second year, finally, the pupils of the lower normal course would be introduced to the study of more civil and political themes, which would be analyzed during the three years of the higher course:

Second class. The man in society. Natural and civil rights that belong to all men, and corresponding duties. Duties of justice. Duties of charity. General concept of power as essential to the existence of the society. Main and essential functions of public power. Livelihoods of public power. Hints on the forms of government. Political and administrative organization of the State. The fundamental Statute of the Kingdom. Political rights guaranteed by the Constitution and corresponding duties. Properties. Its usefulness. Freedom. Freedom of opinion and conscience. Freedom of labor. Respect for the authorities. Obedience to the laws. Respect for the other people's opinions. Religious and political tolerance. Equality and inequality. Their origins and needs. Limitation to the ownership and freedom for reasons of public utility³⁶.

On the basis of the *Regolamento per le scuole normali* (*Regulations for the normal schools*) introduced by the Minister of Education Paolo Boselli with R.D. 14th September 1889, n. 6493, the teaching of «Rights and duties of

³⁵ *Programma dell'insegnamento sui Diritti e Doveri*, in R.D. 30th September 1880, n. 5666 – *Regolamento modificativo dei regolamenti 24 giugno 1860 e 9 novembre 1861 per le scuole normali e per gli esami di patente dei maestri elementari e Programmi per le scuole normali*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 21st October 1880, n. 252, pp. 4476-4477. In the Programs issued in 1880, so as in those of 1867, the teachers of the normal schools were recommended to use the already mentioned Castiglioni's textbook: «It will be helpful – the Programs by De Sanctis stated – the use of the rewarded work: *Della Monarchia Parlamentare e dei diritti e dei doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto*, by Dr. Pietro Castiglione, 1859» (*ibid.*, p. 4477).

³⁶ M.D. 1st November 1883 – *Programmi e orari per le scuole normali maschili e femminili, superiori e inferiori*, in *Istruzioni e programmi per le scuole normali approvati con Decreto Ministeriale 1° Novembre 1883*, Torino, Paravia, 1885, pp. 33-34 and 37-38.

citizens» was re-named «Morality and rights and duties of citizens», confirming the desire to give a greater prominence to the moral education of the students and give the entire teaching a more emphasized theoretical character³⁷. Not surprisingly, within a few months, the same minister Boselli significantly changed the contents of the discipline, with the *Istruzioni e programmi per le scuole normali* (Instructions and programs for normal schools) enacted with R.D. 17th September 1890, n. 7143³⁸.

Despite the clarification contained in the *Instructions* attached to the *Programs* of 1890, according to which «the teaching of moral principles to be profitable must rely, rather than on a series of abstract definitions, on the consideration of the facts and their relation with the life of the individuals and society», they were, instead, strictly theoretical and characterized by the preponderance of issues related to individual ethics and moral education of man compared to the previous programs that analyzed, instead, those of civil and political education spreading, among the students of normal schools, the feeling of citizenship. So, for what concerns the first year of the course, the teaching of «Morality and

³⁷ *Regolamento per le scuole normali e per gli esami di patente di maestro o maestra elementare, approvato col R. Decreto 14 settembre 1889, n. 6943*, Torino, Paravia, 1891, pp. 3-36.

³⁸ The poor effectiveness of the education given in normal schools had emerged clearly, some years earlier, after the extraordinary inspection commissioned in the spring of 1885 by the then Minister of Education Michele Coppino and carried out by famous scholars of pedagogy, like Antonio Labriola, Pietro Siciliani, Andrea Angiulli, Francesco Saverio De Dominicis, Emanuele Latino De Natali, Giuseppe Allievo e Pietro Siciliani (see the reports on ministerial inspections in ACS, MPI, Divisione Scuole primarie e normali (1860-1896), b. 223. In the report prepared by Antonio Labriola on 8th June, 1885, after the inspection in the male normal school of Bari, for example, we can read: «for what concerns history and geography the students are not generally good, if not mechanically repeating the lesson of the day. When they have an oral test, then, the situation worsens. They have no idea of the times and places, no ability to connect two or three of the learned concepts, and what is worse they are so lazy to become almost cynical. [...] The same can be said for the study of the rights and duties. The students do not know what they say, they only repeat the words heard even without understanding their meaning. One of them told me that the monarchy is a meeting of powers. Another to the question: who appoints the employees? answered: the deputies. A third boy told me that the King is obliged to sign the decrees presented by the ministers. On the face of the pupils I did not get a glimpse of wonder, which is natural if one realizes to have affirmed something really wrong» *Relazione di Antonio Labriola sull'ispezione effettuata nella scuola normale maschile di Bari*, Roma, 8 giugno 1885, in ACS, MPI, Div. Scuole primarie e normali (1860-1896), b. 223. In relation to the teaching of «Rights and duties of the citizen», after the inspections carried out respectively in the normal female schools of Ancona and Bari, Labriola noted again: «I could almost avoid speaking of the study of the rights and duties. The teacher herself acknowledges the difficulties connected to a real profit of the students in it, and the students themselves only repeat meaningless words» (*Relazione di Antonio Labriola sull'ispezione compiuta nella scuola normale femminile di Ancona*, Roma, 8 giugno 1885, in ACS, MPI, Div. Scuole primarie e normali (1860-1896), b. 223); and «the teacher [...] in terms of rights and duties can not go further than what she could do in the fourth grade. [...] It would be reprehensible condemn her to another year of teaching of rights and dulie, when she can not bear it» (*Relazione di Antonio Labriola sull'ispezione compiuta nella scuola normale femminile di Bari*, Roma, 10 giugno 1885, in ACS, MPI, Div. Scuole primarie e normali (1860-1896), b. 223).

rights and duties of citizens» should examine a large number of issues and topics, specified in an analytical and almost obsessive way by the drafters of the text:

Examination of moral facts. Their difference from other facts. Elements that constitute them. The moral law. Characters of the moral law. The moral conscience. Freedom and moral responsibility. Sanction of the moral law. The duty, the right, the virtue. General classification of the duties. Duties of man to himself, to others, to the homeland and to God. Classification of the duties of man to himself, with respect to his physical and spiritual faculties. Duties of self-preservation and improvement. Suicide. Hygiene. Duty to respect the requirements of public health. Need to eradicate among us the tendency to violate them. Gymnastics. Sobriety. Duties to cultivate and improve the intelligence. Wisdom. Prudence. Duties with respect to the affective faculties. Temperance. Duties to refine the will. Courage, fortitude, patience, perseverance. The will and moral character. Dignity of the human personality. Duty of work. Welfare and savings. Properties. Duties to other men in general. Duties of justice and duties of charity. Classification of the duties of justice according to the different sides of the human faculties. Respect for the other people's life. The murder. Right to self-defense. The duel. Respect for the other people's intelligence, opinions, beliefs. Truthfulness and lie. Respect for the other people's feelings. Kindness, urbanity. Respect for the will and freedom. Respect for the individual morality, of the other people's honor and reputation. Backbiting, slander. Respect for the other people's property. The theft. Faith in contracts. Rights of donation and transmission. Classification of charitable duties correlative to those of Justice. Duty to help those whose life is in danger. Duty to instruct and educate, spreading the truth. Duty to comfort those who suffer. Duty to protect the other people's freedom. Duty to defend the honour of those who are slandered. Duty to contribute, according to the possibilities, to public charity.

The presentation of the issues that should have been taught in the second class of the normal course was equally analytical, and in its program a very essential space was given to the civil and political education of the citizen:

Special ethics. The family, the municipality, the nation. The family. The moral foundations of marriage. Duties between spouses. Duties of parents towards their children. Duties of the children to their parents. Duties of the children between them. The municipality. Administrative order of the municipality and the province. Resulting rights and duties. Homeland. Nation. State. Duties and essential powers of the State. Separation of powers. Various forms of government. Form of the Italian government, according to the fundamental Statute of the Kingdom. Political and administrative organization of the Kingdom. The King and his ministers. The Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The judicial power. Rights and duties of citizens. Hints to the rights and duties between the nations in peace and during war.

In the third and final year of regular school, finally, the teacher of «Morality and rights and duties of citizens» should only provide «reviews and lectures on the various parts of the already studied morality» and give «practical exercises on the teaching, in primary schools, of the duties of the man and citizen»³⁹.

³⁹ R.D. 17th September 1890, n. 7143 – *Istruzioni e programmi per le scuole normali, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia»*, n. 246, 20th October 1890, pp. 4214-4215.

After less than a year from the introduction of the *Programs* prepared in 1890 by the Minister Paolo Boselli, the new minister of Minerva, Ferdinando Martini, decided to enact new ones with R.D. 11th September 1892, n. 689, under which, among other things, the teaching of «Morality and rights and duties of citizens» merged with that of «Pedagogy», so that the discipline took on the new name of «Pedagogy and Morality». Like his predecessor, the Minister Martini aimed essentially at improving the moral preparation of future primary school teachers, giving a great space to the study of ethics and the analysis of theoretical and practical issues related to it. The normal school, in this regard, should be primarily aimed at «educating good teachers», and this goal would be reached, according to Ferdinando Martini, only when the teaching of «Morality» had become the centre and the basis of teachers' education. But what features did this teaching have to possess?

For what concerns Morality – in the Instructions attached to the Programs was stated – the theoretical lessons never brought up virtues. All the teachers, the whole school, in all the hours, have to dispose the hearts of young men to love, want and do good things, taking care that they are always clean, tidy and kind; lovingly correcting their bad habits, using both encouragement and praise and punishment; using every opportunity, especially stories and readings, to inspire good feelings in them and awakening and strengthening the awareness of duty. Consequently, this teaching will be *practical* in the first year; in the second it will also include the explanation of the Statute for those aspiring to the lower degree license; in the third, after a repetition of the basic elements of Psychology, it will be taught in an ordered series of simple and clear lessons. The lessons of morality will be the summary and explanation of habits and trends that the School has the duty to monitor and perform.

The *Programs* of 1892, less wordy than those issued two years earlier and, in particular, «focused only on those essential parts of culture which an primary teacher necessarily should know», established that in the first class pupils had to study the following topics:

Pedagogy and Morality – The life of the child in the family, especially considered in connection with the development of the first feelings and habits. The first duties of the child in school. Cleanliness, punctuality, order, obedience. Good manners. Discipline and means to maintain it. Rewards and punishments. Brief analysis of feelings. Education of feelings. Character formation: as the School must contribute to it.

In the second class the topics to be analysed were: «Education and Morality – education of the feelings (repetition). Duties towards themselves and towards others. The family, the municipality, the nation, the state. Rights and duties of citizens. Explanation of the main parts of the Statute». In the third and last class of the normal course, finally, «a broader and methodical explanation of the rights and duties of the citizen» should have been offered to the future students-teachers «aspiring to the higher degree license», being they the ones who have

to teach these topics to «the students of the higher primary course»⁴⁰.

Guido Baccelli, being Ministry of Education again in the early nineties⁴¹, enacted his new *Programs* for normal schools with the R.D. 24th November, 1895, within which the teaching of the «Rights and duties of citizens», already renamed by his predecessors respectively «Morality and rights and duties of citizens» (Paolo Boselli, 1889) and «Pedagogy and Morality» (Ferdinando Martini, 1892), took on the new name of «Morality» and was significantly reduced in the number of hours of lesson, so that to be taught for only one hour a week in the second and third class of normal course. More specifically, the *Programs* of 1895, no longer concerned to provide students with a solid background of theoretical knowledge, simply recall the few essential themes that teachers have to teach in their lessons:

In the first year this teaching, not having a specific program, will remain purely occasional and will be limited to the basic elements related to pedagogy; in the second year it will also include the knowledge of the fundamental rights and duties of man and citizen, and in the third, after a repetition of the elements of psychology, will be taught in an ordered series of simple and clear lessons, starting from a broad and methodical explanation of the Statute. The teachers are free to decide to treat each topic of the program more or less broadly, hoping that everyone will use conveniently the freedom granted. [...] The example of teachers will show the students how they should, in their turn, work for the education of feelings in primary school.

Class II - The moral; moral facts; nature of the duty and the right. Duties towards themselves and towards others. The family, the municipality, the nation, the state. Rights and duties of man and citizen in relation to domestic and civil life and to the main parts of the Statute. Class III - Broader and more methodical explanation of the rights and duties of citizens taken from the explanation of the Statute. First elements of political economy: labor, savings, capital, property, money, credit, wages, interest.

In order to fully understand the significance of the sudden change in the *Programs* during the eighties and nineties, but also of the name of the discipline in this same period of time, with the downsizing, and then the real removal of the reference to the «rights and duties of citizens», it is necessary to consider the evolution of the ideal of citizenship recorded in the age of Crispi compared to the previous phase, that of the Left-wing of Depretis (1876) and culminated, in terms of education, with the enactment of the educational programs for primary schools of 1888⁴².

⁴⁰ R.D. 11th September 1892, n. 689 – *Programmi per le scuole normali*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 291, 14th December 1892, pp. 4678-4679 and 4685.

⁴¹ Guido Baccelli was minister of Education for the first time in the IV and V government headed by Agostino Depretis, between 29th May 1881 and 30th March 1884, then he occupied this same position again in III and IV government headed by Francesco Crispi, from 15th December 1893 to 10th March 1896, and then in the I and II government headed by Luigi Pelloux, between 29th June 29 and 24th June 1900.

⁴² See M. Bendiscioli, *La Sinistra storica e la scuola*, «Studium», n. LXXIII, 1977, pp. 447-466; and E. Catarsi, *I programmi del 1888 di Aristide Gabelli*, in G. Bonetta (ed.), *Aristide Gabelli*

In this regard, we have to stress that a year before, in 1894, the Minister of Education Guido Baccelli, introducing new *programs for the primary schools*, had underlined that, in order to «restore the school of the people and make it an instrument of moral and civil redemption», the teaching of the «rights and duties of the citizens» in primary schools, especially in those of the lower grade, had only to provide the students with «the minimum of useful knowledge and skills every child should gradually acquire» to «become an industrious gentlemen», working «with such an attention and a discretion that the students are not forced to believe what is beyond their understanding and is too different from the idea of the duties related to their age and condition»⁴³.

Therefore, the minister Baccelli proposed simple and essential contents, aimed at creating ‘industrious gentlemen’, that consider «the compliance with the law strong and invincible as the feeling of freedom, and the love is transformed into daily acts of honesty, work, sacrifice», in order to finally bring to completion, through the formation of «morally renewed generations», a real «moral and civil redemption» of the country⁴⁴.

Therefore, the R.D. 24th November, 1895, by which the minister Baccelli enacted a few months later the new programs of «Morality» for normal schools, while recalling the «rights and duties of citizens» that the teachers were asked to teach in the «school of the people», i.e. the primary school, also underlined the need to

Dispose the hearts of young men to love, want and do good things, taking care that they are always clean, tidy and kind; lovingly correcting their bad habits, using both encouragement and praise and punishment; using every opportunity, especially stories and readings, to inspire good feelings in them and awakening and strengthening the awareness of duty. [...] The lessons of morality will be the summary and explanation of habits and trends that the School has the duty to monitor and perform⁴⁵.

e il metodo critico in educazione, L’Aquila, Japadre, 1994, pp. 73-95.

⁴³ G. Baccelli, *Relazione a S.M. il Re*, in R.D. 29th novembre 1894, n. 525 – *Riforma dei programmi per le scuole elementari*, cit., pp. 1888-1890.

⁴⁴ R.D. 29th November 1894, n. 525 – *Riforma dei programmi per le scuole elementari*, cit., pp. 1906-1907.

⁴⁵ R.D. 24th November 1895, n. 704 – *Istruzioni e programmi per i corsi complementari e per le scuole normali*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d’Italia», 24th December 1895, n. 302, pp. 6798-6799, 6806 and 6812 (the quotation is from p. 6806).

4. *The teaching of Rights and duties of citizens in technical schools to provide «a necessary and complete civil and political education» to urban petty bourgeoisie and the new productive classes*

In 1875 the General Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Emilio Morpurgo⁴⁶, releasing a collection of studies on *Technical education in Italy*, emphasized the extraordinary evolution of the technical teaching in the school systems of the main European countries. In this regard, citing the British Liberal politician William E. Gladstone, he stressed that the «technical education», previously characterized as «a *practical* teaching, inspired to the immediate needs of the profession», was now enriched with new and broader contents of «general culture», so that to represent an educational path suitable for the professional growth and the civil and political elevation of the middle class youth and the urban petty bourgeoisie, which, after the process of unification in Italy, are required to hold positions of responsibility in the economic and productive reality and to give their contribution to the building of the new state⁴⁷.

In the past – Emilio Morpurgo wrote – only a practical teaching was given, inspired to the *immediate* needs of the profession to which pupils were directed. As in the schools for artisans the worker was trained only in the workshop, so in those for the middle classes practical exercises relating to trade and industries were considered useful. Nowadays, however, for all the levels of technical education, and mainly in secondary education, the idea of a teaching of general culture is fully accepted. [...] As in the German *Realschulen*, a great number of young people of the middle class, without a specific vocation, attended the Italian technical institutes, being directed towards jobs that offer a more ready, profitable and safe employment⁴⁸.

Therefore, the aim of the sector of the «technical education» was to prepare the «youth of the middle class» to occupy a leading role in the economic and productive reality of the country and, at the same time, to take on new tasks and new responsibilities in the civic and political life of the unitary state, as Casati's organization outlined, according to which a teaching such as the rights and duties of citizens was destined to have a significant role.

⁴⁶ About Morpurgo, Professor of Statistics at the University of Padua, who was General Secretary of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, a title conferred to him by the minister Gaspar Finali, from September 1873 to March 1876, see: G. Favero, *Morpurgo, Emilio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Roma, Enciclopedia Italiana, Vol. 77, 2012, pp. 67-68.

⁴⁷ See R. Romanelli, *L'Italia liberale (1861-1900)*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1979; S. Lanaro, *L'Italia nuova. Identità e sviluppo 1861-1988*, Torino, Einaudi, 1988; and G. Sabbatucci, V. Vidotto (edd.), *Storia d'Italia. II. Il nuovo Stato e la società civile (1861-1887)*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995.

⁴⁸ Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, *L'istruzione tecnica in Italia. Studi di Emilio Morpurgo Segretario generale presentati a S.E. il Ministro Finali*, Roma, Barbèra, 1875, pp. 25 and 71.

In fact, in the *Programs for the final exam in the technical institutes*, issued with the R.D. 24th November 1860, n. 4464, the «Elements of duties and rights of citizens» merged with those of «Italian Language» and «History and Geography» and were taught in the third and final year of technical schools for a total of «3 lessons for 4 hours and a half a week». They were, so, an essential but organic study course intended to provide «a necessary and complete civil and political education» modelled on the *Statute* and the values of «national independence». A study course that, starting from the analysis of the concepts of *nation*, *sovereignty*, *government*, *citizenship* etc., came to illustrate the real «rights» and «duties» of the citizen:

Nation and Government: a) The political society as necessary as the family society for the preservation and improvement of man. b) natural division of mankind in various countries; the nation or homeland. c) The need for a sovereign power to govern it. d) On the citizen; on the law as legitimate right to operate; on the laws.

And again:

Citizens' rights: 1. *natural and civil rights* due to all men. a) The equality in law, not in practice. b) The freedom, not license; freedom of conscience and worship; inviolability of the home; right of assembly. c) The possession; forced expropriation for public utility; easements and legal restrictions imposed on the possession. d) Compliance with the conventions. e) Laws and codes that regulate and protect these rights. 2. *Political rights*, belonging only to citizens. a) Right to vote and eligibility for the position of Mayor and municipal councilmen. b) The right to be admitted to the offices of the state. c) Publication of documents of the Government. d) Freedom of the press with repressive censorship. e) Right to petition.

Finally:

Duties of citizens: 1. Duty of loyalty to the Princes of the House of Savoy, magnanimous founders, loyal defenders of our inner freedoms, and brave conquerors of national independence. 2. Duties of respect justice i.e. the rights of all. 3. Duty to exercise conscientiously political rights, and the entrusted offices. 4. Duty to provide the Government with all the necessary means to preserve and increase the civil society. a) Need for an armed force for the internal and external security; duty of all citizens to take part in its formation. b) Obligation to submit to the national service and the maritime inscription for the creation of a regular militia; dangers of foreign mercenary militia. c) Obligation to enroll to the National Guard; origin of this institution and its special destination; its composition and office. A) The need for financial means for social spending (the State, the Province, the City); therefore, duty to pay a tribute to the Government. B) Resolution of taxes in the national parliament. C) Proportion of tax. D) On the public credit, on the public debt⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ R.D. 24th November 1860, n. 4464 – *Programmi di esame finale per le Scuole e gli Istituti tecnici*, in Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, *Codice dell'istruzione secondaria classica e tecnica e della primaria e normale. Raccolta delle leggi, regolamenti, istruzioni ed altri provvedimenti governativi emanati in base alla legge 13 novembre 1859 con note spiegative e raffronti colle leggi preesistenti approvata dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, Torino, Tipografia Scolastica di Seb. Franco e Figli e Comp., 1861, pp. 279 and 298-299. These programs are also reproduced in

A few months after the official establishment of the Kingdom of Italy, the responsibility of technical schools and institutes, so far of the Ministry of Education, was given to that of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, under the R.D. 28th November, 1861, n. 347⁵⁰. More specifically, for what concerns the organization of the studies and the preparation of related educational programs, the decree shared the various powers and responsibilities between the two ministries. The responsibility of technical schools and institutes was given again to the Ministry of Education after almost two decades: in fact, only with the R.D. 23rd January, 1878, n. 4259, issued after the abolition, on 26th December, 1877, of that of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, the previous situation was restored⁵¹.

After the transfer of responsibilities from one Ministry to another, with the R.D. 14th August 1864 the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce promulgated the new *Programs* for technical schools and institutes, concerning, however, only the «industrial and professional teachings»⁵², thus excluding the liberal arts courses, such as «Italian Language», «History and Geography» and «Elements of duties and rights of citizens». The programs of these disciplines would have been modified only with the reorganization established by the *Istruzioni e programmi per l'insegnamento secondario classico e tecnico, normale e magistrale, ed elementare nelle pubbliche scuole del Regno* (*Instructions and programs for technical and classical, normal and teachers', secondary education, and for primary public schools of the Kingdom*), by the Minister of Education Michele Coppino with the R.D. 10th October 1867, n. 1942⁵³.

Programmi per le Scuole tecniche del Regno d'Italia, Napoli, Stamperia dell'Iride, 1861, pp. 28-30.

⁵⁰ R.D. 28th November 1861, n. 347 – *Attribuzioni del Ministero d'Istruzione Pubblica, e di quello dell'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio riguardo ad alcuni Istituti e Scuole pubbliche, in Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1862 ed altre anteriori*, Torino, Tipografia Editrice di Enrico Dalmazzo, 1862, p. 2688. See S. Soldani, *L'istruzione tecnica nell'Italia liberale (1861-1900)*, «Studi Storici», vol. 22, n. 1, 1981, pp. 80-117. See also C.G. Lacaita, *Istruzione e sviluppo industriale in Italia 1859-1914*, Firenze, Giunti-Barbera, 1973.

⁵¹ R.D. 23rd January 1878, n. 4259 – *Attribuzioni date ai Ministeri della Pubblica Istruzione, dell'Interno, e del Tesoro in seguito alla soppressione di quello di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, in Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1878 ed anteriori*, Roma, Presso gli Editori, 1878, p. 333.

⁵² R.D. 14th August 1864 – *Programmi degl'insegnamenti industriali e professionali per gl'Istituti tecnici e le Scuole speciali, in Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1864 ed altre anteriori*, Torino, Tipografia Editrice di Enrico Dalmazzo, 1864, pp. 2337-2387; also in Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio, *Insegnamento professionale e industriale*, Torino, Tipografia Cavour, 1864.

⁵³ R.D. 10th October 1867, n. 1942 – *Istruzioni e programmi per l'insegnamento nelle scuole tecniche, in Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1867 ed altre anteriori*, Torino, Tipografia Editrice di Enrico Dalmazzo, 1867, pp. 602-603 and 611-614; also in *Istruzioni e programmi per l'insegnamento secondario classico e tecnico, normale*

For what concerns the teaching now called «Rights and duties of citizens», the *Programs* of 1867 for technical schools were completely identical to those established for normal schools⁵⁴.

They, unlike those issued in 1861 that were entirely without indications for teachers on how to apply them, were preceded by a series of *Instructions*, in which the general aims and the specific objectives that such a teaching should have pursued, as well as the approach and teaching methodology that the teacher would have to adopt, in order to make fruitful and very effective, from the educational point of view, such a teaching.

Starting from the awareness that «in the country where all the citizens fulfilled their duties, and with equal conscience exercised their rights, the society and the State would easily and fully reach their aims», the Ministerial *Instructions* stressed the need to increase in the young people of the middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie who attended technical schools, the respect for «the duties» and the feeling of «a fair use of their rights», as well as to inspire their «feelings of honesty, love to the family, to their peers, to their work, to their home, and of respect of the laws»:

If, then – it was stated in the document – the teacher entrusted with the teaching of duties and rights in technical schools, recognizes the importance of a such a job, he will feel the wisdom and effectiveness of his words as a source of beneficial culture and virtue for a great part of people who will not receive other political education, and who, missing it, would remain in that tragic ignorance that even between the free institutions perpetuates the shame and the evils of slavery. [...] In order not to distort the spirit and the aim of the teaching, the professor will avoid the subtle and erudite disquisitions, he will not raise any doubt, he will avoid any antisocial or dangerous theories, and even too scientific forms of explanation. On the contrary, he will focus only on the fundamental things, allowed by the common sense and characterized by the most fruitful and immediate implementation.

As a further evidence of the will to make the teaching of «Rights and duties of the citizen» something more and better than an abstract and totally unnecessary explanation of the constitutional organization and its principles, the *Programs* issued in 1867 emphasized the need to develop «the moral part» of the teaching «along with the positive one, so that the instruction can be education, no matters if a man knows how many votes are necessary to the validity of an election or of a judgment, or if he does not possess the reason and incorruptibility necessary to the voter and the juror». At the same time, the teacher should pay a special attention «to the reading and explanation of the *Statute* (that the pupils should learn by heart)», which, because of its peculiar nature of fundamental regulatory

e magistrale, ed elementare nelle pubbliche scuole del Regno, Firenze, Tipografia Eredi Botta, 1867, pp. 98-102, 127-129 and 130.

⁵⁴ See *Istruzioni e programmi per l'insegnamento secondario classico e tecnico, normale e magistrale, ed elementare nelle pubbliche scuole del Regno*, Firenze, Tipografia Eredi Botta, 1867, pp. 127-129.

act, should have been the main point of reference for the analysis and discussion on the rights and duties of citizens. Then, they listed the «principal points» on which the teaching of «Rights and duties of citizens» should be based:

The teaching will be based on the following principal points: 1. The man, the family, the society; 2. the needs of society, the conditions of its existence; 3. power; 4. forms of government; 5. natural and civil rights that belong to all men; 6. the Statute of the Kingdom of Italy; 7. political rights belonging to Italian citizens; 8. general and special duties of the Italian citizen⁵⁵.

At the beginning of the eighties, after the R.D. 23rd January 1878, n. 4259, the responsibility of technical schools and institutes⁵⁶, before of the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, was given again to the Ministry of Education and the Minister Francesco De Sanctis decided to introduce a number of innovations in the sector. With the R.D. 30th September 1880, n. 5664, in addition to the change of the programs of technical schools, he also instituted «a fourth complementary class with the aim to permit a complete education to the pupils who do not want to continue their studies in the school, but want to commit themselves to industry, commerce or more modest administrative jobs». This «complementary class, destined to a great number of students attending technical schools», should «be established [...] in each of them, starting with the next school year»⁵⁷.

Under De Sanctis's measure, the teaching of «Rights and duties of citizens», until then united to those of «Italian Language» and «History and Geography» and placed in the third and last class of the technical school, was now placed among the «Special Teachings of the Complementary Class» and included an hour of clesson per week. The *Instructions* reproduced essentially those of the *Programs* of 1867, while as regards the *Programs* themselves, while retaining the same pattern of the previous ones of 1880, were far more extensive and detailed, as if to represent more effectively the greater social complexity and

⁵⁵ R.D. 10th October 1867, n. 1942 – *Istruzioni e programmi per l'insegnamento nelle scuole tecniche*, cit., pp. 611-613. We must underline that, as for the *Programs* issued in 1867 for normal schools, even those for technical schools provided precise information about the textbook to use, warmly recommending to the teachers of normal schools' «the use of the rewarded work: *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto*, by dr. Pietro Castiglioni, 1859, i.e. of the above mentioned: *Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto e le leggi del Piemonte. Trattato popolare con una appendice contenente lo Statuto, le ultime leggi organiche e politiche e altri documenti del dottore Pietro Castiglioni. Opera premiata dalla Società d'istruzione e d'educazione degli Stati Sardi*, Milano, Tipografia Guglielmini, 1859-1860, 2 vols., pp. XXI, 421, 460.

⁵⁶ R.D. 30th September 1880, n. 5664 – *Istruzioni, programmi e orario per l'insegnamento nelle scuole tecniche*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», 22nd October 1880, n. 253, pp. 4489-4493; 23rd October 1880, n. 254, pp. 4506-4508; 25th October 1880, n. 255, pp. 4538-4540; 26th October 1880, n. 256, pp. 4555-4559.

⁵⁷ C.M. 6th October 1880, n. 9290 – *Riforma delle Scuole tecniche*, in Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, *Programmi per le scuole tecniche*, Roma, Tipografia Eredi Botta, 1880, p. 3.

the more controversial ideological and political scenarios in Italy in last two decades of the nineteenth century.

The teaching of the «Rights and duties of citizens», in this regard, would have to be structured around a series of principles and general issues:

1°. *Man as a social being.* The elements of the Society in the family. The paternal power. General concept of Power, as essential to the existence of society. Main and essential functions of the public power. Justice, security, the works of universal utility. Livelihoods of public power. Taxes or contributions; necessity of them. Consequent duties of the citizen towards the Power. 2°. *The rights guaranteed by the Power or by the State.* Property. Personal and material. Usefulness of individual property as social function. Freedom. Freedom of opinion and conscience. Freedom of labor. Relating rights and duties. Freedom for ourselves (right); freedom for the others (duty). Respect for the opinions of others in general. On religious tolerance. Political tolerance. On the most common prejudices against freedom. Arguments and evidence against such prejudices, based mainly on its utility and on the economic role of freedom. Equality. The equality in law. Inequalities in practice. Their origin and necessity. How the State or the public power intervenes to guarantee these rights. Tools they use and their legitimacy (police, judges, etc.). What limitations they can establish for reasons of public utility. The regulations of social relations and interests. Disobeying duty or breach of other people's rights. Functions of civil justice and retributive justice. Safety, a result of social justice. Justice and safety according to their utility, or economic function. The regulations of individual social relationships for the purpose of justice and security, is not a decrease but an increase of freedom, as effective power of good.

And again:

3°. *The man in the family.* Duties and rights of the spouses. Reciprocal rights and duties of parents and children. Rights and duties of the brothers among one another. 4°. On superiors and dependents in the various social orders (masters and domestic, entrepreneurs and workers, teachers and pupils, etc.). Mutual rights and duties. Social hierarchy. Its necessity. It does not offend the feeling of equality. 5°. *Moral duties towards other people.* Mutual assistance and charity. 6°. *On political duties and rights.* The right to vote. The right to participate in government. The duty of those who are appointed with public power. On representative government and constitutional monarchy, or civil principality. Statutes or constitutions. The Statute of the Kingdom. Its origin and extension. Political rights guaranteed by the Statute. Reading and exposition of the articles of the Statute, following the principles before explained⁵⁸.

Actually, the new organization of the technical schools established by the Minister of Education Francesco De Sanctis with R.D. 30th September 1880, n. 5664, was destined to be soon called into question. Within a few months, in fact, the new owner of Minerva Guido Baccelli, with R.D. 26th June 1881, n. 283, proceeded with the «abolition of the complementary class of technical schools», restoring the previous situation and relocating the teaching of «Rights and duties

⁵⁸ R.D. 30th September 1880, n. 5664 – *Istruzioni, programmi e orario per l'insegnamento nelle scuole tecniche*, cit., p. 4458.

of citizens» in the third and last class⁵⁹. With the following R.D. 2nd October 1881, n. 459, the minister Baccelli modified the *Programs* of technical schools introduced only a year earlier by his predecessor.

For what concerns the teaching of «Rights and duties of citizens», the *Programs* of 1881 did not record significant changes compared with those introduced the previous year by Francesco De Sanctis. They were characterized, if anything, by a simpler and more essential indication of the arguments and content to be explained in the classroom, as well as by a strictly practical organization of the discipline, which should provide pupils not with «abstract theories», but with «a decent political education, and especially all those notions that will be useful for their future as industrialists [workers in the industry], manufacturers [craftsmen], traders, farmers, etc.»:

The man in the family. Duties and rights of the spouses. Reciprocal rights and duties of parents and children. Rights and duties of the brothers among one another. *Man in society.* General concept of Power, as essential to the existence of society. Main and essential functions of the public power. Livelihoods of public power. Taxes or contributions; necessity of them. Consequent duties of the citizen towards the Power. 2 °. *The rights guaranteed by the Power or by the State.* Property. Its usefulness. Freedom. Freedom of opinion and conscience. Freedom of labour. Relating rights and duties. Respect for the opinions of others in general. Equality. The equality in law. Inequalities in practice. Their origin and necessity. On superiors and dependents in the various social orders. How the State or the public power intervenes to guarantee these rights. Tools they use and their legitimacy (police, judges, etc.). What limitations they can establish for reasons of public utility and because the freedom doesn't become licence. Disobeying duty or breach of other people's rights. Functions of civil justice and retributive justice. *Moral duties towards other people.* Mutual assistance and charity. Political duties and rights. Forms of government. Representative government. Constitutional monarchy. Its advantages. Statutes or constitutions. The Statute of the Kingdom. Its origin and extension. Reading and exposition of the articles of the Statute, following the principles before explained. Summary of rights and duties in general and of the special ones of the Italian citizen⁶⁰.

The *Programs* related to the teaching now called «Elements of duties and rights of the citizens» issued by the new Minister of Education Michele Coppino with R.D. 21st June 1885, n. 3454 were in close continuity with those previously enacted. The Minister, in fact, established that in the third class of technical schools the «Elements of duties and rights of the citizens» were taught together with the «History of Italy», and in the *General Instructions* introducing the *Programs* stated: «These programs are as the previous ones, slightly changed for the order and for the greater or lesser extension given to some teachings, so

⁵⁹ R.D. 26th June 1881, n. 283 – *Abolizione della classe complementare delle Scuole tecniche*, in *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e decreti del Regno d'Italia. Anno 1881. Volume sessantreesimo*, Roma, Tipografia Regia, 1881, pp. 1697-1698.

⁶⁰ R.D. 2nd October 1881, n. 459 – *Programmi ed orari per le Scuole tecniche*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari dell'anno 1881 ed anteriori*, Roma, Presso gli Editori, 1881, p. 1317.

that the technical education of first level can be really the base of that of second level, as the law had already ordered».

In fact, the programs of «Elements of duties and rights of the citizens» the Minister Coppino introduced in 1885, reintroduced the same approach of those issued in 1880 and in 1881, in respect of which they were characterized by an even shorter and essential list of topics to explain in the classroom:

1. *The man in the family*. Main duties deriving from familiar bonds. 2. *Man in society*. General concept of Power, as essential to the existence of society. Main and essential functions of the public power. Livelihoods of public power. Taxes or contributions; necessity of them. Consequent duties of the citizen. 3. *On the rights guaranteed by the Power or by the State*. Property. Its usefulness. Freedom. Freedom of opinion and conscience. Freedom of labor. Relating rights and duties. Respect for the opinions of others in general, of political and religious freedom. Equality. The equality in law. Inequalities in practice. Their origin and necessity. Limitations to the property for reasons of public utility. 4. *Moral duties towards other people*. Mutual assistance and charity. 5. *Political duties and rights*. Elements on the forms of government. Representative government. Constitutional monarchy. Its advantages. Statutes or constitutions. The Statute of the Kingdom. Brief history⁶¹.

A real break with the past was recorded at the beginning of the nineties, when Paolo Boselli became Minister of Education in the first two governments presided over by Francesco Crispi. He succeeded Michele Coppino in February 1888 and, at the beginning he only confirmed, with the R.D. 8 November 1888, n. 5826, the *Programs* of «Elements of duties and rights of the citizens» issued three years earlier by his predecessor⁶². Soon, however, with the R.D. 21st November 1890, n. 7361, the Minister Boselli carried out a radical reform of the educational programs of the upper and lower secondary schools, in which the teaching of «Elements of duties and rights of the citizens», together with that of the «History of the homeland», was subjected to a drastic reduction, becoming a simple introduction of the «rights and duties» of the Italian citizens according to «the Statute of the Kingdom», as a part of the discussion of the events that had led to the «political establishment of the kingdom of Italy»⁶³.

At the beginning of the nineties, in line with the ideological and political conservatism and with the nationalism typical of the age of Crispi⁶⁴, the Minister

⁶¹ R.D. 21st June 1885, n. 3454 – *che approva i programmi d'insegnamento e le disposizioni regolamentari didattiche per le scuole tecniche e gli istituti tecnici*, in *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e dei decreti del Regno d'Italia. Parte principale. Volume settantottesimo. Anno 1885*, Tipografia Regia, Roma, 1885, pp. 4715-4716, 4737, 4788-4789.

⁶² R.D. 8th November 1888, n. 5826 – *Programmi ed orario per la terza classe delle Scuole tecniche*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari dell'anno 1888 ed anteriori*, Roma, Stamperia Reale, 1888, pp. 1619-1621.

⁶³ R.D. 21st November 1890, n. 7361 – *Programmi d'insegnamento del Liceo, del Ginnasio e della Scuola tecnica*, «*Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia*», n. 17, 22nd January 1891, p. 296.

⁶⁴ See A.G. Ricci, L. Montevercchi (edd.), *Francesco Crispi: costruire lo Stato per dare forma alla nazione*, Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali, Direzione generale per gli Archivi, 2009; and Duggan, *Creare la nazione. Vita di Francesco Crispi*, cit.; M. Graziosetto, *Francesco*

of Education Paolo Boselli abandoned definitely the aspiration to make the teaching of *Rights and Duties of citizens* in technical schools the heart of an educational ethical and civil program bringing to the development of a strong sense of citizenship in working classes, artisans and the petty bourgeoisie of the trade and the public sector⁶⁵. His aim was to give this discipline a nationalistic characteristic – connecting it with a mythical reconstruction of the age of Risorgimento and of the unitary process – aimed at strengthening social cohesion and promoting the full identification of the new generations with the laws and institutions of the liberal state⁶⁶:

The cult of patriotism – Francesco Crispi wrote – educates the people. [...] If you want to keep the people always ready for supreme endeavours, talk often of those who devoted all their life for their country. As the knowledge of superior men makes us better, so the story of sacrifices, audacious enterprises and heroism arouses the spirit of emulation. [...] People came to unification with the vices developed under absolute governments and, until the new education is not completed, until the old habits have not disappeared, Italy will be a decrepit nation. [...] The young Italy, the nascent Italy is the generation that follows us and we must form it. [...] The memory of those who have dedicated their person to the national revival and the triumph of freedom must be a legacy that links the younger generations to us⁶⁷.

5. Rhetoric of citizenship and class structure of liberal Italy in the nineteenth century. The gap between formal recognition of rights and real conditions for their effective practise

Although the different organizations and the sometimes very different contents in the educational curricula of *Rights and duties of citizens* adopted in schools of different types and levels of united Italy, a pattern appears to be common and it is the heart, the real essence of this discipline: it is the specific and constant reference to the regulations contained in the *Albertine Statute* of 1848, which became the basic Charter of the new unitary state⁶⁸, and in particular to that part of it concerned the «the Rights and Duties of Citizens» (Arts. 24-32):

Crispi: la religione della patria nella stagione del trasformismo, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2011.

⁶⁵ See Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, cit., pp. 104-122; and Sani, «Refining the masses to build the Nation». *National schooling and education in the first four decades postunification*, cit., pp. 79-96.

⁶⁶ See Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, cit., pp. 301-386.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁶⁸ See G.S. Pene Vidari, *Lo Statuto albertino dalla vita costituzionale subalpina a quella italiana*, «Studi Piemontesi», vol. XXVII, n. 2, 1998, pp. 303-314. For a more general view: C. Ghisalberti, *Storia costituzionale italiana 1849-1948*, Bari, Laterza, 1974, pp. 87-93; and R. Martucci, *Storia costituzionale italiana. Dallo Statuto Albertino alla Repubblica (1848-2001)*, Roma, Carocci, 2007, pp. 35-57.

Art. 24. - All the dwellers of the Kingdom, whatever their title or rank, are equal before the law. They all enjoy the same civil and political rights, and are eligible for the civil and military offices, except for the limitations determined by the Laws.

Art. 25. - They contribute without distinction, in the proportion of their assets, to the expenses of the State.

Art. 26. - Individual freedom is guaranteed. No one can be arrested or brought to trial, except in the cases provided by law, and in the form that it prescribes.

Art. 27. - The home is inviolable. No home visit can take place except that in the case established by the law, and in the manners that it prescribes.

Art. 28. - The Press will be free, but a law will repress its abuses. However bibles, catechisms, liturgical books and prayers can not be printed without the prior permission of the Bishop.

Art. 29. - All the properties, without exception, are inviolable. However, when the public interest legally established requires them, you may be required to sell them in whole or in part, by a fair compensation in accordance with the laws.

Art. 30. - No tax shall be imposed or collected if it was not allowed by the Chambers and sanctioned by the King.

Art. 31. - The public debt is guaranteed. Each State commitment towards its creditors is inviolable.

Art. 32. - The right to assemble peacefully and without arms is recognized, conforming to the laws that can regulate its exercise in the interest of public affairs. This provision does not apply to meetings in public places, or to those open to the public, which remain entirely subjected to the laws of police⁶⁹.

The insistence on the need to explain in the classrooms the «Rights and duties of citizens according to the Statute of the Kingdom» testifies the real centrality given to the regulations and principles of the *Albertine Statute*, considered at the same time the base and the manner of the exercise of citizenship. After the statement on the equality of dwellers of the Kingdoms (in Italian «*regnicoli*», an ambiguous neologism adopted to avoid the more advanced and demanding concept of «*citizens*»⁷⁰) before the law and of the enjoyment of civil and political rights (art. 24), the Statute guaranteed the personal freedom (art. 26) and the inviolability of the home (art. 27), the freedom of the press (art. 28) and the inviolability of private property (art. 29), the legality of the tax levy (art. 30) and the right of assembly (art. 32)⁷¹.

⁶⁹ We use the text reproduced in G. Negri, S. Simoni (edd.), *Lo Statuto albertino e i lavori preparatori*, Torino, Fondazione San Paolo di Torino, 1992.

⁷⁰ The interpretation of that choice presented in one of the more widespread textbooks of *Rights and duties of citizens* in the Italian schools in the first two decades of post-unification period, was very interesting: «The equality in law is formally proclaimed in the Article 24 of the Statute. [...] In interpreting Art. 24, doubts were raised on the word *regnicoli*, which, however, can have no other reason than the same the code gives to the word *subjects*, speaking about civil rights» (*Della monarchia parlamentare e dei diritti e doveri del cittadino secondo lo Statuto e le leggi del Piemonte. Trattato popolare con una appendice contenente lo Statuto, le ultime leggi organiche e politiche e altri documenti del dottore Pietro Castiglioni. Opera premiata dalla Società d'istruzione e d'educazione degli Stati Sardi*, cit., Vol. I, pp. 143-144).

⁷¹ G.S. Pene Vidari, *I diritti fondamentali nello Statuto albertino*, in A. Romano (ed.), *Enunciazione e giustiziabilità dei diritti fondamentali nelle carte costituzionali europee: profili storici*

It is true, however, that, if we only consider the abstract statements of the statutory regulations, we risk not to adequately grasp the real authoritarian and class-conscious interpretation of the relationship between rights and duties, as regularly happened not only for the programs of the discipline in schools of different levels, but also for the textbooks prepared for this teaching in the aftermath of the national unification. Based on such an interpretation, the liberal elites recognized to the lower classes only a 'weak citizenship', which is subjected to few authentic 'rights' and, conversely, burdened by a number of challenging civil and social 'duties'⁷². Furthermore, we have also to consider the significant gap (intended to grow during the first forty years after unification) between the 'formal' recognition of freedom and rights and the actual conditions of their practicality and usability.

In other words, we can affirm that, unlike the 'duties', whose exercise is not subjected to any kind of constraints or limitations, the recognition of the 'rights' – instrumentally taken for granted in programs and textbooks – has often only a formal, theoretical, abstract value. In fact, in most cases, the 'rights' universally recognized to all citizens by «the Statute of the Kingdom» are actually denied or suspended or drastically limited in their extent and effectiveness due to a restrictive ordinary legislation, or to the introduction of real mechanisms of exclusion or limitation of their implementation or, finally, to the supremacy given to the freedom of choice of the public authorities, as in the case of the regulations of Public Safety, for which the formal attribution of the 'right' corresponds often to the absolute lack of the necessary conditions to make it effective.

As Stefano Rodotà highlighted in a recent analysis on the hard practice of *Diritti e libertà nella storia d'Italia* (*Rights and Freedoms in the history of Italy*):

In the economic field, there is a total defence of rights, so that the property is considered as an absolute power also intended to limit the other absolute power, the sovereign one. The remaining rights, however, are too often devolved upon the choice of the public authorities. [...] In this context, the position of the citizen, his rights and his freedom are bound to be deeply affected by the weakness of the constitutional guarantee and by the pervasiveness of a privatistic logic, both underlining data that reject the abstract nature of the legal subject and the formal equality among citizens, i.e. the tools that the modern law had developed to support the equality. The resulting situation is one in which the recognition and enjoyment of the rights depend on a number of conditions reserved only to a very small percentage of citizens⁷³.

In fact, the liberal State of the last forty years of the nineteenth century will be characterized by a deep weakness of the freedoms and rights, as well as

e comparatistica. Atti di un convegno in onore di Francisco Tomàs y Valiente (Messina, 15-16 Marzo 1993), Milano, Giuffrè, 1994, pp. 41-64.

⁷² See Sani, «Refining the masses to build the Nation». *National schooling and education in the first four decades postunification*, cit., pp. 79-96.

⁷³ S. Rodotà, *Diritti e libertà nella storia d'Italia. Conquiste e conflitti 1861-2011*, Roma, Donzelli, 2011, pp. 4-6.

from a selective and partial implementation of the constitutional guarantees contained in the *Albertine Statute*, at the expense of the popular classes, the women and the minority or politically weak groups of the country.

This is the case, for example, of the enjoyment of the civil and political rights established in Art. 24 of the Statute and of the well-known mechanisms of exclusion and restriction of these rights, primarily those related to the electoral participation and voting rights. With the R.D. 17 December 1860, issued following the annexation of southern Italy, Marche and Umbria and with a view to the creation of the Kingdom of Italy, the electoral legislation in force in the dominions of Savoy under the Law 20 November 1859⁷⁴, was adapted to the new unitary State: the electoral system of united Italy, based essentially on the wealth, reserved the right to vote only to male citizens over the age of 25 who were literate and paid an annual direct tax «not less than forty Italian lire»⁷⁵.

This system reduced the active electorate to just a 1.9% of the population of the Kingdom of Italy (418,696 inhabitants on a total of 25,016,334), the 7.9% of the male population⁷⁶, and would be reformed only twenty years later, with the approval of the Law 22 January 1882, which modified in part the requirements for the right to vote⁷⁷. The electoral law of 1882, closely related to the come to power of the Left of Agostino Depretis (1876), introduced several important innovations to the system. For what concerns the right to vote, the age limit was reduced from 25 to 21 years and it was recognized, regardless of the wealth, to all those who could prove that they have acquired primary compulsory education or that they possess a high school certification, as well as to the majority of civil servants and to those who had held representative

⁷⁴ Law 20th November 1859, n. 3778 – *Riforma della Legge Elettorale del 17 marzo 1848*, in *Raccolta di leggi, decreti, circolari ed altri provvedimenti dei magistrati ed uffizii pubblicati nell'anno 1859*, Vol. XXIV, Serie V, Torino, Tipografi-Librai Speirani e Tortone, 1860, pp. 476-489.

⁷⁵ R.D. 17th December 1860 – *Modificazioni della Legge Elettorale del 20 novembre 1859 ed estensione del presente Decreto a tutte le Province dello Stato*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno di Sardegna», n. 1, 1st January 1861, pp. 2-44.

⁷⁶ This approach would be confirmed also on the occasion of the administrative unification: the art. 26 of the Annex A of the Law 20th March 1865, in fact, excluded from the vote, among other categories, «the illiterates, the women, the interdicts and disabled people, those condemned to idleness, vagrancy and begging» (Law 20th March 1865, n. 2248 – *Legge per l'unificazione amministrativa del Regno d'Italia*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 101, 27 April 1865, pp. 126-134). On the whole matter, see: R. Romanelli, *Le regole del gioco. Note sull'impianto del sistema elettorale in Italia: 1848-1895*, in A. Annino, R. Romanelli (edd.), *Notabili, elezioni, elettori. Rappresentanza e controllo elettorale nell'800*, «Quaderni Storici», vol. 23, n. 3, 1988, pp. 685-725; C. Pavone, M. Salvati (edd.), *Suffragio, rappresentanza, interessi. Istituzioni e società fra '800 e '900* (monographic issue of «Annali della Fondazione Lelio e Lisli Basso-ISSOCO», vol. IX, 1989); and G. Guidi, *Sulla formazione del corpo elettorale nell'Italia post-unitaria: 1860-1894*, «Storia, amministrazione, Costituzione», n. 3, 1995, pp. 213-245.

⁷⁷ The Law 22nd January 1882, n. 593, as already mentioned, was then transferred into the Consolidated Act approved by the R.D. 24th September 1882, n. 999 – *Testo unico della legge elettorale politica*, «Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia», n. 226, 27th September 1882, pp. 3534-3610.

positions in local government or responsibility jobs in the army and in the public and private administration. Under this measure, the electorate increased from 621,896 to 2,049,461 units, i.e. from the 2.2 to 6.9% of the total population, but it still excluded, in addition to the illiterates, the women, the interdicts, the disabled people and those who had been «condemned to idleness, vagrancy and begging», also a significant part of the poorer classes⁷⁸.

However, it is necessary also to recall the real limitation to the right of education imposed to the popular classes, in the aftermath of the national unification. The political elites and the intellectuals of the Risorgimento had to manage a unitary process in which the relationship between the State and the civil society, the participation of the individuals in the political and institutional life and the real implementation of a new kind of citizenship were realized in a strong oligarchic perspective, characterized by a clear gap between the classes and intended to have heavy effects also on the process of determination and attribution of the rights and duties.

These elites, characterized by the culture typical of the Gioberti's and Mazzini's age, identified themselves with the new Nation, underlining their strong belonging to it and reserving to the multitude, as already mentioned, a weak and constantly monitored citizenship⁷⁹.

From this marked distinction of roles and prerogatives derived, on the educational level, the idea of a double culture and of a national educational system – i.e. that outlined by Casati law and organically determined by the regulations and educational programs issued starting from 1860⁸⁰ – characterized by two different and parallel courses, representing two educational approaches strongly heterogeneous for their organization, duration and content. The one addressed to the bourgeois elites, destined to the specialized university education, was based on a rational and humanistic structure and focused on literary, historical and philosophical subjects to ensure to the young people that are destined to become the future leaders of the country a solid cultural background and a ethical-political education conferring historical sense and critical awareness⁸¹; the one given to the popular classes, much more limited from the point of view of the duration (it included only the first classes of the primary course), provided only an essential knowledge (reading, writing and arithmetic), to be given through a method aimed at enhancing mainly the imagination, emotions and creativity⁸²,

⁷⁸ See Ballini, *Le elezioni nella storia d'Italia dall'Unità al fascismo*, cit., pp. 76-84.

⁷⁹ See Sani, «Refining the masses to build the Nation». *National schooling and education in the first four decades postunification*, cit., pp. 79-96.

⁸⁰ See M.C. Morandini, *Da Boncompagni a Casati: la costruzione del sistema scolastico nazionale (1848-1861)*, in L. Pazzaglia, R. Sani (edd.), *Scuola e società nell'Italia unita. Dalla Legge Casati al Centro-Sinistra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2001, pp. 9-46.

⁸¹ See Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, cit., pp. 123-212.

⁸² See Fava, *Istruzione ai maestri delle Scuole primarie sul modo di svolgere i programmi approvati col R..D. 15 settembre 1860*, cit., pp. 415-436.

thus reflecting the traditional concept of the «common people» as a «people in bud» by Gioberti⁸³, revived in the nineties by Francesco Crispi («The common people are still pupils»)⁸⁴, and of a «people-child to be driven towards a gradual maturity»⁸⁵.

But the mechanisms of exclusion, or of reduction of the effects, are not limited to political or educational and school rights. Two basic civil rights, such as those of association and freedom of expression, are explicitly connected to the belonging to a particular class, as shown by a judgment of the Supreme Court of Rome of 1880, rightly indicated by Stefano Rodotà, on «the applicability of the measure of reprimand to the members of the International». The Supreme Court, giving reasons for its decision in favour of the reprimand, argued:

How can we allow that hawkers of matches, cobblers, tailors, blacksmiths, grocers, servants of sellers of tobacco and other people in a similar condition discuss social theories in their meetings? How can we confuse them with Saint-Simon, with Fourier, Owen, Reybaud and other socialists? It is not possible that such people, in their meetings, *serenely discuss as the academics of Socrates and Plato under the arcades of Athens, or as the academics of Brunetto Latini*, using an expression by the Lord Chancellor of the Chamber of Deputies, so we must believe, as proven by the facts, that the *internationalism* is nothing more than a mask behind which the vulgar wrongdoer hides.

Rodotà underlines that this argument shows not only a «deep suspicious for the ‘dangerous classes’ that will lead to a considerable amount of rules and discriminatory judgments», but also to «a privilege for the middle class members, considered, for their educational level, capable to discuss ‘social theories’ and, above all, for their social class, not suspected of plotting to attack the property, which was the necessary condition for the application of the reprimand. Education and property come together again as the basis for the enjoyment of rights»⁸⁶.

The same right to «peacefully assemble», established by the already mentioned art. 32 of the *Statute*, was interpreted in the first unitary season in a rigidly restrictive way in the regulations of public safety⁸⁷ and in the instructions for police officers⁸⁸:

⁸³ V. Gioberti, *Prolegomeni del primato morale e civile degli italiani*, Napoli, Morano, 1864, pp. 18-20.

⁸⁴ See Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, cit., pp. 342-348.

⁸⁵ On the presence of a similar idea also in the nineteenth century, see: A. Gibelli, *Il popolo bambino. Infanzia e nazione dalla Grande Guerra a Salò*, Torino, Einaudi, 2005.

⁸⁶ Rodotà, *Diritti e libertà nella storia d’Italia. Conquiste e conflitti 1861-2011*, cit., pp. 7-8. The judgment of the Court of Cassation of Rome in the hearing on 16th February, 1880 (Associazione di malfattori – Internazionalisti) is published in «Il Foro italiano», n. V, 1880, Parte Seconda (Giurisprudenza penale), p. 74.

⁸⁷ See, for example: *Regolamento per l’esecuzione della legge della Pubblica Sicurezza* (Firenze, 18th May 1865), in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell’anno 1865 ed altre anteriori*, Torino, Tipografia Editrice di Enrico Dalmazzo, 1865, pp. 1057-1071.

⁸⁸ See G. Loggero, *Manuale dell’agente di pubblica sicurezza nel regno d’Italia*, Alessandria,

Here the dominant theme – Aldo Berselli wrote –: the order, law and order with all their synonyms: «public peace», «security of the State», «internal security», «general security», «good public order», the «public good», «social peace», «harmony of classes», «the inviolability of property rights», «the integrity of the family», and so on. Law and order are the limit of the right to freedom in its outward expressions and thus also of the right to assemble peacefully recognized by art. 32 of the Statute⁸⁹.

For what concerns other fundamental and ‘inalienable’ rights established by *Albertine Statute*, the situation is very similar. It is sufficient to mention the art. 26, under which «Individual freedom is guaranteed. No one can be arrested, or brought to trial, except for the cases provided by the law, and in the form that it prescribes»; or the art. 27, which affirms: «The home is inviolable. No home visit can take place except for the cases and the manner prescribed by the law». Both these rights, especially with reference to the popular classes, too often assimilated to the ‘dangerous classes’, were constantly challenged or denied by the laws and the practices of public security: from preventive detention to imprisonment pending judgment, until rights and home violations for supposed danger.

The conflict between order and freedom – Mario Sbriccoli wrote – is a typical theme affecting the criminal studies of the nineteenth century. It put a *political value* – the security of citizens, the tranquillity of society – against the inalienable *individual's right* of freedom. The prevalence of the former in the documents (especially in those of the police) and the continuous attempts to rescue the latter, will be discussed for decades both by jurists and members of the parliament. The match will be played between prevention and repression, between liberal penal codes and authoritarian police laws, between rules protecting civil liberties and illegal practices. The suspect, the hypothesis of dangerousness, the institutes of preventive police, the detention pending trial, the violation of the weakest people's rights will play a great part on the side of security ensuring it the victory. [...] The conflict between order and freedom implied a conflict between social classes (dangerous against hard-working people, non-owners against owners). The idea of the boundaries to impose to the punitive action seems something typical of bourgeois individualistic ideology⁹⁰.

Tip. Gazzotti, 1865; S. Correa, *La Sicurezza pubblica nel regno d'Italia, esposta nelle sue leggi, nella sua organizzazione e nei suoi rapporti col diritto pubblico dello Stato ed internazionale privato*, Firenze, Tip. Cavour, 1866, pp. 499-450; G. Bolis, *La polizia e le classi pericolose della società*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1871, pp. 76-78.

⁸⁹ A. Berselli, *Amministrazione e ordine pubblico dopo l'Unità*, in *Amministrazione della giustizia e poteri di polizia dagli stati preunitari alla caduta della Destra. Atti del LII Congresso di Storia del Risorgimento Italiano* (Pescara, 7-10 novembre 1984), Roma, Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1986, pp. 187-188. See also G. Neppi Modona, *Carcere e società civile dall'Unità a Giolitti*, «Rivista di storia contemporanea», vol. 1, n. 3, 1972, pp. 341-380; and Id., *Sciopero, potere politico e magistratura 1870-1922*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1979.

⁹⁰ M. Sbriccoli, *La penalistica civile. Teorie e ideologie del diritto penale nell'Italia unita*, in A. Schiavone (ed.), *Stato e cultura giuridica in Italia dall'Unità alla Repubblica*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1990, p. 154.

Mario Sbriccoli, outlining the reasons underlying the real contradictions of a system in which rules protecting civil liberties – such as those established by *Albertine Statute* – and repressive reactionary practices coexist, emphasized:

The Kingdom of Italy was born under the sign of a deadly emergency. The uprising of a part of the southern populations threaten immediately, and in a very serious way, the unity of the new born State, dramatically creating very difficult political and institutional conditions. The way in which the ruling class reacted, from the point of view of the regulations and the law, left an indelible sign in the Italian penal system: the original *imprint* originally was destined to influence the State criminal policy during all its existence. [...] The statement does not seem emphatic. Because of the emergency, an exceptional legislation arose, from which derived practices and principles that permanently influenced the criminal justice system, whose aim was to prevent the ordinary and to cope with the emergency. [...] As a result, *two levels of legality* entered the system. The *legitimate emergency* and the *prevention* based especially on the *suspect*; the freedom of the suspects – the ‘dangerous people’, the *disturbers* – may be decreased by means of *Preventive Police Institutes*, arbitrary practices and tolerated abuses. The police has large functions of prevention and ‘government of the dangerous classes’, it follows its own logic, with a very broad margin of discretion. [...] The two levels of legality distinguished the “gentlemen” from the “scoundrels”, providing two different punitive *filières* for them, making the political expediency prevailing on the law. It allows the achievement of politically desirable objectives through the compression of rights, prerogatives and warranty⁹¹.

Unlike the civil and political rights, which often end up being entrusted to the discretion of the public authorities, the right to property and other rights pertaining to the economic sphere are largely protected and guaranteed. The right of the individual owner, in fact, will be the real «foundation of the civil law»⁹², during all the nineteenth century. This aspect, however, is intended to generate a real paradox and a contradiction in the same liberal logic, because «the possibility of implement the fundamental human depends on the economic rights», so that, in the liberal State of the nineteenth century, only the owners of the property can actually fully exercise the civil and political rights⁹³.

⁹¹ M. Sbriccoli, *Caratteri originari e tratti permanenti del sistema penale italiano* (1860-1990), in L. Violante (ed.), *Storia d’Italia. Annali 14: Legge Diritto Giustizia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1998, pp. 487-491. But see also: J.A. Davis, *Legge e ordine. Autorità e conflitti nell’Italia dell’800*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989; D. Petrini, *Il sistema di prevenzione personale tra controllo sociale ed emarginazione*, in L. Violante (ed.), *Storia d’Italia. Annali 12: La criminalità*, Torino, Einaudi, 1990, pp. 893-933; and above all: L. Lacchè, *La giustizia per i galantuomini. Ordine e libertà nell’Italia liberale: il dibattito sul carcere preventivo* (1865-1913), Milano, Giuffrè, 1990.

⁹² R. Romanelli, *Individuo, famiglia e collettività nel codice civile della borghesia italiana*, in R. Gherardi, G. Gozzi (edd.), *Saperi della borghesia e storia dei concetti fra Otto e Novecento*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1995, pp. 386.

⁹³ Rodotà, *Diritti e libertà nella storia d’Italia. Conquiste e conflitti 1861-2011*, cit., pp. 9-11. But see also R. Romanelli, *L’Italia liberale* (1861-1900), Bologna, il Mulino, 1979, pp. 43-45. On the evolution of the concept of «citizenship» in nineteenth century in Italy and in Europe, see: P. Costa, *Civitas. Storia della cittadinanza in Europa. 3. La civiltà liberale*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2001, pp. 383-386; and L. Mannori, *La crisi dell’ordine plurale. Nazione e costituzione in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento*, in *Ordo Iuris. Storia e forme dell’esperienza giuridica*, Milano, Giuffrè, 2003, pp. 139-180.

We can affirm, in this regard, that is no longer the nationality, but the belonging to the bourgeois class to be a source of rights. Not surprisingly, Enrico Grosso, focusing on the deep transformation of the concept of 'citizenship' in the nineteenth century, said:

The fundamental liberal rights are (formally) recognized to "everyone", regardless of the nationality. We could affirm that is no longer the nationality but the belonging to bourgeois society, to be a source of rights. [...] The Albertine Statute represents perhaps the most significant example of this change in the meaning of citizenship. [...] The quality of citizen is then compared to that of "*regnicolo*", that is "a subject of the kingdom". The citizen is the one who is under the sovereignty of the state. "The civil and political rights" are guaranteed to citizens, which are considered equivalent in their nature and are equally subjected to the limitations that the law may determine. Citizenship is not therefore a significant element of the political community⁹⁴.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the teaching of *Rights and Duties of citizens* in the schools of different types and level during the first forty years of the post-unification period (1861-1900), inevitably influenced by the ideological and political conditioning of the oligarchic structure of the new State, was intended to revive the deep gap between the *ideal citizenship*, the one outlined on the basis of the 'rights' and 'duties' abstractly recognized in the articles 24-32 of the *Albertine Statute*, and the *real citizenship* expression of the overall idea of society – and of the State – that the ruling classes wanted to achieve.

It was essentially considered, rather than an instrument for the education of citizens aware of their rights and duties and able to assume their civil responsibilities, as a teaching aimed to make the students *learn a set of rules* and to legitimize, from an ethical and legal point of view, the class-conscious organization of society and the system of values typical of bourgeois elites. A further fundamental element in the overall design pursued by the liberal ruling classes of the nineteenth century was to expand – through the school – the cultural values, the morality and the customs of the bourgeoisie to the whole Italian society, thus promoting the real *universalization* of bourgeois principles and models⁹⁵.

⁹⁴ E. Grosso, *Le vie della cittadinanza. Le grandi radici, i modelli storici di riferimento*, Padova, CEDAM, 1997, pp. 257-258.

⁹⁵ See G. Baglioni, *L'ideologia della borghesia industriale nell'Italia liberale*, Torino, Einaudi, 1974; S. Lanaro, *Nazione e lavoro. Saggio sulla cultura borghese in Italia 1870-1925*, Venezia, Marsilio, 1979; and A.M. Banti, *Storia della borghesia italiana. L'età liberale*, Roma, Donzelli, 1996.

The Italian way to gymnastics: the psycho-kinetic theory of Baumann

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ABSTRACT: The present paper aims to demonstrate how the gymnastics theory elaborated by Emilio Baumann differentiated itself from the rest of the 19th century theories about Physical Education – hygienic, ludic and neo-educational gymnastics – (Bonetta 1990). Of central concern is the fact that Baumann gave to gymnastics a «psycho-kinetic, that is educational and spiritual» purpose: in other words, he meant that gymnastics should have overcome the lack of will and character shown by Italian people. As a consequence, Baumann referred to his theory as «Italian gymnastics» in order to «distinguish it from the other forms of gymnastics, which have different methods as well as different aims» (Baumann, 1907). The focus of the current paper is the analysis of gymnastics literature written to support or contrast Baumann's theory in order to collect evidence of the contribution of «Italian gymnastics» to the development of common values and moral will between Italians.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Gymnastics; School; Educational Theory; Principles of Education; Italy; XIX Century.

1. *Sport history and historiography in Europe: the Italian case*

In 2011 Mark Dyreson claimed that the underdevelopment of Italian sport history was due to the absence of strong national theories during the development phase of gymnastics. The current paper aims at confuting this argument through the analysis of Emilio Baumann's work.

In *Mapping Sport History and the History of Sport in Europe* (2011), Dyreson affirmed that in the Anglo-Saxon countries sport history had developed more than in the Mediterranean ones thanks to the work of some «apostles of gymnastics», who «produced histories that promoted the public

policies they advocated»¹. As a consequence, modern methods of teaching physical education were elaborated in the Anglo-Saxon countries, while in Southern Europe «where systems of gymnastics failed to take root [...] this early scholarly brand of sport history in the service of physical education never emerged»². Dyreson concluded that where «the gymnasts failed to migrate, the history of sport was a retarded bloomer in Clio's garden»³. Indeed, the most important educational models – i.e. the *Turnverein*⁴ and *Sokols*⁵ – took root in Northern Europe, whereas in Italy, in spite of the fact that «potential for research into the nation's sporting history is considerable [...], its progress has been the result of the efforts of a dedicated minority of sport rather than social or cultural historians»⁶.

Christopher Young and Alan Tomlinson have recently pointed out the existence in Europe of four specific «clusters of sport with varying physical forms and cultural meanings across the twentieth century: the British, the German, the Scandinavian, and the Soviet. [...] These clusters are “ideal types” in the Weberian sense, i.e. characterizations of significant patterns of cultural phenomena, which contribute to the ongoing process of theory-building»⁷. According to the authors, other geo-historical identities originated from the typical features of each group, as for example the so-called «Latin identity». It was typical of Spain, Portugal, France and Italy and resulted from the combination of «the politicizations of sports due to the interference of political parties and the Catholic Church; the importance of cycling culture; and the proximity of Fascist, pro-Franco, Vichy and pro-Salazar sports policies»⁸. In each of the four countries, these characteristics were then conditioned by local social, cultural and economic context.

Even though the great influence of German, Swedish and English historical and educational cases on the Italian sport model is recognised⁹, it is worth noting that the result of this hybridisation process was deeply conditioned by specific national needs. Indeed, the Italian sport model aimed precisely at «training a health and strong body, suitable for national duties»¹⁰. As Gaetano

¹ M. Dyreson, *Mapping Sport History and the History of Sport in Europe*, «Journal of Sport History», n. 3, 2011, p. 401.

² *Ibid.*, p. 401.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See G. Lachmann Mosse, *La nazionalizzazione delle masse*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2000.

⁵ See C.E. Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

⁶ S. Martin, *Italian Sport and the Challenges of Its Recent Historiography*, «Journal of Sport History», n. 2, 2011, p. 402.

⁷ A. Tomlinson, C. Young, *Towards a New History of European Sport*, «European Review», vol. 4, n. 19, 2011, pp. 493-494.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

⁹ See D.F.A. Elia, *Lo sport in Italia. Dal loisir alla pratica*, Roma, Carocci, 2009, pp. 23-94.

¹⁰ A. Magnanini, *Il corpo fra ginnastica e igiene. Aspetti dell'educazione popolare nell'Italia di fine Ottocento*, Roma, Aracne Editrice, 2005, p. 12. All quotations of Italian authors are Elia's

Bonetta wrote, the Italian pedagogical model of gymnastics was «at the service of “national will”», since it aims at forming a viable sense of identity for Italians, «integrating the *animus italicus* with bourgeois and capitalistic ideal of *homo oeconomicus et industrius*»¹¹.

It is notable that gymnastics was included among schools subjects in Italy only after a long legislative process. At the beginning, Obermann's «educational gymnastics»¹² was taught, then a new culture of body emerged and modern gymnastics teaching took place since 1893, with the publication of new school programs. They were written by a Committee designated by the Minister of Public Education Martini, under the influence of Angelo Celli¹³ and Angelo Mosso¹⁴, and the programs were based on the idea of giving a rational basis to gymnastics teaching. According to the Committee, gymnastics teaching had to aim at training healthy men, who would be «able to actively contribute to their society and defend their homeland when in danger»¹⁵. The school programs of 1893, even though highly disregarded¹⁶, were an important reform of gymnastics school teaching in Italy. They resulted not only from the work of the Committee, but also from the debate between the four school of thought existing in the country between the 19th and the 20th century. On the basis of their arguments, the four gymnastics schools can be listed as following: 1. the so-called «hygienic school», which promoted a Swedish-like gymnastics and paid a great attention to hygienic issues; 2. the so-called «Italian school», developed by reformers of «natural gymnastics» who emphasised spiritual and psychological elements; 3. the so-called «ludic school», which took English and Swedish gymnastics as examples and suggested that schoolboys should play games at school; 4. the «school of Turin», which followed the tradition of systematic muscular training (the so-called *ginnastica ordinativa*)¹⁷. The discussion between these four schools of thought promoted the publication of medical, gymnastics and pedagogical essays, which dealt with the respect, care and improvement of human body. Several experts affirmed that it was

translations unless stated otherwise.

¹¹ G. Bonetta, *Nelle palestre del Regno*, «Lancillotto & Nausica», n. 1, 2009, p. 19.

¹² See Rudolf Obermann, *Della ginnastica. I. Prime nozioni sulla ginnastica*, «Letture di famiglia», vol. 50, n. III, 1844, pp. 402-403.

¹³ On Angello Celli's life and work, see G. Alatri, *Celli Angelo*, in «Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione» (henceforth DBE), 2 vols., Milano, Casa Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, Vol. I, pp. 318-319.

¹⁴ On Angelo Mosso's life and work, see G. Chiosso, *Mosso Angelo*, in DBE, Vol. II, pp. 212-213.

¹⁵ *Letter of President of the Committee to the Ministry of Public Instruction, 18th November 1893*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione» (henceforth BUMPI), vol. 2, 1893, p. 4095.

¹⁶ See A. Arisi Rota, M. Ferrari, M. Morandi (edd.), *Patrioti si diventa. Luoghi e linguaggi di pedagogia patriottica nell'Italia unita*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2009, p. 108.

¹⁷ G. Bonetta, *Corpo e Nazione: l'educazione ginnastica, igienica e sessuale nell'Italia liberale*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1991, p. 140.

necessary to respect «the needs of the body with regard to movement and games, discovery and freedom»¹⁸.

Provided that there was such a debate and gymnastics teaching in schools was of central concern for Italian educators between the 19th and the 20th century, it is possible to confute Dyreson's claim that in Italy «apostles of gymnastics» interested in promoting gymnastics teaching and able to draw a historiographical attention toward gymnastics did not exist. Instead, the underdevelopment of Italian history of sport should be explained in light of different elements of academic discrimination, as Bonetta, Ferrara¹⁹ and Pivato²⁰ pointed out during the last thirty years. As Bonetta denounced in 1989, in Italy sport history was neglected due to «a form of hatred displayed by ethical and political historiography – despite the fact that it was itself differentiated and confused – and the defence of the cultural, even before than historical, category of “politics” as the privileged space of historical memory»²¹.

To overcome the gap existing between Italian and European sport history, it seems necessary to analyse the debate that took place among the four national gymnastics schools, which highlighted the dialectic between conservation and innovation. This public debate dealt indeed with two main issues: on the one hand, reflections on the idea of an armed, militarized body, which should be subservient and at the service of the country, on the other the understanding of body care as an essential part of human education, which had psycho-physic well-being as its aim²².

Following these premises, the current paper aims at demonstrating how Emilio Baumann's (1843-1916) gymnastics theory differentiated itself from the hygienic, ludic and Turin school. Baumann considered indeed physical activity as the whole of body movements that served the education of the human spirit²³. The opinions of the members of the Italian gymnastics school are analysed in comparison with the other national schools of thought, through the investigation of the rich and articulated discussion that took place on the most important gymnastics journals of the time. Therefore, the analysis uncovers the ambitions of the Italian school to promote the development of a national moral character and a strong will that were expected to make Italians healthy and valorous citizens and soldiers²⁴.

¹⁸ F. Cambi, *Immagini del corpo moderno: riflessioni educative*, in A. Mariani (ed.), *Corpo e modernità: strategie di formazione*, Milano, Unicopli, 2004, p. 23.

¹⁹ See P. Ferrara, *I «Luoghi» e i «Perché» della documentazione sul tempo libero nelle carte della pubblica amministrazione tra Ottocento e Novecento*, in S. Pivato (ed.), *Tempo libero e società di massa nell'Italia del Novecento*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1995, pp. 37-49.

²⁰ See S. Pivato, *Le pigrizie dello storico. Lo sport fra ideologia, storia e rimozioni*, «Italia contemporanea», n. 174, 1989, pp. 17-27.

²¹ G. Bonetta, *Dalla ginnastica allo sport*, «Italia contemporanea», n. 179, 1990, p. 347.

²² Magnanini, *Il corpo fra ginnastica e igiene*, cit., p. 12.

²³ E. Baumann, *Psicocinesia*, Roma, Tipografia Salesiana, 1913, p. 131.

²⁴ E. Baumann, *Ginnastica e scienza, ovvero la ginnastica italiana e le scienze affini (anatomia,*

2. The origins of Baumann's «Italian gymnastics»

Baumann called his psycho-kinetic theory «Italian gymnastics» in order to «differentiate it from other theories, from which it is different with regard both to its methods and purpose»²⁵. He considered his theory a «new version of German and Swedish [gymnastics], which aims especially at strengthening moral character but is adapted to the deprived context of our country»²⁶. However, writing to Sen. Antonio Allievi (1824-1896) to present his work at *Regia Scuola Normale di Ginnastica* of Rome and explain that his approach was the application not only of his own theories but also of other suggestions, Baumann affirmed that his gymnastics resulted from the efforts of all Italian theorists. He mentioned in particular Costantino Reyer and Pietro Gallo²⁷, who had been the first to introduce gymnastics in the primary schools of Venice after the Third Italian War of Independence (1866)²⁸.

Mirella D'Ascenzo has recently published an essay on the origins of Baumann's Italian school. She pointed out that gymnastics teaching in Bologna stemmed mainly from hygienic reasons (such as the treatment and prevention of chilblains), and pedagogical ones, that is to say the idea of physical education as a means to improve schoolboys' knowledge and awareness of their bodies²⁹.

The main critics of Baumann's approach were Obermann's disciples, who strongly supported a connection between gymnastics and military training, since «every gymnastics exercise had to be integrated with military movements, even the most simple»³⁰. The followers of military gymnastics thus rejected the idea of a multifunctional gymnastics and its civil practice³¹. However, they quickly attracted adverse criticism coming from Baumann and Reyer's new way of interpreting physical activities, which was particularly widespread in the area of Veneto and Romagna. Reyer's influence on Baumann was essential to persuade him of the opportunity of «natural exercises», opposed to the

fisiologia, igiene, meccanica umana), con riferimenti alla ginnastica medica, ortopedica e pedagogica, Roma, Tip. Salesiana, 1910, p. 501.

²⁵ E. Baumann, *La ginnastica italiana: manuale per uso degli insegnanti elementari e di ginnastica, delle scuole normali e dei Corsi complementari*, 2 vols., Roma, Tip. Salesiana, 1907, Vol. I, p. XII.

²⁶ Arisi Rota, Ferrari, Morandi (edd.), *Patrioti si diventa*, cit., p. 107.

²⁷ On their lives and works, see S. Dorigo, *Gallo Pietro*, in DBE, Vol. I, p. 610 and C. Desinan, *Reyer Castagna Costantino*, in DBE, Vol. II, p. 405.

²⁸ E. Baumann, *Programmi di ginnastica vigenti e futuri. Relazione del Dottor Baumann Emilio Direttore della R. Scuola Normale di Ginnastica*, Roma, Tip. Di Mario Armanni, 1885, pp. 6-7.

²⁹ See M. D'Ascenzo, *Alle origini delle attività sportive nella scuola italiana: la ginnastica «razionale» di Emilio Baumann (1860-1894)*, in R. Farné (ed.), *Sport e infanzia: un'esperienza formativa tra gioco e impegno*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2010, p. 213.

³⁰ *Verbale della riunione della commissione istituita il 26 ottobre 1861*, in the Central State Archives (henceforth ACS), Ministry of Public Instruction (henceforth MPI), General Secretariat (henceforth GS) 1861-1894, Gymnastics and Shooting Sports (henceforth G), b. 63, f. 159, ins. 5.

³¹ See Bonetta, *Corpo e Nazione*, cit., p. 92.

«artificial» movements promoted by Obermann. Baumann explained his idea of «natural exercises» in *Ginnastica e scienza*, published in 1910.

In this book, the author criticized the contemporary society and system of education, which «[...] forcing people to a sedentary life damage children, boys, young people not only because they [society and system of education] prevent them from using their muscular system, but also due to the fact that they cause damages to all their organs and hinder the performance of all their body functions»³². In contrast to Obermann's gymnastics, which Baumann considered prejudicial to children's resistance, manual dexterity and strength of character³³, Baumann thought that gymnastics had a «psycho-kinetic aim, i.e. it must educate human spirit»³⁴. This approach to physical activity was called «Italian gymnastics» and consisted in «all movements that must be promoted or inhibited to educate young citizens»³⁵. Due to the educational value of gymnastics, Baumann concluded that the training of the teachers had to be innovative and require «knowledge of human anatomy, physiology, hygiene, general pedagogy and physical activity pedagogy»³⁶.

Another difference between the two schools regarded the use of equipment: Obermann favoured big pieces of gymnastics equipment³⁷, while Baumann thought that using such tools caused exercises to be artificial and useless. Therefore, he invented small pieces of equipment – as for example the balance beam – which favoured certain patterns of natural movements over others «to enhance the best human potentialities instead of humiliating them and help the athlete to achieve greater self-awareness»³⁸. A specific criticism against Obermann's theory was that his big pieces of equipment did not train the entire body with all the muscles being stimulated in one workout, since educational gymnastics separated each muscle group and neglected «the anterior compartment of thigh and calf muscles, abdominals, liopsoas, sartorius, tensor fasciae latae and pecten muscles, extensor muscles of waist and hands, spinal muscles»³⁹. As a result, Obermann's followers did not achieve the harmonious development of the body.

³² E. Baumann, *Ginnastica e scienza*, Roma, Scuola Tip. Salesiana, 1910, p. 499.

³³ E. Baumann, P. Gallo, *La risposta del dott. Emilio Baumann e Pietro Gallo alle osservazioni del maestro Felice Valletti sui programmi di ginnastica proposti per le Scuole Elementari del Comune di Venezia*, Venezia, [s.n.], 1873, p. 11.

³⁴ Baumann, *Ginnastica e scienza*, cit., p. 500.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

³⁶ M. Di Donato, *Storia dell'educazione fisica e sportiva: indirizzi fondamentali*, 2 ed., Roma, Studium, 1984, p. 179.

³⁷ Big pieces of gymnastics equipment (*grandi attrezzi*) were defined as «those which were fixed on the playground and used to play gymnastics without moving them» (L. Todaro, *Trattato di educazione fisica: ad uso degli istituti magistrali superiori e per guida ai maestri elementari*, Catania, G. Crisafulli, 1940, p. 103).

³⁸ P. Ferrara, *L'Italia in palestra. Storia, documenti e immagini della ginnastica dal 1833 al 1973*, Roma, La Meridiana, 1992, p. 90.

³⁹ Baumann, *Ginnastica e scienza*, cit., pp. 504-505.

3. *Gymnastics at school*

In addition, Baumann paid great attention to a form of gymnastics existing in Italy only, that is to say gymnastics practiced inside classrooms. Instead of doing physical activities in gyms, Italian schoolboys usually practiced among their desks: Baumann highlighted that even in this situation body movements «must be performed collectively and under the command of the teachers»⁴⁰ so that gymnastics became a form of education of Italian people. Schoolboys were forced to practice gymnastics in classroom because of the lack of equipped spaces for physical activities.

Anyway, Baumann himself was aware that inside-classroom gymnastics was limited in scopes: «it cannot promote alone muscle growth throughout the entire body, nor develop courage [...]. However, several teachers have a too narrow view of it [inside-classroom gymnastics] and do not achieve all the possible benefits»⁴¹. With this observation Baumann took part in the controversy over the usefulness of inside-classroom gymnastics. Baumann refuted Gallo's assertion that *ordinativi* exercises – that is to say exercises through which pupils grew in self-control, learning to move in an orderly fashion respecting the positions assigned to them – had to be preferred to *cadenzati* exercises – that is to say rhythmic activities that required keeping a beat⁴². While Gallo maintained that rhythmic activities damage schoolboys' health and disturbed schoolwork making too much noise⁴³, Baumann argued in favour of them.

Nevertheless, both theorists contended that inside-classroom gymnastics was a sort of military training: Gallo remarked that, even in a simplified form, it had to teach pupils «military obedience»⁴⁴, Baumann emphasised instead its role in transmitting discipline and good order. To achieve this goal, schoolboys had to be compelled to practice a military gymnastics workout⁴⁵, performing each exercise with rigour and blind obedience to the teacher's instructions⁴⁶. The debate between Baumann and Gallo about indoor gymnastics indirectly fuelled the argument between the Italian school and the school of Turin too. The members of the latter took Baumann's claims to the extreme and dismissed

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

⁴¹ E. Baumann, *Ginnastica fra i banchi: maschile e femminile*, Bologna, Tip. Militare, 1880, p. 7.

⁴² Baumann defined *ordinativi* those exercises which «establish an *order*, i.e. fix the place of each pupils, each thing or action done by the movements of the body». Instead, the exercises that «train to rhythm or *cadenza* through steady beats» were called *cadenzati* and those which required simple movements of body joints were called «*elementari*». *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴³ «Indeed, the hands grew [...] and were disfigured [by exercises]. In addition, the noise of beats greatly contrasted with the gentle playfulness to which pupils have to be educated». P. Gallo, *Bibliografia – La ginnastica fra i banchi maschile e femminile del dott. Emilio Baumann*, «La Ginnastica», vol. 4, n. XIV, 1880, p. 2.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ See Baumann, *Ginnastica fra i banchi*, cit., p. 45.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

indoor gymnastics stating that it was useless⁴⁷. According to the Turin school, once it had been recognized that outdoor gymnastics was more effective than indoor gymnastics, reflecting upon the benefits of indoor exercises was totally pointless.

However, several teachers continued to endorse inside-classroom exercises, using the same arguments concerning hygiene that Baumann had previously presented⁴⁸. It was the case of Pasquale Re, who suggested that teaching should alternate, for example, moments of literature mnemonic learning with moments of indoor gymnastics to improve schoolboys' concentration. Indeed, physical activity had good neurobiological effects, since it enhanced blood flow, facilitating brain refreshing and reducing stress. Consequently, thanks to repeated exercises, the quality of the learning process improved⁴⁹.

4. *The Scuola Normale of gymnastics in Rome*

In 1897 Italian government established with R.D. 22nd May 1879 that, in order to become a gymnastics teacher, it was necessary to obtain a degree from one of the *Scuole Magistrali di Ginnastica*⁵⁰. Through these nationally accredited schools, teachers could become licensed after a three-year education program. The *Scuole Magistrali di Ginnastica*, however, licensed too many teachers and did not provide them with an adequate preparation. As a means of addressing this problem, Felice Valletti, general inspector of gymnastics, suggested instituting the *Scuola Normale di Ginnastica* in Rome⁵¹: the only school accredited to recruit, prepare and certify gymnastics teachers. According to Valletti, the *Scuola Normale* had to admit a limited number of students, at most 30⁵², who were supposed to receive a military education. This was considered essential since teachers had to «instil military spirit into students» and could succeed only if «themselves educated in a military fashion»⁵³.

⁴⁷ See P. Re, *La scuola in azione – La Ginnastica fra i banchi*, «L'Educazione Fisio-Psichica» (henceforth EFP), vol. 10, n. II, 1912, p. 2 and D. Marchetti, *Il Comm. Romano Guerra ispettore centrale per l'Educazione Fisica*, «EFP», vol. 11, n. II, 1912, p. 4.

⁴⁸ «[Inside-classroom gymnastics] helps to increase blood flow from brain, improve breathing, relax brain and prevent the damages of bones». E. Baumann, *La Educazione Fisica nelle scuole specialmente elementari proposta dal dott. Emilio Baumann*, Genova, Tip. del R. Istituto Sordo-Muti, 1873, p. 29.

⁴⁹ P. Re, *La ginnastica applicata allo studio*, «EFP», vol. 20, n. II, 1912, p. 5.

⁵⁰ See «Maestri di ginnastica», circular n. 569 of the Ministry of Public Instruction, 2nd June 1879.

⁵¹ See W. Cesana, *Valletti Felice*, in DBE, Vol. II, pp. 623-624.

⁵² See F. Valletti, *Progetto sulla Scuola per la formazione di maestri di ginnastica del novembre 1882*, in ACS, MPI, Sg. 1861-1894, G., b. 2, f. «Affari Generali» (henceforth AAGG).

⁵³ *Ibid.*

The idea of founding the *Scuola Normale di Ginnastica* was based on Baumann's theory too. Indeed, in 1873 Baumann wrote that the Italian government was in charge of creating such an institution, in order to educate «specialist teachers able to teach well gymnastics and hygiene in schools and to contribute to in-service professional training of general Primary school teachers in provinces»⁵⁴. Francesco Ravano had also supported this idea in 1872⁵⁵ and Gallo strongly proposed the idea again publishing a letter addressed to the Minister of Public Education on the columns of the magazine «*La Ginnastica*». Gallo wrote to Minister Baccelli warning him that the suppression of *Scuole Magistrali* would have deprived Italy of a «breeding ground» of qualified gymnastics teachers⁵⁶.

In 1884 the *Scuola Normale* was instituted and Baumann became director despite the forecasts⁵⁷. His followers interpreted his appointment as a sign of change: «the appointment of Baumann, leader of physiological gymnastics [i.e. Italian gymnastics], as director of the *Scuola Normale* in Rome is [...] the emancipation of Latin genius from the foreign bonds»⁵⁸. In spite of these auspices, Baumann's direction did not promote the innovations expected by the members of the Italian school. After one year, in the columns of «*L'Educazione Fisio-Psicica*» an article denounced the interferences of the Ministry during the final exams. Under the influence of Valletti, who was contrary to Baumann's methods, the Commission established to evaluate the exams «adopted [...] criteria for assessing students' abilities different from those used during the courses, expressing consequently a very negative assessment of the work done by the Directory Board»⁵⁹. Valletti himself clarified that things could not be different. As he wrote some years later to the Minister of Public Education, none of the members of the Examination Commission agreed with the theories of the Italian school. The Commission appeared incapable of assessing the skills of candidates who «trained in exercises different from those adopted by the Government, under the hypothesis [Baumann's hypothesis] that they are more rational and effective to develop physical capabilities»⁶⁰. As a result, the experimental program adopted by Baumann in Rome was rejected. Valletti

⁵⁴ Baumann, *La Educazione Fisica nelle scuole specialmente elementari*, cit., p. 31.

⁵⁵ See F. Ravano, *La ginnastica: considerazioni e proposte*, Genova, Stab. degli Artisti tipografi, 1872.

⁵⁶ P. Gallo, *Lettera a Sua Eccellenza Guido Baccelli*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 3, n. XV, 1881, p. 3.

⁵⁷ «It is clear that there is someone destined to manage and teach, and anybody should understand that». G.B. Bizzarri, *Le disposizioni ministeriali*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 11, n. XVIII, 1884, p. 2.

⁵⁸ C. Reyer, *Agli amici!*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 12, n. XVIII, 1884, p. 1.

⁵⁹ [Anonymous], *Il sistema Spiess e la ginnastica razionale*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 12, n. XIX, 1885, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Valletti's letter to the Minister of Public Education (henceforth MiPI), *Scuola Normale di ginnastica* (henceforth SNG) *di Roma, Napoli e Torino – Relazione a S. E. il Ministro*, Roma, 21st March 1892, in ACS, MPI, Sg. 1861-1894, G., b. 5, f. «AAGG».

strongly condemned the director and all the students of the *Scuola normale*: «[Baumann] is always ready to tease his superiors in the presence of his subordinates and the students do the same. There is clear evidence that all the gymnastics teachers punished by the Ministry had studied in Rome»⁶¹.

Anyway, the negative evaluation of the Examination Commission was not the only obstacle to Baumann's innovations in the *Scuola Normale*. In 1888, Baumann asked the Minister of Public Education to support a study abroad program, since he was interested in visiting gymnastics schools in Stockholm and Madrid. Thus, he said, it would have been possible to decide whether «confirming the *military* and *educational* address of our gymnastics programs or adding to our courses *medical* and therapeutic orientation»⁶². However, the opportunity to compare Italy, Spain and Sweden was denied to Baumann, since the Minister, in agreement with Valletti⁶³, replied that it was «first necessary to focus on the improvement of gymnastics teaching as always done» and «to wait for the approval of the bill which institutes [formalizes the existence of] the *Scuola Normale*»⁶⁴.

In 1909, with Law n. 805 12/26, the *Scuola Normale* changed its formal structure and became an *Istituto di Magistero*, i.e. a school of education, and Baumann was appointed as headmaster. However, his role was officially confirmed only three years later. According to his followers, the delay was due to Sen. Lucchini, already president of the Vigilance Committee of the institute, since he had refused for a long time to call the board in spite of the Minister request. Finally, the Committee was renewed under the insistence of Hon. Credaro and Hon. Casali became the president of the Committee. In 1912 an overwhelming majority among the members of the new board supported Baumann's candidacy and the Minister appointed him. The Editorial Board of «L'Educatione fisio-psichica» commented on the event writing that it was «a good act of restorative justice»⁶⁵.

5. The agreement of 1886

The contrast between the Italian school and the school of Turin clearly emerged in 1891, when Hon. Rodolfo Rossi accused the Ministry of Public Education of opposing reformation and progress in gymnastics teaching because

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Baumann's letter to the MiPI, *no object*, 19 aprile 1888, in ACS, MPI, Sg. 1861-1894, G., b. 4, f. «AAGG».

⁶³ F. Valletti, *Relazione al Sig. Sottosegretario di Stato*, 24 maggio 1888, *ibid.*

⁶⁴ MiPI's letter to Baumann as headmaster of the SNG of Rome, *Studi sull'ordinamento degl'Istituti ginnastici di Stoccolma e di Madrid*, 31 maggio 1888, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ [Anonymous], *Riparazione ottenuta «EFP»*, vol. 5, n. II, 1912, p. 1.

he favoured the obsolete theories of the school of Turin⁶⁶. Nevertheless, during the second half of the Eighties the two schools had shown a tendency towards an agreement, since Sen. Allievi, a follower of the Turin school, had been appointed as president of the Committee for the Reform of 1886 Gymnastics School Programs. In July 1886 Valletti and Baumann wrote together an article in the journal «*La Ginnastica*». They declared to share the same goals and that they had understood how the opposition between the two schools had damaged gymnastics in Italy. Therefore, the two groups had reached an agreement to cooperate in the planning of school programs and find «a desirable middle between the two more important [theoretical] systems in Italy»⁶⁷. The new deal was confirmed by the publication of the journal «*Il Ginnasiarca*», founded in 1887 by Baumann. Valletti and Baumann wrote several articles on this journal to persuade the public opinion of the fair compromise reached the previous year. In an article appeared in the second issue of the journal, Valletti affirmed even that «the fundamental principles of his [Baumann's] reform were completely shared by all the members of Committee for the Reform of Gymnastics School Programs»⁶⁸. Baumann, meanwhile, underlined that the appeasement between the two schools was not only a means to promote «gymnastics as anyone is free to interpret it»⁶⁹, but could also achieve more important results. It could indeed benefit all gymnastics teachers, since the two groups intended to cooperate in order to improve their moral and material condition, which was unbearable in our times⁷⁰.

Thus, the reform seemed to be succeeding, although many problems remained unsolved and the Committee was reduced to three members (Valletti, Baumann and Allievi), as careful observers noted⁷¹. Reducing the numbers of the Committee's members appeared necessary, as Allievi wrote to the Minister of Public Education, to avoid any negative impact of a bottom-up reform on the Ministry itself. If several teachers had shared the responsibility to elaborate the reform, according to Allievi, the Ministry would have been forced «to accept instead of dictating school programs»⁷². As a result, the Ministry would have been held in low esteem. Allievi aimed at decreasing the visibility and influence

⁶⁶ «There are two main school of thought in Italy about physical education: that of Obermann's disciples, already called "school of Turin", and that of Baumann's disciples, already called "school of Bologna". Obermann's school expresses tradition, or even backwardness, because it is based on the founder's *ipse dixit*; Baumann's school expresses progress, instances of reform, and is based on study, experiment, science». R. Rossi, *Promemoria al MiPI*, 14th September 1891, in ACS, MPI, Sg. 1861-1894, G., b. 4, f. «AAGG».

⁶⁷ F. Valletti, Emilio Baumann, *Le Concessioni*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 7, n. XX, 1886, p. 2.

⁶⁸ F. Valletti, *Il metodo d'insegnamento*, «*Il Ginnasiarca*», vol. 2, n. I, 1887, p. 10.

⁶⁹ E. Baumann, *Importante*, «*Il Ginnasiarca*», vol. 4, n. I, 1887, p. 22.

⁷⁰ See *Ibid.*

⁷¹ At the beginning, the Committee was formed by Allievi (president); Baumann; Duce; Pezzarossa; Rubiola; Tedeschi; Viti. See *Decreto del Ministro Coppino*, 21 febbraio 1885, in ACS, MPI, Sg. 1861-1894, G., b. 3, f. «AAGG».

⁷² Allievi's letter to the MiPI, *Relazione*, 6 ottobre 1885, *ibid.*

of the different tendencies emerged among gymnastics teachers and the Minister promptly adopted his plan⁷³. However, the train of events disappointed those who intended to reform gymnastics in a democratic and progressive way, such as Gallo. He claimed that «writing good gymnastics programs without consulting the majority of teachers»⁷⁴ was impossible and denounced that the alleged «reformed gymnastics» was in fact the result of patching up new and old ideas so that good and bad suggestions were mingled in an unsatisfying way⁷⁵.

Considering all these shortcomings, the failure of the agreement seemed likely. By the middle of 1887 «Il Ginnasiarca» closed, mainly because of the lack of interest – or even the explicit dissent – shown by teachers and gymnastics associations toward the agreement⁷⁶. In addition, Baumann and Valletti split up in 1890, when the Ministry designated a Commission in charge of writing a *Teachers' guide to gymnastics in Primary, Secondary and Normal Schools*⁷⁷. At the beginning of the Commission's works in 1891, Hon. Rodolfo Rossi questioned the Minister's decision of designating, out of the eight members, four from Obermann's school, two supposed to be neutral but easily influenced by Valletti⁷⁸ and only two, Gallo and Baumann, standing for the Italian school⁷⁹. Given that the Commission had been set up in this manner, there was every chance that the «modern school» – as Rossi called Italian gymnastics – would have been defeated. One way of solving this problem was appointing other members, choosing them from the Teachers' Association founded by Baumann in 1882⁸⁰ or from the «Bologna group»⁸¹. The Minister refused Rossi's suggestion, arguing that the composition of the Commission could not be changed after the beginning of the works and the two tendencies were equally represented (implying that the two neutral members shared Baumann's views). Moreover, adding new members could raise a storm of protest by private associations – such as «Pro Patria» and «Forza e Coraggio» from Milan – which had previously asked to participate and had been excluded⁸².

⁷³ MiPI's letter to Allievi, *senza oggetto*, 8 ottobre 1885, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ G.B. Bizzarri, P. Gallo, *I nuovi programmi III. Programma per le scuole elementari femminili urbane (continuazione e fine)*, «La Ginnastica», vol. 12, n. XX, 1886, p. 3.

⁷⁵ [Anonymous], *L'anno passato: sguardo retrospettivo a volo d'uccello*, «La Ginnastica», vol. 12, n. XX, 1886, p. 1.

⁷⁶ See L'Amministrazione, *Avvertenza*, «Il Ginnasiarca», vol. 11-12, n. I, 1887, p. 65.

⁷⁷ See MiPI's letter to Guerra, La Pegna, Baumann, Cesarano, Gallo, Bertinotti, Valletti, *senza oggetto*, 20 agosto 1891, in ACS, MPI, Sg. 1861-1894, G., b. 4, f. «AAGG».

⁷⁸ See Rossi, *Promemoria*, cit.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ See Letter of Italian Association of Gymnastics Teachers to the MiPI, *no object*, 6th September 1891, in ACS, MPI, Sg. 1861-1894, G., b. 4, f. «AAGG».

⁸¹ See Letter of «Virtus» Gymnastics Society to the MiPI, *no object*, 6th September 1891, *ibid.*

⁸² See MiPI's letter to Rossi, *no object*, 17th October 1891, *ibid.*

6. *Race and risk of degeneration according to the Italian school*

Even though Baumann's gymnastics rejected the artificial traits of the school of Turin, it was not less boring or criticised⁸³. Indeed, Baumann's insistence on a series of educational exercises ended up causing repetitiveness and his method for improving fitness and moral character of the Italians appeared too strict.

Meanwhile, the issue of the degeneration of the Italian race was of central concern for the members of Italian school from its beginning. Gallo and Reyer⁸⁴ had had an important role in founding the Italian school. Writing on «*La Ginnastica*», Gallo highlighted that a poor physical condition of the Italians greatly damaged the country, because as long as the Italian people were so weak, Italy could not «occupy the seat of honour that has been given to it until recently, when it was a light beacon of civilization for the whole world»⁸⁵. Gallo's aim is clearly nationalistic: training the Italian youth through physical education seemed the only way to avoid humiliations like those inflicted by the Austrians during the Third Italian War of Independence. He wrote: «those men coming from the land of hundreds of nationalities [the Austrians] would not anymore be able to call us *heart of wood* [fearful], since Italians would have not only battleships but also armed chests, so that mean insults would not be shouted because it is easy to ward them [insults] off»⁸⁶.

Taking into account these facts, it seems easy to understand that Baumann reflected several times on the necessity of promoting physical education in order «to render the citizen, at the age of conscription, a good soldier, that is to say a man who needs just to become used to live in the barracks»⁸⁷. Indeed, Baumann thought that gymnastics was the most important educational factor both for mind and moral character. He explained that «each pupil must listen to the teacher word by word and translate words into action, because every instruction has to be followed by the right movement and, when it does not happen, the teacher immediately sees a lack of attention»⁸⁸. As a result, gymnastics trained both mind and body.

It is worth noting that Baumann had previously advocated the institution of «martial gyms» promoted by the «*Lega per la Nazione armata*» (League for

⁸³ Several years later, Pietro Romano wrote: «Baumann's works on physical educations may appear questionable and partially overtaken by theory and practice of gymnastics and sport, which enlarge the field of physiological education». P. Romano, *Storia dell'educazione fisica in relazione coll'educazione generale*, 2 vols., Torino, G.B. Paravia, 1924, Vol. II, p. 530.

⁸⁴ See B.[aumann], *Ginnastica militare I*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 11, n. XV, 1881, pp. 2-3.

⁸⁵ P. Gallo, *Il carattere cittadino e la ginnastica sociale I*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 10, n. XIV, 1880, p. 1.

⁸⁶ P. Gallo, *Muoviamoci!*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 8, n. XX, 1886, p. 2.

⁸⁷ [Anonymous], *Una festa ginnica a Venezia*, «*La Ginnastica*», vol. 3, n. XIX, 1885, p. 3.

⁸⁸ E. Baumann, *Progetto di regolamento generale per l'attuazione della Legge 7 luglio 1878 sulla obbligatorietà della ginnastica*, Roma, Tip. Salesiana, 1905, p. 67.

the armed nation)⁸⁹. Even though this approach did not achieve any result⁹⁰, Baumann went on to affirm that body training was necessary to educate the human spirit. This opinion was strengthened also by the nationalistic orientation shared by all the four schools of gymnastics existing in Italy at the end of the 19th century. In *Psicocinesia, ovvero l'educazione dello spirito mediante quella del corpo*⁹¹, published in 1913, the influence of the 1912 war between Italy and the Ottoman Empire clearly emerged, since the war was considered an opportunity to redeem Italy from the colonial failures of Crispi's age. However, Baumann always thought that gymnastics had to be part of school life, because war was not the only way to develop moral qualities. In the course of an argument with German general Helmuth K.B. von Moltke, who affirmed that war was the only way to trigger a moral improvement of Italian people, Baumann indeed wrote: «were our soldier not valorous during the Libyan war, did they not give many examples of courage, self-denial and sacrifice, even though none of them had gone to war before?»⁹². Thus, psycho-kinetic education aimed at forming men able to defend their country, even though it did not deny the necessity of an educational contest, that is to say the school environment. In addition, Baumann did not consider psycho-kinetic education to be the only way to improve moral character of citizens, since teachers also had to «instil in pupils' spirits a *sense of devotion to duty* mainly ignored [...]; otherwise [...] school will never educate, and will limit itself to occasionally instruct»⁹³.

When «La Ginnastica» closed⁹⁴, Baumann went on to express his opinions writing for «L'Educazione Fisio-Psichica». On the columns of this journal, he rejected the proposal to entrust army captains with the task of teaching gymnastics in national boarding schools, because he worried that such a solution would have produced an increasing militarisation of Italian school⁹⁵. According to Baumann, school had to be in charge of the development of the Italians' moral will, as happened in other European states, like for example in Belgium. Indeed, Belgian school regulations stressed that physical education had a strategic role in educating children, «since it assures the harmonious development of the body, proportionally strengthens the organs, contributes to the regulation of muscular strength and brain work to produce maximum

⁸⁹ Arisi Rota, Ferrari, Morandi (edd.), *Patrioti si diventa*, cit., p. 107.

⁹⁰ See E. Mandrioli, *La Gazzetta dello Sport – Un Apostolo della Ginnastica – Le onoranze di Bologna ad Emilio Baumann*, «EFP», vol. 3, n. II, 1912, p. 4.

⁹¹ This title was chosen to distinguish the book from the essay on «psycho-kinesis» published by Baumann in 1890, *Psico-cinesia ovvero l'arte di formare il carattere*, Roma.

⁹² Baumann, *Psicocinesia*, cit., p. 133.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁹⁴ See [Anonymous], *Nota*, «EPS», vol. 3, n. I, 1911, p. 1.

⁹⁵ See D.F.A. Elia, *Una fonte storica per lo studio della figura dell'insegnante di ginnastica: «L'Educazione Fisio-Psichica» (1911-1914)*, «Nuovo Bollettino CIRSE», vol. 2, n. VIII, 2013, pp. 95-102.

results with the minimum effort»⁹⁶. Baumann suggested that Belgium should have been taken as an example with regard to its colonial successes too. The conquest of Congo had indeed aroused the admiration of those who thought that it had been possible because of the Belgians' tolerance for the equatorial climate due to a great moral resistance, which was itself the result of an appropriate physical condition. Therefore, military and colonial successes, physical training and school education were bounded together.

7. Which should be the role of ludic activities in schools?

At the end of the Eighties gymnastics teaching in school was at a turning point. Valletti provided ample proof that lessons were given in a totally inappropriate way and were taught without uniform teaching standards⁹⁷. In March 1982 the physiologist Angelo Mosso, already president of the Società Ginnastica Torinese, was the first to show a sign of change. He followed the method invented by the Swedish Peer H. Ling, who considered the study of human anatomy the basis to promote a complete physical fitness⁹⁸. In an article published on «Nuova Antologia», Mosso suggested that indoor training had to be substituted by outdoor playing⁹⁹. He thought that gymnastics should be complementary to Physical Education¹⁰⁰, as Herbert Spencer had written in *Education: intellectual, moral and physical*¹⁰¹. According to Mosso, games as cricket, rugby or foot-ball would have moulded the model citizen, who would have respected discipline and fair play in sport competitions as well as in daily life¹⁰². As a consequence, Mosso became the founder of a new tendency in gymnastics theory, that is the ludic gymnastics.

However, his suggestions seemed too radical to some observers, since reducing the importance of gymnastics or even excluding it from school education was considered the beginning of the end for military aspirations, as Michelangelo Jerace denounced¹⁰³. Other thinkers, such as Baumann and

⁹⁶ E. Malfatti, *I deboli si sentono dipendenti, i forti sanno valere* (Spencer), «EFP», vol. 4, n. IV, 1914, p. 31.

⁹⁷ See F. Valletti, *Relazione sull'insegnamento della ginnastica nelle scuole del Regno*, in ACS, MPI, Sg. 1861-1894, G., b. 4, f. «AAGG».

⁹⁸ See Tanga, Gori, *Linee storiografiche*, cit., p. 80.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁰⁰ See Mosso, *La Riforma della Ginnastica*, cit., p. 261.

¹⁰¹ See H. Spencer, *Education: intellectual, moral and physical*, London-Edinburgh, William and Norgate, 1861.

¹⁰² See Mosso, *La Riforma*, cit., p. 263.

¹⁰³ «The reformers of gymnastics might well promote the diffusion of gymnastics games [...] but they must remember that games will not satisfy their patriotic aspirations». M. Jerace, *La ginnastica nei suoi rapporti con l'arte greca*, Torino, Bocca, 1899, p. 146. Jerace was a follower of Obermann's theory.

doctor Alberto Gamba¹⁰⁴, who was one of Obermann's disciples, slightly agreed with Mosso's proposal of paying more attention to games. Anyway, Baumann maintained that ludic activities had a recreational value, while gymnastics an educational one¹⁰⁵. In 1893 the new school programs were published as a compromise between Mosso's claims and Baumann and Abbondati's theories, which underlined more the educational traits of gymnastics.

To understand the criticism to ludic activities voiced by the members of the Italian school, the general context of their objections has to be taken into account. Indeed, they refused every activity that did not aim at teaching «order» and «discipline» as gymnastics did¹⁰⁶. Baumann accused those teachers and theorists who supported physical games of eliciting indolence and feebleness¹⁰⁷. In addition, he thought that playing games in Italian schools would be really difficult, since there was a lack of equipped spaces, and criticized the fact that those people generally less involved during a game were exactly those who needed to move more, that is to say weak children and swots¹⁰⁸. In conclusion, Baumann did not reject the idea of playing games itself, so much so that he included in gymnastics for school both systematic gymnastics exercises and games¹⁰⁹.

8. Against Anglo-Saxon sports

While the Italian school did not deny the value of ludic activities, it completely rejected sports, which lacked any educational purpose, as Giuseppe Monti¹¹⁰, headmaster of Girls' Magistero¹¹¹ in Turin, explained. He wrote: «we have stepped aside when money-grubbers and managers started taking part in races, competitions and records: it was “the great sport” and no longer gymnastics,

¹⁰⁴ However, Gamba explained that games were not suitable for pupils who suffered of kyphosis or scoliosis. Children suffering of these medical conditions had to practice both physical activity and therapeutical exercises. See A. Gamba, *La riforma della ginnastica. Note ed osservazioni*, «Gazzetta Medica di Torino», n. 20, 1892, p. 400.

¹⁰⁵ See E. Baumann, *La ginnastica ed i giochi nelle scuole*, Roma, Valle, 1892, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ «“Italian gymnastics” did not fit to modern games and sport, since “Italian gymnastics” required strong discipline and quick execution of instruction, while tactic and individual initiative were the essential qualities privileged by modern sport». Arisi Rota, Ferrari, Morandi (edd.), *Patrioti si diventa*, cit., p. 107.

¹⁰⁷ «It is easier to look at pupils' games instead of maintaining the order, command them and give them an example rich in charm and grandeur». Baumann, *Progetto di Regolamento Generale*, cit., p. 22.

¹⁰⁸ See Baumann, *Ginnastica e scienza*, cit., p. 504.

¹⁰⁹ See G. Monti, *Coi piedi nelle scarpe... degli altri*, «EFP», vol. 7, n. IV, 1914, p. 52.

¹¹⁰ See D.F.A. Elia, *Monti Giuseppe*, in DBE, Vol. I, pp. 197-198.

¹¹¹ «Magistero» had different meanings in the history of Italian education. Here, the word stays for the high school at the end of which students became certified Physical Education teachers.

so it was no longer our concern»¹¹². Denouncing the negative effects of sport became the central issue of «L'Educazione Fisio-Psichica» during the Tens of the 20th century and director Francesco Bruno declared that there should be no confusion between sport and physical activities, since they were substantially different: «We strongly reject the use of the label “physical education” with regard to such a counterfeit [i.e. sport]»¹¹³. This negative attitude was due to the fact that sport had gained in popularity on media during Giolitti's age¹¹⁴ and was increasingly confused with physical education. The theorists of physical education considered the overlap between the two activities dangerous because «only resolute practitioners»¹¹⁵ played sports, while physical education was suitable for all people, despite their age and physical condition. As a means of forestalling such an occurrence, in 1906 Romano Guerra proposed to continue teaching gymnastics as always in schools and, at the same time, to start practising it as a sport in private associations¹¹⁶. However Baumann's followers strongly refused this proposal. Writing to a colleague from Pavia, Bartolomeo Preve worried that introducing sport in Italian schools might cause negative social effects: «it would open the doors to anarchy. Anarchy in the army, in teaching, anarchy between the purpose [of your proposal] and physiological effects, anarchy [...] which will invade, damage [...] all the organisms of the school»¹¹⁷. Preve argued that sports were suitable for northern people, who were «cold, calm, tenacious and disciplined by nature, due to their ethnic character»¹¹⁸. Conversely, Italian gymnastics was suitable for Italians because it «strengthened will, tenacity, self-confidence [...], i.e. all those qualities that improve moral character»¹¹⁹. Sports might be practised to maintain a regular exercise and reverse some symptoms of aging, but young people had to practice Baumann's Italian gymnastics to avoid the risk of race degeneration. The degeneration of Italian race was the central concern of educators¹²⁰ and could be prevented only by following Baumann's theories, which «as German and Swedish gymnastics, aimed at producing hygienic movements too, but especially at educating human spirit and above all our will, that is to say educating moral character»¹²¹.

¹¹² Monti, *Coi piedi nelle scarpe...*, cit., p. 52.

¹¹³ F. Bruno, *Il monopolista*, «EFP», vol. 12, n. I, 1911, p. 2.

¹¹⁴ See D. Cherubini, *Sport e giornalismo in Italia dal Risorgimento all'età giolittiana*, in S. Battente (edd.), *Sport e società nell'Italia del '900*, «Quaderni della Rassegna di diritto ed economia dello sport», Napoli, ESI, 2012, Vol. 5, pp. 343-356.

¹¹⁵ P. Foà, *Per l'educazione fisica*, «EFP», vol. 14, n. III, 1913, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ See Elia, *Una fonte storica*, cit., p. 98.

¹¹⁷ B. Preve, *Ancora gli errori di uno scienziato (Al Prof. Monti di Pavia)*, «EFP», vol. 3, n. IV, 1914, p. 3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ See F. Bruno, *Il nostro programma*, «EFP», vol. 1-2, n. I, 1911, p. 2.

¹²¹ [Anonymous], *Istituto Nazionale per l'incremento dell'educazione fisica*, «La ginnastica italiana: bollettino ufficiale della direzione della R. SNG», vol. 2, n. I, 1907, p. 3.

9. Baumann's last years: the increasing influence of nationalism on physical education

After the publication of the 1893 Italian school programs, the gap between games and gymnastics appeared impossible to bridge. By that time, games had developed as sports and were played under the guidance of private associations, while gymnastics was practiced in the general framework of a nationalistic physical education¹²². Given this opposition, 1893 school programs became extremely difficult to apply. The question indeed arose whether private associations had to be financed by the State¹²³, since «fencing, cycling, rowing, skating, mountaineering, running and jogging, boxing, athletics, sailors' gymnastics [*ginnastica marinaresca*]»¹²⁴ were practiced only thanks to them, while gymnastics was the only physical activity left to school practice. As a result, Physical Education in schools «lacked any ludic and sport traits, in addition to those aspects most closely connected to civilization from a sociological perspective»¹²⁵. Italian State seemed concerned only with teaching pupils and students to defend their country¹²⁶.

Several contemporary observers denounced that gymnastics teaching had reached its lowest point. In 1905 doctor and hygienist Saverio Santori¹²⁷ published on «Nuova Antologia» a polemic article that parodied a famous piece written ten years before by Ferdinand Brunetière to condemn the failure of science. Santori reused Brunetière's idea of the «bankruptcy of science» and applied it to gymnastics, writing that the problems were «wages, low teachers' esteem, the distressing scene of daily mediocre school life. Gymnastics is not a subject tested on exams, so that no bad grades will punish [...] laziness and low diligence»¹²⁸. According to Sartori, a possible way to remedy this situation was to separate school and physical education, improving children's physical activity in private associations. This idea would be finally realized during the Fascist age, when the Minister of Public Education Giovanni Gentile founded

¹²² See G. Vidari, *Il nazionalismo e la scuola*, «Rivista pedagogica», vol. 1, n. IV, 1911, p. 11. See also G. Chiosso, *L'educazione nazionale da Giolitti al primo dopoguerra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1983.

¹²³ See Todaro, *Lettera*, cit., p. 30.

¹²⁴ *Relazione della Commissione*, BUMPI, vol. II, 1893, p. 4104.

¹²⁵ Bonetta, *Corpo e Nazione*, cit., p. 139.

¹²⁶ See G. Baccelli, *Educazione nazionale ed esercito*, «Bollettino della Federazione Ginnastica Nazionale», 1897, p. 42.

¹²⁷ See S. Santori, *L'educazione fisica nelle scuole italiane*, «Nuova antologia», n. 117, 1905, pp. 545-549.

¹²⁸ A. Scotto di Luzio, *Corpo politico e politiche del corpo nella storia dell'Italia unita. Le vicissitudini della «ginnastica» a scuola*, in G. Bertagna (ed.), *La pedagogia e la didattica delle scienze motorie e sportive tra riforma della scuola e dell'Università*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2004, p. 56.

the National Institute for Physical Education. Since 1923, the Institute obliged schoolboys to attend sport associations¹²⁹ in order to improve their physical training.

For his part, Baumann always opposed the exclusion of Physical Education from school programs, since he remarked that modern gymnastics had stemmed from «the institution and universalization of elementary education»¹³⁰. Moreover, he strongly maintained that other school subjects had to contribute to realize the same objectives of gymnastics and that a common social and educational environment was necessary «to instil in pupils' spirits a high sense of duty, a strong conviction of it»¹³¹, which constituted the faith in their own country. Baumann concluded that the principal aim of school was «to teach the duties and rights of citizenship, and this is why school must be free and the full cost of it paid by the State»¹³². Therefore, at the beginning of the 20th century, school became «a modern gymnastics gym», which aimed at training healthy men and valorous soldiers¹³³. Ludic activities and English-like games were forbidden, since they might have instilled aspirations to freedom and individualism¹³⁴. Conversely, all scholastic subjects were reformed to achieve educational «nationalistic» aims¹³⁵.

Conclusion

Even one century after Baumann's death his contribution appears to be one of the most important to the study of Physical Education in Italian school. Today as well as at Baumann's time we can list among the aims of Physical Education the achievement of «the value of corporeity to form a well-balanced and stable personality, the ability to understand and control individual and group dynamics, the right and precise use of neuromuscular skills and the consequent competence to use the skills acquired [through physical training] in daily life [...], self-control and improved social consciousness»¹³⁶. Baumann's

¹²⁹ See Varese, *L'ordinamento*, cit., p. 41.

¹³⁰ Baumann, *La Ginnastica italiana*, cit., Vol. I, p. 2.

¹³¹ Baumann, *Psicocinesia*, cit., p. 130.

¹³² Baumann, *Ginnastica e scienza*, cit., p. 501.

¹³³ F.G. Prampolini, *Forza, sanità e carattere: simboli di ginnastica razionale ad uso delle scuole normali d'ambo i sessi, redatta sulla guida delle migliori opere*, Messina, Tip. D'Angelo, 1912, p. IX.

¹³⁴ See M. Cardini, *L'educazione fisica nella vita nazionale*, Modena, A.F. Formiggini, 1911, pp. 482-483.

¹³⁵ See G. Bonetta, *Scuola e socializzazione fra '800 e '900*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 1989.

¹³⁶ E. Turrini, *150 anni di educazione fisica. Il contributo pedagogico del mazziano Emilio Baumann*, «Note Mazziane», vol. 4, n. XLIV, 2009, p. 238.

main limits, instead, seem to be his militarism, which damaged «the greatness of his philosophical thought»¹³⁷, and his incapability to reconcile the progress of human species with its negative effects on mind and body. In his preface to *Psicocinesia* Baumann wrote:

Anyway, I have persisted due to a lucky circumstance, that is to say reading that for human beings posing a problem is far more difficult than solving it. Since then I have thought that, even though I will not be able to solve my problem, one of my readers might be, or his son or his nephew. Somebody will. This strong and unrelenting opinion has sustained my writing, despite the fact that my pen is tired by now, as the reader will see¹³⁸.

¹³⁷ Ferrara, *L'Italia in palestra*, cit., p. 93.

¹³⁸ Di Donato, *Storia*, cit., pp. 201-202.

Engineered Communities? Industry, open-air schools, and imaginaries of belonging (c. 1913-1963)*

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ABSTRACT: This article develops a *histoire croisée* around seemingly distinct but nonetheless related open-air schools established in Belgium and Luxembourg in the context of reform initiatives supported by industrialists and their networks. The article analyses whether the schools forged common forms of «identity» and «citizenship» and to what extent «performed» «imaginaries of belonging» coincided with «national» visions of citizenship and identity formation. Its first section looks at entangled initiatives in the industrial sphere as well as socio-political and cultural politics and recruitment policies. Its second and third sections examine the regimes of the Luxembourg and Belgian schools to establish if these politics and policies translated into educational reforms which helped to forge shared identities and notions of citizenship. From the analysis, it appears that the schools indeed endeavoured to forge common senses of belonging among their target groups. Yet this did not result in straightforward effects.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Histoire Croisée; Open Air Schools; Industry; Belgium; Luxembourg; XX Century.

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1. *Entanglements of industry and schooling*

This article develops a *histoire croisée*¹ around two at first sight distinct cases of open-air schools set up in the «imagined communities»² of Belgium and Luxembourg³. Concretely, it explores entangled «trails»⁴ of knowledge, practice and material in the context of open-air schools established in the Luxembourg towns of Dudelange and Esch-sur-Alzette in 1913 and 1928, respectively⁵, as well as in the Belgian municipalities of Schoten (1936), Brasschaat (1954) and Schilder (1963). Set up in the industrialised southern part of Luxembourg, the former two schools were connected with the engineer Emile Mayrisch and his relatives, the circles in which the Mayrisch family was involved as well as with the steel concern ARBED (*Aciéries Réunies de Burbach-Eich-Dudelange*)⁶. Emile Mayrisch helped to found and develop into a major global player. The three latter schools, established in affluent residential areas near the city of Antwerp, Belgium, were associated with the industrialist Lieven Gevaert and the networks and organisations in which he and his family were involved, as well as – via Gevaert – with a photographic film company which later also developed into a concern of international stature. All five schools can

¹ M. Werner, B. Zimmermann, *Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity*, «History and Theory», vol. 45, n. 1, 2006, pp. 30-50.

² B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, New York, Verso, 1991.

³ Studies that shed more light on different forms of expression, or rather material performances, of this kind of institutions include A.-M. Châtelet, D. Lerch, J.-N. Luc (edd.), *L'école de plein air: Une expérience pédagogique et architecturale dans L'Europe du xxe siècle/Open-Air Schools: An Educational and Architectural Venture in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Paris, Éditions Recherches, 2003; G. Thyssen, *Between Utopia and Dystopia? Case Studies of Open-Air Schools in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy (c. 1904-1979)*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of Educational Sciences (Supervisor: M. Depaepe), Leuven, University of Leuven, Academic Year 2008-2009; A.-M. Châtelet, *Le souffle du plein air: Histoire d'un projet pédagogique et architectural novateur (1904-1952)*, Genève, MetisPresses, 2011.

⁴ T. Ingold, *Lines*, London, New York, Routledge, 2007. In Ingold's terms, «trails» are what both humans and non-humans leave behind while «wayfaring» (travelling and developing) along certain «paths», as they «inhabit» the world.

⁵ From a self-promotional brochure of ARBED and a report of the municipal council of 21st November 1922, it seems that the creation of the Esch school was already envisaged five-and-a-half years prior to its inauguration on 21st May 1928. See *Aciéries Réunies de Burbach-Eich-Dudelange, Oeuvres sociales*, Luxembourg, Victor Buck, 1922, p. 12; «Escher Tageblatt», 22nd November 1922, p. 3; «Luxemburger Wort», 22nd May 1928, p. 3; see also «Escher Tageblatt», 16th September 1943, p. 4; «Luxemburger Wort», 24th November 1943, p. 4. Possibly, an unsuccessful attempt was made in the 1920s to establish a similar school in the capital. See «Escher Tageblatt», 3rd July 1930, p. 3. Incidentally, the school attached to the Franciscan preventorium in Bettendorf, founded in 1921, was also sometimes referred to as an open-air school. See «Luxemburger Wort», 11th March 1938, p. 2.

⁶ The later ARBED subsidiary companies *Société Métallurgique des Terres Rouges* and *Société Minière des Terres Rouges* cooperated with ARBED and city authorities in establishing the Esch school by providing abandoned mining lands. See S. Osweiler, *Von der «Eisenkaul» zur Waldschule*, «Escher Tageblatt», 11-13th July 1992, pp. 24-25.

thus be situated in a broader context of education-oriented initiatives developed and/or supported all over the world by industrialists and their networks. While the latter befriended, supported, and cooperated with politicians and authorities at the state and municipal levels, they became involved in municipal and state politics and policies only indirectly and unofficially. Nevertheless, their initiatives and support went well beyond the domain of the school and, like in other countries, comprised a broad range of provisions in such areas as social security, health care, welfare, housing, and consumer culture, which have come to be readily assigned to the realm of the state⁷.

In this article, I analyse to what extent the above-mentioned schools, realised and developed along paths entangled with those of protagonists from the industrial sphere, may be seen as «reform initiatives» designed to help «forge» common «identities»⁸ and «imagined communities» within the broader «imagined communities» in which they operated. I further examine if the schools functioned to promote «forms of belonging» which went together but not necessarily coincided with visions of «national identity» and «citizenship». Finally, I investigate what and whose interests they chiefly served; to what extent they pursued common strategies; and what remained of these strategies in practice.

The main hypothesis guiding the analysis is that, despite any idiosyncrasies characterising the Belgian and Luxembourgian contexts, everything from the schools' recruitment policies and curricula, to their «materials»⁹ of education, to photographs of their activities reveals contradictory yet shared notions of the role that open-air schools played in «engineering» communities with common identities and conceptions of citizenship. My investigations are based on a variety of archival sources and published primary and secondary sources, including photographs and a selection of oral testimonies. Theoretically and methodologically, the article's «*histoire croisée*» approach is further informed

⁷ See, for instance, A. de Swaan, *In Care of the State: Health Care, Education and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era*, Cambridge, Oxford, Polity Press, 1988.

⁸ I use the term in the plural, but no less reluctantly for fear of implied essentialism and homogeneity. Cf. K. Woodward (ed.), *Identity and Difference*, London, California, New Delhi, Sage, 1997.

⁹ M. Lawn, I. Grosvenor (edd.), *Materialities of Schooling: Design, Technology, Objects, Routines*, Oxford, Symposium Press, 2005; K. Priem, G. König, R. Casale (edd.), *Die Materialität der Erziehung: Kulturelle und soziale Aspekte pädagogischer Objekte* (Supplement Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, n. 58), Weinheim, Basel, Beltz, 2012. For Tim Ingold, the concept of materiality implies a reduction of «things» caught up in the currents of life to «objects» upon which humans subsequently bestow «agency». In his view, the material world is made up of «material» thought of as movement. See T. Ingold, *Bringing Things to Life: Creative Entanglements in a World of Materials*, p. 8, http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/1306/1/0510_creative_entanglements.pdf (accessed: April 17, 2015); Id., *Materials against Materiality*, «Archaeological Dialogues», vol. 14, n. 1, 2007, pp. 1-16.

by concepts from new cultural history¹⁰, geography and intellectual history¹¹, as well as material and visual culture studies in anthropology¹².

2. *Intertwined open-air school contexts and concepts*

In 1904 a public corporation called Domaines de Schootenhof developed large-scale plans for an exclusive residential area on newly allotted land in Schoten. This land, having belonged to Villers Abbey for over six hundred years, had been bought two years earlier by a land speculator from Eeklo, Philibert van Hoorebeke. The latter joined the corporation that also counted among its partners an architect and four businessmen-financiers¹³. Also in 1904, this corporation built the Grand Hôtel de Schootenhof, a prestigious object that was to serve as bait for the Antwerp *beau monde*, who would go there on Sundays by carriage or on horseback to see and be seen¹⁴. It was a period of economic boom and increasing prosperity and, as the suburbs of Antwerp became crowded and engulfed by the city, there was a growing demand on the part of its bourgeoisie for residential areas separated from the world of the common people. Schoten developed but slowly and, as of 1926, under the auspices of a partially new public corporation, Schooten-Koningshof, which was financed by substantial institutes and by wealthy members of Antwerp's bourgeois and aristocratic elite. The Flemish militant and then Antwerp mayor Frans Van Cauwelaert had reached out to this elite at the instigation of Dom Bosschaerts, a Benedictine monk who dreamt of a strong community of laypersons to support the abbeys of Christ the King, after which the «Koningshof» area would be named¹⁵.

¹⁰ See for instance, S. Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies: Toward a New Cultural History of Education*, New York, Peter Lang, 1999; T.S. Popkewitz, B.M. Franklin, M.A. Pereyra (edd.), *Cultural History and Education: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Schooling*, New York, London, Routledge Falmer, 2001.

¹¹ See, for instance, D.N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge*, Chicago, London, University of Chicago Press, 2003.

¹² B. Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005; Ingold, *Lines*, cit.; Id., *Bindings against Boundaries: Entanglements of Life in an Open World*, «Environment and Planning A», n. 40, 2008, pp. 1796-1810; Id., *Bringing Things to Life*, cit.; E. Edwards, *Photography and the Material Performances of the Past*, «History and Theory», vol. 48, n. 4, 2009, pp. 130-150; F. Poos, *Hidden Images: The Making of a National Family Album*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of Educational Sciences (Supervisor: E. Edwards), Leicester, The Montfort University, Academic Year 2014-2015 [in progress].

¹³ J. Van Orshoven, *Tussen groene dennen: Vijftig jaar gemeenschapsgroei O.L.V. Koningin, Koningshof-Berkenrode*, [s.n., 1982], pp. 12-13; R. Baetens, *Het leven op Schotenhof-Koningshof*, in R. Baetens, P. Smits (edd.), *Van abdijdomein tot villapark: Villershof, Schotenhof, Koningshof*, Antwerpen, Pandora, 2003, p. 71.

¹⁴ Van Orshoven, *Tussen groene dennen*, cit., pp. 12-13 and 32-33.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Victor de Beukelaar, an industrial magnate in possession of one of the above-mentioned institutions, would later assume control over the project and strive for a homogeneous Flemish-Catholic community. Potential well-to-do buyers were thus sought in circles sharing this ambition and the related sense of belonging. Among those buyers were lawyers, such as René De Jongh, and school principals, like Louisa De Schutter. Reportedly on the initiative of De Jongh and others, De Schutter, then headmistress of the Sint-Ludgardis school in Antwerp – one of the first Flemish secondary schools for girls that offered nursery and limited primary education for boys as well – had begun to tutor some children from the area at her country house during the summer holidays of 1936. Since 1931, she had been doing the same for a handful of «enfeebled» boarders of Sint-Ludgardis¹⁶. Along with other parents, De Jongh and the local rector, Piet de Beukelaar, formed a committee and went to plead with De Schutter for a permanent, subsidiary Sint-Ludgardis school. Gathering at her country house in the summer of 1936, the board of the Vereniging voor Katholiek Vlaams Onderwijs (Catholic Flemish Education Society, CFES) in charge of Sint-Ludgardis granted the request, the more readily perhaps since the Schooten-Koningshof corporation agreed to lend financial support to the institution¹⁷. Thus, in October 1936, its foundation stone was laid in the presence of Mgr. Leonard Van Eynde, the aforementioned Van Cauwelaert, and Elsa Gevaert, the oldest daughter of Lieven Gevaert, an ardent supporter of the «Flemish cause»¹⁸.

In the course of his life, Lieven Gevaert supported, among many other things, the establishment of the Sint-Ludgardis (and Sint-Lievens) schools¹⁹. In this, Gevaert was heavily assisted by a parents' association created in 1910, of which he served as vice-president and Van Cauwelaert as president. A close friend of Gevaert and, after the First World War, his employee and business associate²⁰, Van Cauwelaert in 1910 was elected a member of parliament with the assistance of a militant Flemish organization within the Antwerp section

¹⁶ See «Buitenleven», vol. 5, nn. 1-2, 1936, p. 15; Van Orshoven, *Tussen groene dennen*, cit., p. 73; W. Janssens, *Lieven Gevaert: Momenten uit zijn leven*, Gent, Stichting Mens en Cultuur, 1994, pp. 61, 63; L. Wils, *Frans Van Cauwelaert en de barst in België 1910-1919*, Antwerpen/Baarn, Houtekiet, 2001, p. 19; 75. *Sint-Ludgardisschool Antwerpen*, 1911-1986, Antwerpen, Willekens, 1986, p. 53.

¹⁷ «Buitenleven», vol. 5, nn. 1-2, 1936, p. 15.

¹⁸ «Gazet van Antwerpen», 8th February 1985, p. 23; Van Orshoven, *Tussen groene dennen*, cit., p. 74; Janssens, *Lieven Gevaert*, cit., pp. 7, 32. Elsa Gevaert continued the social work of her father, whose death one-and-a-half year prior to the school's official inauguration, reportedly caused widespread mourning.

¹⁹ There exist several celebratory commemorative books on Gevaert's «social initiatives». See, for instance, J. Meeùs (ed.), *Lieven Gevaert: De mens en zijn werk*, Leuven, Davidsfonds, 1955; 75. *Sint-Ludgardisschool Antwerpen*, cit.; and P. Cuypers, *Van Gevaert tot welvaart: 75 jaar VEV en economische ontwikkeling in Vlaanderen*, Tielt, Lannoo, 2002.

²⁰ See Wils, *Frans Van Cauwelaert en de barst in België*, cit., pp. 137-141, 224; Id., *Frans Van Cauwelaert afgewezen door Koning Albert I: Een tijdbom onder België*, Antwerpen-

of the Catholic party²¹. Having been appointed extraordinary professor in experimental psychology at the University of Fribourg in Switzerland in 1907, Van Cauwelaert had also been able to make a name for himself as an academic expert in education²². In this capacity, he was ideally placed to enter into negotiations with both secular and clerical authorities over the establishment of the Antwerp and Merksem schools – something he likely also did in the case of the Schoten school²³. In any case, portraying Gevaert as an independent pioneer may not be entirely justified²⁴. From a ‘new’ cultural history perspective, it would not make any more sense than ascribing the «open-air school» concept of the Schoten institution or the Brasschaat and Schilde schools, set up in similarly select residential areas, to individuals like August Fierens. A doctor with a regular medical practice in Antwerp, Fierens, according to some sources²⁵, as a student in 1907 visited the «forest school» (*Waldschule*) in Charlottenburg, Berlin, which was founded in 1904 and came to be known as the world’s first open-air school, much to the dismay of a left-liberal teachers’ association which opened its «permanent school colony Diesterweg» in Heide-Kalmthout that very same year. Due to his reputation as a physician, but perhaps also because he was a brother of Jos Fierens, managing director of one of Antwerp’s major companies (the chicory firm owned by the aforementioned de Beukelaar), he was asked to represent the city at the First International Conference on Open-Air Schools in Paris in 1922²⁶.

In addition to pointing out the contributions made by various individuals, we must, in fact, not forget trends reflected by this and subsequent conferences,

Baarn, Houtekiet, 2003, pp. 5-9; Id., *Burgemeester Van Cauwelaert 1923-1932: Schepper van nederlandstalig Vlaanderen*, Antwerpen/Amsterdam, Houtekiet, 2005, p. 56, 54.

²¹ Wils, *Frans Van Cauwelaert en de barst in België*, cit., pp. 11; Id., *Frans Van Cauwelaert afgewezen*, cit., pp. 5-9.

²² Wils, *Frans Van Cauwelaert en de barst in België*, cit., pp. 10, 18.

²³ F. Van Cauwelaert, *Een groot man en een groot Vlaming*, in Meeùs (ed.), *Lieven Gevaert*, cit., p. 235.

²⁴ The same may well apply to his industrial achievements. See S. Jaeken, *Lieven Gevaert (1868-1935): Een sociaal geïnspireerd ondernemer*, Licentiate Thesis (Supervisor unknown, Department of History), Ghent, Ghent University, Academic Year 1994-1995, p. 147.

²⁵ See «Buitenleven», vol. 7, n. 1, 1938, p. 1; «Historiek», in *Sint-Ludgardis Openluchtschool Koningshof 1936-1986*, Schoten, [s.n.], 1986, [s.p.]; Archives Sint-Ludgardis School Schoten (henceforth ASLS), box 1, *calendar*; and «Hooger Leven», vol. 12, n. 18, 1938, p. 483.

²⁶ *Private Archive Paul Fierens (henceforth PAPF), Eerste openluchtschool van ons land viert veertigjarig bestaan: St.-Ludgardis in feest te Koningshof-Schoten, unspecified newspaper excerpt*, 15th September 1976, p. 10. Fierens’s name was indeed mentioned at the opening session by Ferdinand Merlin, an honorary president of the conference. See *Ligue Française Pour l’Éducation en Plein Air, Premier Congrès International des Écoles de Plein Air en la Faculté de Médecine de Paris (24-25-26-27-28 Juin 1922)*, Paris, A. Maloine, 1925, p. 21. At the Second International Conference on Open-Air Education in Brussels, 1931, he no longer represented the city of Antwerp. It is unclear whether he even attended the conference.

held in Brussels in 1931 and in Bielefeld-Hannover in 1936²⁷. Whereas, from the 1900s until the 1920s, advocates of open-air schools zealously distinguished them from similar, earlier initiatives and assigned to them more or less specific target groups, these endeavours were soon overtaken by a rhetoric promoting a hygienically and didactically «justified» education for all children of school age, including healthy ones. By the 1930s, this went hand in hand with a gradual shift of attention from children described as «languishing flowers» to so-called «social welfare cases» in the earliest types of open-air schools, which often metamorphosed into «special schools» or «welfare institutions». It was around that time that the first Sint-Ludgardis open-air school saw the light of day, aiming at a clientele that was not only healthy but also rich and Flemish-Catholic.

The open-air schools of Dudelange and Esch-sur-Alzette emerged and adopted the forms they did as they gathered «drawn threads» of knowledge and praxis which in turn were «drawn into other knots with other threads»²⁸ in entwined domains. These threads traversed boundaries not just within the Grand Duchy and the Greater Region of Luxembourg²⁹, but – in a climate of mutual competition³⁰ – also between individual municipalities, private and state initiatives, and medical, pedagogical and social activists. Thus, for instance, the schools of Dudelange and Esch-sur-Alzette relied for their operations on a physical assessment of schoolchildren, facilitated by the establishment of the first school medical inspection services in the late 1900s and early 1910s³¹.

²⁷ See *Second Congrès International des Écoles de Plein Air, Bruxelles 6-11 Avril 1931: Rapports et Comptes Rendus*, Brussels, Ancienne Librairie Castaigne, 1931; K. Triebold, *Kurzberichte der gelegentlich des 3. Internationalen Freiluftschriftkongresses (18. bis 23.7.1936 Bielefeld und Hannover) gehalteten Vorträge*, «Zeitschrift des Internationalen Komitees für Freiluftschriften/Bulletin du Comité International des Écoles de Plein Air/Bulletin of the International Committee on Open-Air Schools», vol. 2, n. 12, 1936, pp. 1-17; M. Hecker, *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Freilufterziehung. (Zugleich: Bericht und Gedanken über den 3. Internationalen Freiluftschriftkongress in Bielefeld und Hannover vom 18. bis 23. Juli 1936)*, «Die Deutsche Sonder Schule», vol. 3, n. 12, 1936, pp. 938-952; K. Triebold, [Tagungen] 3. Internationaler Freiluftschriftkongress 1936, «Zeitschrift für Kinderforschung: Organ der Gesellschaft für Heilpädagogik und des Deutschen Vereins zur Fürsorge für jugendliche Psychopathen», vol. 46, n. 1, 1937, pp. 64-70.

²⁸ Ingold, *Lines*, cit., p. 169.

²⁹ Thus, for instance, knowledge regarding the *Œuvre Grancher* named after the French physician Jacques J. Grancher reached Luxembourg, where it was actively appropriated. See «Mémorial du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg/Memorial des Großherzogtums Luxemburg», 12th May 1923, p. 87. Occasionally, Luxembourgers looked at «model institutions» elsewhere, such as in the Netherlands. See «Escher Tageblatt», 20th August 1934, p. 8. Open-air schools like the one in Dudelange were also explicitly paid tribute to, for instance, on occasions such as the Seventeenth Conference of the Luxembourg Teacher Association held from 27th to 28th July 1938 in Dudelange. See «Escher Tageblatt», 22nd July 1938, p. 6. The school's so-called «golden book» (visitors' book) reportedly recorded many such visits and tributes. See «Escher Tageblatt», 27th June 1918, p. 2.

³⁰ See, for instance, «Escher Tageblatt», 21st February 1914, p. 1.

³¹ See, for instance, «Escher Tageblatt», 2nd September 1950, p. 9.

Likewise, non-/human performances of knowledge and praxis in the context of, among other things, holiday camps³², school hygiene³³, and art education³⁴ left «trails» that came to be «meshed» with those more directly related to the open-air schools. Among such trails were those laid by Emile Mayrisch, co-founder and then director-general of ARBED. Based on a letter he sent to the Dudelange authorities on 5 October 1912³⁵, he is often credited as the instigator of the Dudelange school and sometimes portrayed as an «enlightened philanthropist»³⁶ who «introduced hygiene, wellbeing and prosperity to the humblest of working-class homes»³⁷. Other individuals worth mentioning in this context are the physician and then Dudelange alderman Albert Urbany, the teacher Gustav(e) Kimmes, and the ARBED inspector Nicolas Dell, who around that time were commissioned by the steel concern's board to visit open-air schools in Charlottenburg, Elberfeld, München-Gladbach, and Mülhausen and drew up a report of their impressions³⁸. There are also teachers like Johann (Jean) Ewert, who, together with his colleague Kimmes, had earlier been sent to Switzerland to study school conditions, particularly in terms of art and hygiene education, for the Dudelange authorities³⁹, and who, together with Urbany –

³² Thus, according to one account, holiday camps in Esch-sur-Alzette were organised as early as 1911 with private support, which soon included «considerable» financial contributions from a female religious association based in Hollerich, Luxembourg. See «Escher Tageblatt», 21st February 1914, p. 1.

³³ In 1903, for instance, the *Verein für Volks- und Schulhygiene* developed out of the *Sektion für Allgemeine Gesundheitspflege* of the *Gesellschaft Luxemburger Naturfreunde* and as of 1904 independently propagated hygienic education measures, including through its journal, *Verhandlungen des Vereins für Volks- und Schulhygiene* and other literature published by its founders and ardent members. See E. Feltgen, G. Traus, *Leitfaden der Schul-Hygiene*, Luxembourg, Worré-Mertens, 1902; E. Feltgen, *Die Popularisierung der Hygiene: Vortrag gehalten auf der Lehrerkonferenz in Luxemburg, am 31. Dezember 1904*, Luxembourg, [s.n.], 1904; Id., *Die Hygiene des Schulkindes: Merksätze für Eltern und Lehrer*, Luxembourg, Huss, 1905.

³⁴ The Dudelange school from the beginning was linked to the Art Education Movement and occasionally also received visits by, and compliments from, art education societies such as the Paris-based *L'Art à l'Ecole*. See J. Ewert, A. Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen, gegründet 1913 durch die vereinigten Hüttenwerke Arbed, Abteilung Düdelingen: Einrichtung und Organisation im ersten Jahre ihres Bestehens*, Luxembourg, Soupert, [1914], p. 3; «Escher Tageblatt», 19th November 1913, p. 2; «Luxemburger Wort», 15th September 1927, p. 5.

³⁵ Archives Nationales de Luxembourg (henceforth ANL), IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange – Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), folder «Ecole en plein air», letter of 10th May 1913 from ARBED to the Dudelange authorities.

³⁶ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 44. All translations into English of original Dutch, French, German and Luxembourgish quotations are mine.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4; «Escher Tageblatt», 3rd August 1913, p. 2. Gustav(e) Kimmes was credited as a member of the organising committee of the Dudelange school in «Escher Tageblatt», 26th January 1938, p. 9.

³⁹ «Luxemburger Bürger-Zeitung», 8th August 1911, p. 2.

the first school doctor of the Dudelange school – issued a publication on the Dudelange school during its first year⁴⁰.

The account presented so far is, of course, gendered and risks ignoring the fact that notable performances of philanthropy, social aid and hygienic education resulted from the activism of Mayrisch's wife. She and other female members of the *Verein für die Interessen der Frau* (Association for Women's Interests) over which she presided had already conducted surveys on the living conditions of the poor in the capital's districts of Grund, Clausen and Pfaffenthal⁴¹. Moreover, there are indications that Aline Mayrisch de Saint-Hubert was indeed the driving force behind the creation of the Dudelange school⁴². However significant this may be from a cultural history perspective, what is relevant here is that such non-/human performances became entangled and crossed all sorts of boundaries, which makes it possible to understand both this and the Esch school as «movement and practice»⁴³. While interwoven with other movements and practices, they did, of course, adopt certain local characteristics. The Luxembourg open-air schools, for instance, explicitly emerged as key players within a so-called «qualitative population policy» – that is, a framework of eugenics that saw the schools' attention to physical education as a «first-rate political-economic factor»⁴⁴ necessary to «increase the productivity of future generations»⁴⁵. The Dudelange and Esch schools were thus framed more readily than the schools of Sint-Ludgardis as «social works»⁴⁶. In the occasionally tense socio-political atmosphere prevalent at the time, the rise of the Social Democratic Party (1902) and the more leftist Social Democratic Workers' Party (1905) no doubt spurred industrialists like Mayrisch to establish and support provisions in the social domain in cooperation with state and municipal authorities⁴⁷.

⁴⁰ Incidentally, Ewert's wife Catherine Ewert-Stein became the first Dudelange school principal. See ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange – Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), *Notice from the Director-General (Minister) of Interior, Pierre Braun, of 16 August 1913 to the Dudelange authorities*.

⁴¹ See *Einiges über Wohnungsverhältnisse der ärmeren Arbeiterbevölkerung in Luxemburg zusammengestellt vom Vorstand des Vereines für die Interessen der Frau und hrsg. in Verbindung mit dem Verein für Volks- und Schulhygiene*, Luxembourg, Huss, 1907.

⁴² «Escher Tageblatt», 3rd August 1913, p. 2.

⁴³ M. Lawn, *Awkward Knowledge: The Historian of Education and Cross-Border Circulations*, in M. Caruso, T. Koinzer, C. Mayer, K. Priem (edd.), *Zirkulation und Transformation: Pädagogische Grenzüberschreitungen in historischer Perspektive*, Cologne, Böhlau, 2014, p. 25.

⁴⁴ N. Heirens, *Die Escher Waldschule als Kindertagesheim: Separatabdruck aus der «Luxemburger Zeitung»*, Luxembourg, Schwell, 1930, p. 7.

⁴⁵ «Escher Tageblatt», 21st February 1914, p. 1.

⁴⁶ See ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange – Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), folder «Ecole en plein air», «Mitteilungen über die im Stadtpark “Leh” errichtete Düdelinger Waldschule», *typewritten report*, 1st May 1913.

⁴⁷ At least one journal article suggested that this was the case in the context of the Esch open-air school. See «Escher Tageblatt», 3rd July 1930, p. 3.

In contrast, the Sint-Ludgardis schools came to be framed as «very normal school[s] for the normal child»⁴⁸, that is, as institutions for the children of the bourgeoisie offering a hygienic but therefore no less meritocratic education aimed at establishing a vigorous «Flemish-Catholic» elite. Like their Luxembourg counterparts, these schools may be seen as «practices» and «movements» within a «meshwork»⁴⁹ gathering «threads» in the context of two particularly powerful phenomena in Belgium, namely «the Flemish issue» and «pillarization»⁵⁰. The latter was «a kind of vertical stratification that [cut] across horizontal class lines» and tied groups of people together in «spiritual families»⁵¹ or «social-cultural milieus»⁵². Although Luxembourg also experienced such pillarization along political and religious lines, in Belgium this phenomenon resulted in an even more marked ideological build-up, including in the field of open-air education⁵³. It also became entangled in particular ways with what Vaast Leysen, another protagonist of the Flemish cause and the Sint-Ludgardis schools, called the «social language boundary»⁵⁴. This boundary, which was both real and imagined – like political and religious boundaries, it was, indeed, not impermeable –, had cut through Belgian society ever since the nineteenth century, as is also confirmed by several laws trying to dissolve it⁵⁵. Controversies ensued not only from the depreciation of Flemish language and culture but also from the social segregation believed to be an integral part of this cultural and linguistic issue⁵⁶. Although it was reasoned that command of French could help Flemings escape poverty⁵⁷, the social and cultural divides naturalised by the value system surrounding the language provoked increasing criticism from the «acculturated» and «newly rich» middle classes. Among them was Gevaert, who denounced the prevailing «unpatriotic»⁵⁸ tradition of

⁴⁸ See ASLS, box 1, *undated draft of a report on open-air education by Cecilia Van den Berghe, the Schoten school's first principal, probably from 1947*, «12 – Ontwerp van artikel of spreekbeurt over Openluchtonderwijs in Koningshof», [1947].

⁴⁹ Ingold, *Lines*, cit., p. 80. Ingold has used this term to denote an ever-ramifying web of multiple entangled lines of movement and growth.

⁵⁰ C. Strikwerda, *A House Divided: Catholics, Socialists and Flemish Nationalists in Nineteenth-Century Belgium*, London, Boulder, New York, Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield, 1997, p. 279.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵³ Thyssen, *Between Utopia and Dystopia*, cit., pp. 47-48.

⁵⁴ V. Leysen «Voorwoord», in 75. *Sint-Ludgardisschool Antwerpen*, cit., [s.p.].

⁵⁵ See K. De Clerck, *Momenten uit de geschiedenis van het Belgisch onderwijs*, Antwerpen, de Sikkel, 1974.

⁵⁶ Strikwerda, *A House Divided*, cit., p. 36.

⁵⁷ M. Depaepe, *Lager onderwijs en Vlaamse Beweging*, in R. De Schryver, B. De Wever, G. Duriez, L. Gevers, P. Van Hees, M. De Metsenaere (edd.), *Nieuwe encyclopedie van de Vlaamse Beweging*, Tielt, Lannoo, 1998, [s.p.] [CD-ROM].

⁵⁸ Cf. Frans Van Cauwelaert's 1910 remarks, cited in Wils, *Frans Van Cauwelaert afgewezen*, cit., p. 16; L. Gevaert, *In de Meisjesscholen*, «Het Handelsblad van Antwerpen», 7th June 1910, p. 1. See also Depaepe, *Lager Onderwijs*, cit.

Frenchified education and promoted a Flemish-Catholic education which he hoped would ensure the «edification of the people»⁵⁹.

Unlike the municipal school of Mortsel, which did not specifically aim at privileged Flemings and to which Gevaert also lent his support, the Sint-Ludgardis school in Schoten deliberately selected its pupils from the families of lawyers, notaries, doctors and industrialists, at least in the beginning⁶⁰. Likewise, the Brasschaat and Schilde schools specifically recruited from a «social environment of like-minded»⁶¹, the more so in periods of increased applications on the part of «mere employees» – an increase that was ascribed to demographic developments and «democratization in terms of the social language boundary»⁶². If we acknowledge that a growing number of pupils indeed came from modest backgrounds, both schools largely continued to aim at those Flemings who «by their culture»⁶³ set the standard. The pressure exerted by the three Sint-Ludgardis schools to obtain fixed-rate «donations» from their clientele helped to maintain a student population from more affluent backgrounds⁶⁴. To some extent at least, the pupils of all three schools thus continued to share common identities in terms of native language, parents' occupation, and political and religious family culture, although some differences should be noted. Pupils recruited for the Brasschaat and Schilde institutions, for instance, more often belonged to French-speaking families than the Schoten pupils.

In the following sections, I will examine the actual regime of the Luxembourg and Belgian open-air schools to establish to what extent the aforementioned socio-political and cultural politics and recruitment policies translated into educational reforms which helped to forge shared identities, notions of citizenship or other forms of belonging.

3. *Liberal and corporate imaginaries of belonging*

The schools of Dudelange and Esch were located in the «Leh» city park and in a man-made valley called «iron pit»⁶⁵, respectively, both of them situated two kilometres outside the city. The former was a one-class school, which

⁵⁹ Gevaert, «In de Meisjesscholen», cit., p. 1; Janssens, *Lieven Gevaert*, cit., p. 60.

⁶⁰ Interview with (former teacher) E.V.H., Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 3rd October 2007.

⁶¹ «De Standaard», Friday 13th October, 1961, pp. 7-8.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Katholiek Documentatiecentrum Leuven (henceforth KADOC), *Archives Vaast Leysen*, Folder 7.1.15, «Sint-Lutgardis Openluchtschool Brasschaat – Aanvraag Gemengd Onderwijs», s.l., s.d. [1953-1954].

⁶⁵ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 6; Osweiler, *Von der «Eisenkaul» zur Waldschule*, cit., p. 24.

was only open during the warm season and at first accommodated some 42 children of both sexes (later occasionally more than 100 pupils); the latter had two «stylish»⁶⁶ school pavilions and at least initially catered to some 72 pupils (in later years sometimes up to 112 pupils) aged eight to twelve. This age group was said to be particularly «overstrained» and prone to «worrysome» and «morbid conditions», whereas children under that age range were deemed too weak for an open-air school stay, and those older than twelve supposedly posed surveillance issues for the female teaching staff⁶⁷. The organisation of the Dudelange school was based on observations made in the aforementioned German open-air schools and was later copied almost entirely for the school in Esch-sur-Alzette. Children's admission procedures, for instance, were initially based on referrals of «needy» children on the part of doctors employed by the cities' school medical services, after which the institutions' proper school doctor selected those most eligible for a forest school stay⁶⁸. Later on, ARBED social aid workers (visiting nurses of anti-tuberculosis dispensaries supported by the steel company) were involved in the selection procedure. They assisted the school doctor at medical examinations, regularly tested the children's lung capacity, kept their medical and social records up to date and checked with their families in case of un-/excused absences or other problems⁶⁹. School attendance was compulsory (as in all schools since 1881), and initially children were required to be present from Monday through Sunday⁷⁰, on the understanding that the two-to-five-month «cure» could not be interrupted⁷¹. Only serious misconduct led to immediate discharge, which now and then indeed occurred⁷². If results proved unsatisfactory or inconclusive, as was the case especially with anaemic children, this was attributed to the most diverse «constitutional conditions»⁷³ of the admitted target groups, some of which were thought to be «unsusceptible to treatment»⁷⁴.

⁶⁶ Heirens, *Die Escher Waldschule als Kindertagesheim*, cit., p. 3.

⁶⁷ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., pp. 4-5, 10, 28.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 10.

⁶⁹ ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange - Esch/Alzette*, 1913-1933), «Projet d'un Réglement intérieur pour l'école en forêt d'Esch», 25th April 1930 [annex to the «Extrait du registre aux délibérations du conseil communal d'Esch-sur-Alzette», 28th February 1931], «Organisation de l'école en forêt pour l'année 1931», pp. 1-2.

⁷⁰ A. Weber, *70 Jahre Düdelinger Waldschule*, «Luxemburger Wort», vol. 135, n. 161, 1982, p. 8; Id., *Düdelinger Waldschule besteht seit 70 Jahren*, «Luxemburger Wort», vol. 136, n. 161, 1983, p. 10.

⁷¹ ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange - Esch/Alzette*, 1913-1933), folder «Ecole en plein air», «Mitteilungen über die im Stadtpark "Leh" errichtete Düdelinger Waldschule», typewritten report, 1st May 1913.

⁷² ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange - Esch/Alzette*, 1913-1933), folder «Ecole en plein air», «L'école en forêt de la ville de Dudelange. Rapport du Médecin de l'école, Dr. med. A. Urbany, Exercice 1918», typewritten report, 30th April 1919, p. 4. In terms of orderly conduct, boys «naturally» lagged behind girls, or so Urbany claimed.

⁷³ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 21.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Protagonists of the Dudelange school claimed that undernourished children were not among its target groups, as soup distributions and holiday camps were thought to be more appropriate for them. On paper at least, the Dudelange school was aimed at the «sick»⁷⁵. In practice, however, the sick were defined as «pretuberculous», a category flexible enough to include the «not-yet-sick»⁷⁶. Likewise, undernourished children were, in fact, admitted, and not merely «on probation»⁷⁷, as in 1913, or «as an exception» as had been the case after the First World War⁷⁸. After all, malnourishment was a key pathogenic factor, and even the school's advocates had to admit that these categories could hardly be distinguished objectively. Children selected were nonetheless classified as heart patients, lung patients, the scrofulous, and the anaemic⁷⁹. Again on paper at least, the schools from the outset aimed at children from all parts of the population. Those reporting on its operations even alleged that some parents only conceded to their children's admittance if they were allowed to contribute financially, which resulted in the establishment of a fixed day rate⁸⁰. Yet in both Luxembourg schools, the children's parents were generally poor and either employed by ARBED or Terres Rouges⁸¹. In the case of the Dudelange school, the selected target groups, moreover, seem to have included a number of children of immigrant parents and, at least initially, mainly comprised children from a school located in the city's «Brill» quarter, where workers' colonies had been created with financial support from the steel industry⁸².

That said, the school regimen prioritised children's health, which meant that the number of class hours was reduced to half compared to those in the «regular»

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷⁶ L. Bryder, *Below the Magic Mountain: A Social History of Tuberculosis in Twentieth Century Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 30, 88.

⁷⁷ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 13.

⁷⁸ ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange – Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), folder «Ecole en plein air», «L'école en forêt de la ville de Dudelange. Rapport du Médecin de l'école, Dr. med. A. Urbany, Exercice 1918», typewritten report, 30th April 1919, p. 2.

⁷⁹ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., pp. 10, 11, 25, 30.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14. At least one other account suggests that pupils from all parts of the population attended the school despite rumors to the contrary. See C. François, *D'Schoul am Bësch: 70 Jahre Düdelinger Waldschule*, «Télécran», vol. 36, 1982, p. 11.

⁸¹ Weber, *70 Jahre Düdelinger Waldschule*, p. 8; Id., *Düdelinger Waldschule besteht seit 70 Jahren*, p. 10; Heirens, *Die Escher Waldschule als Kindertagesheim*, p. 5; Osweiler, *Von der «Eisenkaul» zur Waldschule*, p. 25.

⁸² ANL, MEN-1652 – *Ecole de plein air [Division de L'Instruction Publique]*, documents «Commissariat du district de Luxembourg», «Ecole en forêt Dudelange – Enfants admis à l'Ecole en Forêt en 1962». See also *75 Joer Brillschoul*, Esch-sur-Alzette, Administration communale, 1986; A. Reuter, *Le Quartier du Brill à Esch/Alzette: Du lieu de vie au lieu de mémoire*, «Nos Cahiers: Lëtzebuerger Zäitschrëft fir Kultur Luxembourg», vol. 27, n. 3/4, 2006, pp. 191-20; Id., *Rêves d'Italie, Italiës de rêve. Imaginaires et réalités autour de la présence italienne au Luxembourg et dans la Grande Région*, in *Rêves d'Italie, Italiës de rêve. Imaginaires et réalités autour de la présence italienne au Luxembourg et dans la Grande Région. Actes du colloque international, Luxembourg/Dudelange 8-9 juin 2007*, Luxembourg, Université du Luxembourg, 2008, pp. 255-282.

schools to which the pupils were to return after their cure. The Dudelange school thus adopted the traditional curriculum, but mainly stripped it to the basics⁸³. Interestingly, a school inspector deemed the proposed Dudelange timetable too full⁸⁴. Too much time was reportedly spent on mathematics, at the expense of «more pleasant» subjects such as local history and geography. The school's curriculum was therefore lightened even more than its designers had originally envisaged, although language education (especially French-language classes) continued to receive much attention⁸⁵, probably with a view to ensuring a smooth enculturation process. Actual classes took place from Monday through Saturday. Main subjects were scheduled for the morning, whereas secondary subjects such as calligraphy, singing, gardening and religion were taught in the afternoon⁸⁶. Over time, the curriculum of both schools underwent only minor changes. Handicrafts for girls, for instance, disappeared from the curriculum, and the afternoon was increasingly reserved for a long siesta, non-theoretical subjects, and recreation and health activities, including sunbathing⁸⁷. As was customary in most open-air schools of this type, classes were taught outside if weather conditions permitted. There were also regular walks, during which geography, history and physics information was imparted to the pupils. From a pedagogical perspective, all this was said to produce highly satisfactory results in Dudelange⁸⁸. The children supposedly became quickly accustomed to open-air teaching and enjoyed the greater freedom conceded to them. It allegedly made them more spontaneous and open, enabling teachers to better adapt their lessons to the children's individual needs⁸⁹. Likewise, the Esch school's «looser» education, thought to enhance children's «learning capacity and diligence»⁹⁰, according to some gave it the appearance of a «pedagogical idyll»⁹¹. Yet photographs of teaching practices, among other «material performances»,

⁸³ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 31.

⁸⁴ The opposite was true in some open-air schools abroad. See, for instance, G. Thyssen, *Mapping a Space of Biography: Karl Triebold and the Waldschule of Senne I-Bielefeld (c. 1923-1939)*, «History of Education», vol. 41, n. 4, pp. 457-467.

⁸⁵ ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange – Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), folder «Ecole en plein air», «Waldschule Düdelingen, Stundenplan, Sommer 1915» [Annex to the «Organisation der Waldschule zu Düdelingen. Sommer 1915»].

⁸⁶ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., pp. 32-33.

⁸⁷ ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange – Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), folder «Ecole en plein air», «Plan d'heures de l'Ecole en Forêt de Dudelange pour 1931» [Annex to the «Organisation et programme des cours de l'Ecole en Forêt de Dudelange. Eté 1931»]; ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange – Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), folder «Ecole en plein air», «L'Ecole en forêt, Plan d'heures, Eté 1932» [Annex to the «Extrait du registre aux délibérations du conseil communal d'Esch-sur-Alzette» of 06/02/1932 and «Organisation de l'école en forêt pour l'année 1932»].

⁸⁸ «L'école en forêt de la ville de Dudelange», cit., p. 3.

⁸⁹ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 33.

⁹⁰ François, *D'Schoul am Bësch*, cit., p. 10.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

«enacted»⁹² imaginaries of education that were in accordance with a rather traditional «choreography of schooling»⁹³.

Equally traditional in the light of intertwined «foreign» experiences was the institutions' hygienic regime, with its obligatory respiratory exercises, sunbaths, and lengthy after-lunch siestas maintained until at least the beginning of the 1960s to the regret of some and joy of others⁹⁴. They were part of the schools' «curative», «medical treatment»⁹⁵, which, in Dudelange at least, involved carbonated saltwater baths, given twice a week to «heart patients» and «scrofulous» pupils, initially under the surveillance of two city nurses of a charitable congregation⁹⁶. The health regime, moreover, was accompanied by overfeeding. The calorific value of the (three to five) meals offered indeed exceeded children's needs, which made for visually appealing «statistics» on their weight and height gains⁹⁷. These were designed to convince even the biggest sceptics of the «high social and hygienic value» of the enterprise⁹⁸. Meals also had educational value in other ways. They presented opportunities for teachers to instil order and discipline in children while putting them under the close surveillance of teachers⁹⁹. In terms of nutrition, the schools upheld an ideal and cultural standard thought to be attainable and worthy of emulation also in the humblest of working-class families, granted that parents renounced the «social plague» of alcoholism and eventually abandoned any unhealthy and/or foreign eating customs. Parents instead should spend their bi-/weekly paycheck on meat, eggs and lard, dairy products, bread and potatoes, vegetables and fruit containing the necessary proteins, carbohydrates and fats¹⁰⁰ – preferably in an ARBED wholesale shop¹⁰¹. However, families to some extent maintained their

⁹² Edwards, *Photography and the Material Performances of the Past*, cit., pp. 130, 131. I join Edwards in emphasising that photographs must not be seen as mere «images» to be subjected to «forensic and semiotic analysis of content,» but rather as «material performances of a complex range of historiographical desires in the negotiation of the relations between past, present, and future» (p. 130). See also Poos, *Hidden Images*, cit.

⁹³ B. Eggermont, *The Choreography of Schooling as Site of Struggle: Belgium Primary Schools, 1880-1940*, «History of Education», vol. 30, n. 2, 2001, pp. 129-140.

⁹⁴ C. François, *D'Schoul am Bësch: 70 Jahre Düdelinger Waldschule*, «Télécran», vol. 36, 1982, pp. 10, 11.

⁹⁵ ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange - Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), folder «Ecole en plein air», «L'école en forêt de la ville de Dudelange. Rapport du Médecin de l'école, Dr. med. A. Urbany, Exercice 1918», typewritten report, 30th April 1919, p. 5.

⁹⁶ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 14; ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange - Esch/Alzette, 1913-1933*), folder «Ecole en plein air», «L'école en forêt de la ville de Dudelange. Rapport du Médecin de l'école, Dr. med. A. Urbany, Exercice 1918», typewritten report, 30th April 1919, p. 1.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16, 24.

⁹⁸ Heirens, *Die Escher Waldschule als Kindertagesheim*, cit., p. 19.

⁹⁹ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 17.

¹⁰⁰ «Escher Tageblatt», 15th July 1914, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ This wholesale shop, in Mayrisch's own words, had been created «...out of interest [original emphasis]. Out of interest to develop those who contribute to the common enterprise into full



Pic. 1. «Ecole en plein air (Waldschoul) – goûter, 1964» (Archives de la Ville de Dudelange, collection Jean-Pierre Conrardy, sub-collection Arbed, enveloppe 43, tray 03).

cultural eating habits¹⁰², and children also (sometimes successfully) resisted the open-air school diet¹⁰³.

Apart from features that at the time seemed rather luxurious, especially when craftily accentuated in photographs, the schools' hygienic programme offered a «regularity in life style»¹⁰⁴ whose ultimate goal was to make sure that

human beings, who are able to use their strengths to the fullest, in complete spiritual and material balance». E. Mayrisch, *Das Düdelinger Economat und seine Berechtigung*, Luxemburg, Schroel, 1906, p. 14. In this context, it should also be mentioned that a dairy was established in 1893 by the Dudelange steel plant, which provided pasteurised milk to children and sick employees. See R. Hoff, *L'œuvre social d'Emile Mayrisch*, in *Arbeiter-Unterstützungsverein Dideleng*, 1898-1978, Dudelange, [s.n.], 1978, p. 94.

¹⁰² Thus, for instance, Italian immigrant families in Dudelange attached importance to maintaining their own eating customs in Luxembourg. See *Migration in Luxembourg*, <<http://www.cecinestpasluxembourg.eu/>> (accessed: September 22, 2011), p. 52.

¹⁰³ See, for instance, L. Blau, *Mam Schucos-Auto an den Zinema Royal: Eng Kandheet am Brill (Geschichten)*, Nouspelt, Ultimomondo, 2007, pp. 94-97. For Blau, it was the «frequent tooth-brushing that seriously got on... [his] nerves» (p. 96).

¹⁰⁴ ANL, IP 1438 (*Enseignement primaire, Ecoles en plein air, Dudelange - Esch/Alzette*,

the children were «normal and healthy of body and spirit»¹⁰⁵. Because of the intensive cooperation between the school doctor and the teachers, some even claimed that the open-air schools could serve as a substitute for the parental home; in the schools, children were observed more precisely and attended to more quickly in case of major and minor ailments. While the latter tended to be hidden by parents, or so it was claimed¹⁰⁶, they did not go unnoticed during the forest schools' regular medical inspections and bath or shower sessions. Through the hygienic «luxury» they were imagined to offer, the open-air schools, amidst many other social services provided mainly by ARBED, intended to turn the pupils and their families into loyal and dependent consumers of the steel concern's provisions¹⁰⁷, and thus into citizens of ARBED's «state within the state»¹⁰⁸. This semi-state established in a traditionally liberal and Catholic «imagined community» presented itself in relation to, and as an alternative to, similar socialist types of governance established elsewhere, whose both distinctly international orientation and local material «performances» testified to similar (partly cross-border) entanglements¹⁰⁹.

The question remains, however, of how the pupils themselves responded to the education they received in these schools. According to the report on the Dudelange school's first year of operation, a questionnaire had been sent to the Dudelange schools from which the pupils were recruited in November 1913, to determine whether they had made sufficient intellectual progress in the course

1913-1933), folder «Ecole en plein air», «Mitteilungen über die im Stadtpark “Leh” errichtete Düdelinger Waldschule», typewritten report, 1st May 1913.

¹⁰⁵ Ewert, Urbany, *Die Waldschule der Stadt Düdelingen*, cit., p. 49.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10; N. Schmitz, *La politique sociale de l'ARBED/ARBED's Social Policy*, in ArcelorMittal Luxembourg (edd.), *La sidérurgie luxembourgeoise: Un siècle d'histoire et d'innovation/Steelmaking in Luxembourg: A Century of History and Innovation*, Luxembourg, ArcelorMittal, 2011, pp. 147-150.

¹⁰⁸ A. Lorang, *L'image sociale de l'ARBED à travers les collections du Fonds de logement*, Luxembourg, Fonds pour le développement du logement, 2009, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ See for instance, C. Strikwerda, *Three Cities, Three Socialisms: Class Relationships in Belgian Working-Class Communities, 1870-1914*, in S.G. McNall, R.F. Levine, R. Fantasia (edd.), *Bringing Class Back In: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford, Westview, 1991, pp. 185-198; G. Thyssen, F. Herman, W. Kusters, S. Van Ruyskensvelde, M. Depaepe, *From Popular to Unpopular Education? The Open-Air School(s) of 'Pont-Rouge', Roubaix (1921-1978)*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 5, n. 2, 2010, pp. 199-227. The borders of the ARBED «state», like those of Luxembourg, were indeed permeable, also in the context of open-air education. Thus, for instance, a newspaper article published in the early years of the Second World War mentioned that for several years, at the instigation of the Italian Fascist party, children of Italian nationality had been sent to Italy during the summer season for a Fascist holiday camp experience. See «Luxemburger Wort», 23rd September 1941, p. 4. The war, of course, made for rather exceptional circumstances where, for instance, the fact that open-air school pupils were together all the time was re-imagined as a means to inspire in them a sense of community preparing the children for their future life in the «greater community of the National Socialist State». See «Escher Tageblatt», 26th October 1942, p. 4, as well as «Escher Tageblatt», 13th May 1943, p. 5.

of their cure. The responses were claimed to have been generally positive¹¹⁰. Nevertheless, the school, throughout its existence, had to fight a reputation of being a place «for those of modest means, for children from asocial and exclusively foreign families»¹¹¹. Thus, after sixty years of operation, the school temporarily degenerated into a mere holiday recreation centre. Much to his regret, the then Dudelange mayor had to admit that this was largely due to objections from parents who believed their children were not taught as well in the forest school as in regular schools. Although tests had proved the opposite, the school had many vacant places every year¹¹². The same may have happened in Esch, where the forest school developed into a centre that came to host occasional classes for pupils and teachers of regular schools.

4. Catholic and Flemish imaginaries of belonging

Unlike the Dudelange and Esch schools, the first Sint-Ludgardis open-air institution, in the words of its first school doctor Fierens, was anything but a «health institute», let alone a «playground» or «holiday camp»¹¹³. In his (liberal) interpretation of the definition of open-air schools established at the first international conference on the subject in Paris¹¹⁴, it was «definitely a school, *in which instruction must tie in as closely as possible with the statutory school curriculum so that children educated for one or multiple years in the open-air school not stay behind their peers* [emphasis added]»¹¹⁵. This amendment of the actual definition of these institutions clearly needs to be understood in the light of the then rivalry between Catholic and liberal school networks in Belgium and elsewhere. Fierens's portrayal of the Schoten school as an «educational» institute whose aim consisted «firstly, in providing instruction and building character, and only secondarily in providing hygienic education without

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹¹¹ François, *D'Schoul am Bësch*, p. 11. One oral testimony obtained by pupils and teachers of the Dudelange school in the context of its centennial celebrations also suggests that, in the beginning at least, a significant number of «foreigners» attended the school, including «many Italian» and «some Polish immigrant children» whose living conditions were reported to be particularly bad. See *100 Joer Waldschoul, 1913-2013*, Dudelange, 1913, unpublished booklet, [s.p.].

¹¹² Weber, *70 Jahre Düdelinger Waldschule*, cit., p. 8; Id., *Düdelinger Waldschule besteht seit 70 Jahren*, cit., p. 10.

¹¹³ See the report of his lecture on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone for the school's first pavilion in: «Buitenleven», vol. 7, n. 1, 1938, p. 3. This conception is recapitulated in the Brasschaat school prospectuses issued between 1953 and 1954. See ASLS, box 3, Folder n. 8, «Sinte Ludgardis Openluchtschool. Stadskinderen op School in Openlucht», [s.p.].

¹¹⁴ See Ligue Française pour l'Éducation en Plein Air, *Premier Congrès International des Écoles de Plein Air en la Faculté de Médecine de Paris (24-25-26-27-28 Juin 1922)*, Paris, Maloine, 1925, p. 144.

¹¹⁵ «Buitenleven», vol. 7, n. 1, 1938, pp. 3-4.

neglecting the latter»¹¹⁶, is the exact opposite of what its liberal counterpart Diesterweg was imagined to be¹¹⁷. At Sint-Ludgardis, everything, including the fact that the average length of stay was anticipated to be years instead of months, emphasized the representation of open-air schools as places where «normal teaching and childrearing» was provided¹¹⁸.

Rhetoric would have it that it had been «the most obvious conclusion to realise a kind of school that would finally be adapted to the children and their environment»¹¹⁹. Children should find such a way of schooling to be «not just agreeable but a joy»; after all, «when a child enjoys itself, then it is in the mood to learn well»¹²⁰. This assumption may very well have been a key factor for Sint-Ludgardis's choice of the open-air school formula in the first place. Surrounded by nature, «God's university», children were believed to adjust more easily to teaching and school discipline¹²¹. Pupils' self-motivation would supposedly be stimulated, causing them to study and work of their own free will¹²². The latter was important, as the institutions were not content to follow the state-imposed curriculum but prided themselves on broadening it considerably. In order to achieve high standards and allow their brightest pupils at least to be well-prepared for secondary schools like that of Sint-Ludgardis in Antwerp, the principals of all three open-air schools in a meeting agreed that the lessons were «no game»; while they should, of course, not be tedious, one was not to concern oneself exclusively with making them pleasant. Children had to develop an interest in «boring subject material» even «without tricks to draw their attention»¹²³.

It seems that education in the Sint-Ludgardis schools was not allowed to differ much from that provided in «ordinary» schools. Indeed, apart from the fact that classes sometimes took place in the open – although arguably less so in later periods of the schools' existence and in Schilde, as the latter school was but partly equipped with open-air classrooms – the open-air aspect of Sint-Ludgardis schools was limited to open classroom windows. Even if the regular frontal class arrangement was occasionally abandoned when classes were taught outside, this did not really affect the «grammar of schooling»¹²⁴.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ [R. Bellens, J. Jaecks, S. De Meulemeester, J. Van de Venne (edd.)], *Diesterweg's Bestendige Schoolkolonie te Heide-Camphout. Leerprogramma*, Antwerpen, [s.n.], 1908, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ «Buitenleven», vol. 7, n. 1, 1938, p. 4.

¹¹⁹ ASLS, box 1, undated draft of a report on open-air education by Cecilia Van den Berghe, the Schoten school's first principal, probably from 1947, «12 – Ontwerp van artikel of spreekbeurt over Openluchtonderwijs in Koningshof».

¹²⁰ «Buitenleven», vol. 7, n. 1, 1938, p. 9.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹²³ ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4, *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Sinte-Ludgardisscholen. Verslag van de Vergadering van de Bestuursters op Woensdag 6 Maart 1963».

¹²⁴ M. Depaepe, *Order in Progress: Everyday Educational Practice in Primary Schools*,

For nature study, for instance, it was advised in all three schools to observe the study object in nature first and then start the «actual» lesson¹²⁵. In addition, it was recommended not to adopt a teaching approach adapted to the individual but to the entire class and to undertake work in little groups (only) once pupils' concentration flagged¹²⁶. In short, everyday teaching practice showed few, if any, remarkable innovations. Even when the obligatory open windows diverted pupils' attention away from the classroom – which seems to have occurred regularly – teachers simply positioned themselves opposite the window to prevent pupils from getting «distracted»¹²⁷.

In 1970, a school inspector affiliated with the schools, moreover, felt obliged to insist on an «individualised» approach that would allow «bright pupils» to advance more quickly and their weaker counterparts to be reintegrated into the «normal» classes¹²⁸. Inter-school competitions, in which the Antwerp and Merksem schools also participated, were exemplary of Sint-Ludgardis's meritocratic ethos. These competitions urged teachers to broaden the regular curriculum and work even more «efficiently», particularly with an eye to their brightest pupils¹²⁹. The schools also held prize-giving ceremonies, which in Schoten were abandoned only in the 1960s. Whereas children in open-air schools like Diesterweg were given postcards at the end of the year as tokens of the hygienic regime they enjoyed or endured, pupils of the open-air school in Schoten received honours (from satisfactory to *summa cum laude*), prize books (befitting a Catholic school) and golden coronets upon the public announcement of their school results. All this ensued from distinctly Catholic and Flemish elitist imaginaries of identity, which «meshed» but not simply coincided with national imaginaries of citizenship, and which were further «enacted» through photographs and other «material performances»¹³⁰. As part of these Flemish-Catholic imaginaries and performances of belonging special prizes were, for instance, awarded for religion, «standard civilized Dutch», good behaviour, and overall performance. Among preschoolers, nearly everyone was given a prize, not only for «praying nicely» or for «being courteous» but also for things such as «being a clown», «coming too late», «teasing» or «sleeping and crying»¹³¹.

Belgium, 1880-1970, Leuven, Leuven University Press, 2000.

¹²⁵ ASLS, box 3, folder n. 6, *Personnelsvergaderingen 1958-1987*, «Vergadering 29 september 1964».

¹²⁶ ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4, *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Verslag van de Vergadering van de Directrices van de SLS te Antwerpen op Donderdag 2 Februari 1976».

¹²⁷ Interview with (former pupil) S.M, Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 12th February 2008; interview with (former teacher) E.V.H., Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 3rd October 2007.

¹²⁸ ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4, *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Vergadering van de Directrices van de SLscholen te Antwerpen», of 5/10/1970.

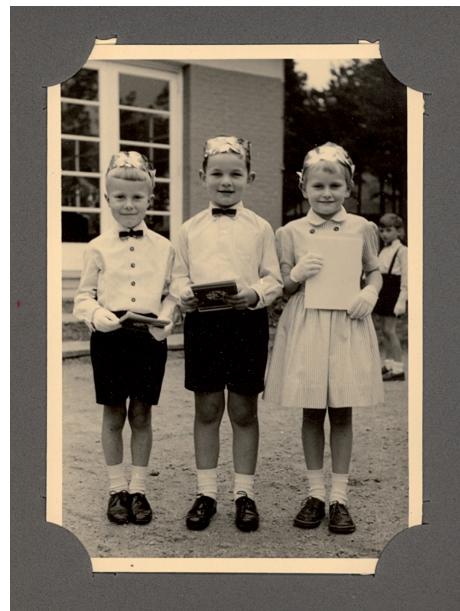
¹²⁹ ASLS, box 3, folder n. 6, *Personnelsvergaderingen 1958-1987*, «Vergadering van 17 Januari 1961».

¹³⁰ See Edwards, *Photography and the Material Performances of the Past*, p. 130.

¹³¹ See ASLS, box 8, folder *Uitslagen*, subfolder *Uitslagen Proefwerken*, «Uitslag der

This meritocratic tendency to some extent explains why the choreography of hygiene and open-air gymnastics popular in institutions like those in Dudelange and Esch – with their short classes interrupted by lunch or snack breaks, and invigorating and «cleansing» activities such as swimming, showering or sunbathing – was almost completely absent in the Sint-Ludgardis schools. Although a doctor (initially Fierens, later a Dr. Willems) and a nurse paid weekly visits to the Sint-Ludgardis schools until the 1980s, when legislation required the pupils to be examined by a recognized school medical service, the enrolment procedure of these institutions was never based on assessments such as weight, lung strength or cutireactions. A healthy condition on the pupils' part was assumed. Only a few things echoed the regime of schools like that of Dudelange and Esch, including the occasional exercises between classes to keep pupils warm in the winter season, the obligatory siesta on folding beds (partially abandoned and applied less strictly as of the 1950s), and the provision of dairy beverages (in all three schools) or soup (in Brasschaat) during play and lunch time¹³².

Parents who were allowed to visit the schools regularly – in the Luxembourg institutions visits were only allowed on Thursdays during the week and on Sundays during the weekend (in Esch apparently only once every month) – a rule adhered to with variable strictness –, were not lectured about hygiene and nourishment by the school doctors or teachers. Only rarely were parents blamed or patronized, and where this was the case, they rarely accepted such criticism without demur¹³³. Most often, they were kindly advised, for instance, to give their offspring some cheese, ham or fruit instead of sweets during playtime¹³⁴. «Hygienisation» thus appears to have allowed for differentiation



Pic. 2. Golden coronets and prize books, 1958 (Private Archives Lisa Van Herck, photoalbum).

Prijskampen» and «Froebel», 1937-1960.

¹³² Paul Fierens, *Afscheidsrede als Voorzitter van het Schoolcomité van de Openluchtschool Sint-Ludgardis te Schoten*, Schoten, [s.n.], 1993, p. 19.

¹³³ See «Buitenleven», vol. 7, n. 1, 1938, p. 2; ASLS, box 2, folder n. 5 – Personeelsbeleid, *Betwist Geval Okt.-Nov. 1943*, «Koningshof Briefwisseling Personeel okt-nov. 1943».

¹³⁴ «Le Matin», 31st January 1963, p. 5.

along class (and other) lines¹³⁵. Both former staff and pupils remember the schools' atmosphere as more free and easy-going than at other schools or those attended later. As one interviewee pointed out, more discipline was «naturally» demanded in secondary school, in accordance with the pupils' age¹³⁶. For all its meritocratic aspects, the schools' atmosphere nevertheless seems to have been less disciplined than in some city schools. This was ascribed to their greener environment and ample room to play, which caused children to be a little more «lively», and even to the schools' co-educational system. However, their marked liveliness seldom caused problems, given that most pupils displayed good manners befitting of their cultural backgrounds¹³⁷.

At the same time, all three schools took pride in displaying a «distinguished» style, and a discipline that was «gentle but firm»¹³⁸. In order to help maintain order in the classroom in the 1960s, it was deemed wise to appoint a girl, whose name would be written on the blackboard. Other measures to ensure cooperation included publicly awarding pupils with tokens or ranking them on charts, which would be translated into school grades¹³⁹. If, around 1963, the opinion still prevailed that not much could be done about pupils' varying achievements thought to result from their «cultural background», about ten years later remedial classes were organized in all Sint-Ludgardis schools except in Schilde, which lacked rooms for additional classes¹⁴⁰. It is doubtful, however, whether such classes undid any structural social inequality at a time when it was mostly children from the less well-to-do who attended these schools. One such

¹³⁵ Sint-Ludgardis's profile as «Flemish-Catholic» to some degree implied the exclusion of «allochthonous» children from non-Catholic and non-Dutch speaking families. Elsewhere «ethnicity» more clearly allowed for differences in terms of the extent to which and ways in which users of open-air institutions were targeted from the medical sphere and exposed to a hygienic regimen. See, for instance, C.A. Connolly, *Saving Sickly Children: The Tuberculosis Preventorium in American Life, 1909-1970*, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2008, pp. 50, 61-63.

¹³⁶ Interview with (former pupil) O.V.E., Sint-Ludgardis Schilde, 11th February 2008.

¹³⁷ Interview with (former teacher) G.O.d. B-V.R., Sint-Ludgardis Brasschaat, 1st February 2008.

¹³⁸ ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4 – *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Vergadering van 17 Januari 1961». See also ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4 – *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Vergadering Oktober 1960», [s.p.]; interview with (former teacher) M.H.-H., Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 2nd October 2007; interview with (former teacher) E.V.H., Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 3rd October 2007; interview with (former principal) L.W., Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 16th November 2007; interview with (former teacher) G.O.d. B-V.R., Sint-Ludgardis Brasschaat, 1st February 2008.

¹³⁹ ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4 – *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Vergadering 4 September 1962», s.p.; interview with (former pupil) S.M., Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 12th February 2008; interview with (former pupil) D.M., Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 12th February 2008.

¹⁴⁰ ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4 – *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Vergadering van 17 januari 1961»; ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4 – *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Sinte-Ludgardisscholen. Verslag van de Vergadering van de Bestuursters op Woensdag 6 Maart 1963»; ASLS, box 2, folder n. 4 – *Vergaderingen van Directies van de SL Scholen 1963-1966-1983*, «Vergadering van de Directrices van de Sint-Ludgardisscholen te Antwerpen, 19th November 1974».

pupil, whose mother was a hairdresser and whose father ran a paint making business later recalled that he did not excel in school and was never pushed by either his parents or the school to perform better; at the most he was asked to be quieter in class¹⁴¹. A similar argument could be made with respect to the «weeks of standard civilized Dutch» that were organised in all three schools to improve pupils' language skills. Special attention was paid to language skills not just in class but also at playtime or when children entered the school and greeted the teachers, which had to happen in a prescribed, «distinguished» manner. Such practices further established the schools' reputation as institutions that provided the best possible (read: meritocratic) preparation for secondary and higher education.

Not all parents, however, seemed convinced of this reputation. A distinctly gendered image emerges from the sources and oral testimonies, not only because the schools' population until the 1980s contained far more girls than boys – which was even more striking given the fact that Catholic schools as a rule and for a long time were not even partially mixed¹⁴². Until the late 1960s, in Schoten and Schilde at least, parents in fact often believed that boys benefited three or four years at most from being taught in what was perceived as a «play school»¹⁴³. Much to its own regret, the Schoten school repeatedly faced what it dismissed as «the prejudiced delusion that boys had to go to a prestigious secondary school as soon as they could horse about seriously», although by the 1970s it was claimed that «luckily ... common sense [had] prevailed»¹⁴⁴. However, in the Schilde school, it was still customary some ten years later for boys to leave the school for college after five years of primary education. Girls sometimes left the school as well, since their parents apparently thought it kept too loose a rein on home and school work¹⁴⁵. Of all three open-air schools, the one in Schilde perhaps had the weakest reputation, or so it appears from remarks made by Vaast Leysen, who had helped negotiate its entry – like that of the Brasschaat school – into the CFES. In his words, its «lifestyle» required some improvement¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴¹ Interview with (former pupil) D.M, Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 12th February 2008.

¹⁴² R. Baetens, *Schoten: De Geschiedenis van een Tweeluik*, Schoten, Gemeentebestuur van Schoten, 1982, p. 217; KADOC, Archives Vaast Leysen, Sint-Michielscollege-Brasschaat v.z.w., folder 7.2.15, «Verslag van de Vergadering van de Raad van Beheer, Gehouden op Maandag 6th September [1983] om 2015, in het Sint-Michielscollege», [s.p.]; KADOC, Archives Vaast Leysen, folder 7.1.6, letter from Vaast Leysen to the Vicar-General of the Antwerp bishop, K[arel] Matheussen, 27 juli 1982, [s.p.].

¹⁴³ Interview with (former pupil) S.M, Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 12th February 2008; interview with (former pupil) L.R.-V.P., Sint-Ludgardis Schoten, 8th October 2007; interview with (former pupil) O.V.E., Sint-Ludgardis Schilde, 11th February 2008.

¹⁴⁴ PAPF, *Eerste openluchtschool van ons land*, unspecified newspaper excerpt, 15th September 1976, p. 10.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with (former pupil) A.d.R., Sint-Ludgardis Schilde, 11th February 2008.

¹⁴⁶ KADOC, Archives Vaast Leysen, folder 7.1.1/1, «Vergadering van de Beheerraad, Sint-Ludgardisschool, 11 Januari 1966»; a KADOC, Archives Vaast Leysen, folder 7.1.1/1, «Katholiek

5. Boundless community building and citizenship education

In conclusion, let us return to the questions of whether the analysed schools were initiatives of reform which helped «forge» common «identities» and «imagined communities» within the broader «imagined communities» in which they operated, and to what extent they served to promote «forms of belonging» which complied and/or coincided with visions of «national identity» and «citizenship». From my analysis, it appears that both the Luxembourg and Belgian open-air schools indeed endeavoured to forge shared identities among their target groups. The Luxembourg schools seem to have funnelled their target groups into institutions in the parascholastic sphere, which were increasingly depreciated, as they appeared to cater disproportionately to poor, immigrant and asocial children. The Belgian schools recruited their pupils from a generally well-off, Flemish-Catholic clientele, which they were thought to prepare well for a highly valued educational career. In that sense, all five open-air schools both facilitated and hindered trajectories of «enculturation» based on the target groups' socio-cultural and linguistic background. Although the schools clearly appear to have developed along class lines, while appropriating features of other institutions in the areas of regular and open-air education, their «bundles» of «threads» entangled with other «threads» within and beyond imagined national boundaries. Social stratification and national identity formation fall short of grasping the complexity of the entwined paths along which they were conceived and functioned. Rather than just shaping their pupils' national identities, the schools contributed to the emergence of citizens of a «Flemish-Catholic» community, of «flamingants» devoted to «Christ the King» – a citizenship that, like the Catholic Church, was unbound by national or other worldly borders – and of citizens of a less devotedly Catholic and rather liberal «state within the state» – a citizenship that transcended national borders within a German Customs Union and later Greater Region of Luxembourg and that was similar to, yet different from, equally local and internationally-oriented socialist forms of belonging. At the same time, the citizenship education and identity formation fostered by the supporters of the analysed schools did not always produce the anticipated results, as their targeted clienteles questioned and appropriated imaginaries of cultural belonging in their own ways.

The role of the school manuals in the national identity formation of Albanians during the Renaissance

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ABSTRACT: The main aim of this article is to present a larger view of the scholastic manuals' role in the formation of the national identity, as well as the conditions in the historical, cultural and pedagogical formation of a new nationality during the Albanian Renaissance (1878-1912). The crucial hypothesis of this study falls during this important historical period; it was made possible to construct a new form of national conscience thanks to the psycho-pedagogical content of the scholastic texts. Various contents of literature and linguistics textbooks published during this chosen period have been analysed aiming to prove this hypothesis. The elements that converge with the contemporary theoretical approaches on the formation of the personal, collective and national identity using a comparative method were identified in the course of this analysis. Eventually, it was demonstrated that, beyond the efforts and the achieved goals, the process of the common identity construction as well as of a sense of common belongingness has been entrapped in the insidious psychological dynamics of an individualist population having a fragile sense of community, which has been highlighted as a serious obstacle towards national unity.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Albanian Renaissance (1878-1912); Nationalization; Textbook; Cultural Identity; Education; Albania; XIX-XX Centuries.

1. *The historical context of the first educational institutions in Albanian language during the Albanian Renaissance (1878-1912)*

The League of Prizren gave start to the birth of the institutions in Albanian language influenced from the education policies which were demonstrated according to the following documents: the Memorandum of Prizren in November 1878, the programme exposed by Abdyl Frashëri in the Convention of Gjirokastër in July 1880, *Apology of Jani Vreto*, the work of Vaso Pasha *The*

reality of Albania and the Albanians, the articles of Anastas Kullorioti and the ABC of Istanbul. This latter document, a very important one in the history of the Albanian education, included grammar, ABC, history, geography, arithmetic, nature knowledge and lessons on ethics education.

It was in 1878 when the first major publications and pioneering in Albania occurred. The work of several authors as Geronimo de Rada, Thimi Mitko, Sami Frashëri, Naim Frashëri, Jani Vreto, Vaso Pasha, Qerazim Qiriasi, Sevasti Qiriasi, Parashqevi Qiriasi, Ndre Mjeda, Mid'hat Frashëri and so on appeared. It was in 1887 when for the first time was opened a secular school of the Albanian language in Korça. In 1908 the Albanians organized a large conference in Manastir (Bitola) that would decide the future of the alphabet in use; in 1909 in Elbasan would open the first regular school addressed to the training of teachers for primary schools; and in 1912 the Albanians would gain independence from the Ottoman Empire.

When the Albanian Renaissance started to consolidate in the first decade of the twentieth century, there appeared more and more such attitudes of traditional education in textbooks, regarding ethno-pedagogical type of the Albanian people – which was realized as the bond between human being and education, the environment and the life itself – and considered indispensable for the construction of schools featured as national character and the ones that educated new patriots¹.

Patriotic education, even though it became the leitmotif of the Albanian instructional inclinations during the activities of the provisional government of Vlora, it was recognized as necessary since 1878, the same year when the Renaissance patriots considered that the education of the citizens should be secular and cultured, as the principal premise for the construction of a solid nation. The tentative of elaborating again the new idea the Albanian language should have about it and its land through the texts in mother language and the revived myths in history books characterized the whole period following these public attitudes. Undoubtedly, history, as a school subject, tried to incorporate far more marked ideological and political elements than others so that to represent at its best the «glorious past of the Albanian people»².

It is important to recall at this point that teaching history in Albanian schools was addressed to all pupils, not just to a targeted elite. This primarily occurred in the Italian Peninsula, where the conscience of the past was reserved to those being at the top of the supreme state organization; this conscience was acquired through a long political and diplomatic practice. Perhaps this difference was because the education of a new Italian patriotic conscience occurred during a «general evolution of the education systems of the pre-unification of Italian

¹ Sh. Osmani, *Reflekse etno-pedagogjike* [Ethno pedagogical Reflex], Tiranë, Idromeno, 1998, p. 5.

² E. Sulstarova, *Arratisje nga lindja. Orientalizmi shqiptar nga Naimi te Kadareja* [Escaping from the east. Albanian Orientalism by Naim to Kadare], Tiranë, 2013, West Print, pp. 31-60.

states registered after the revolutionary events of year 1848»³. In Italy, in fact, the genesis and development of crucial and radical disruptive opposition on schools that characterized the long relationship between the State and the Church, dates back to the pre-unification season and have as main reference points the Boncompagni law of 1848 and the next Casati law of 13th November 1859⁴. For the Albanians, in fact, the education of the patriotic conscience was promoted from some intellectual commitment – organized in cultural clubs and often senior officials of Turkish government – who considered the education of the masses as the primary instrument of a nation's conscience.

We naturally pose a question about the overlying presentation as to which are the instructive strategies that the Albanian Renaissance people followed for the formation of the new Albanian patriot and which tests and historical characters were proposed and considered as the representatives for the accomplishment of the educational objectives.

That which essentially proclaims a new political, educational and instructional attitude for the Albanian people surely started this reasoning: the League of Prizren, a very first and extraordinary moment of reunion that defined for the first time the idea of the nation as an organizational concept of the political requirements of the Albanian people towards Sublime Porte also towards the Great Powers. The national discourse divulgated through the use of schoolbooks would radically change the vision of the Albanians about themselves and about others as well, although initially only the elite in and out the territory was aware of these existentialist necessities. The very first Albanian nationalists were, undoubtedly, those writers, poets and patriots that fought for the expansion of the Albanian language, for the opening of national schools, and for the independence achievement. Thus, the Albanian nation was presented in their schoolbooks as one of the most ancient people in Europe, also the Albanians as the descendent of Pelasgians and Illyrians, demonstrating such a *continuity of Western civilization*⁵ also developing an image of radical difference towards Ottoman Empire⁶.

The original proposal of the Albanians activists would take charge of cultural education of their future citizens, of all walks of life, since the new Albanian state would be led by intellectuals. To achieve this principal objective, the literacy and the schooling of the city were presented as educational tools for more effective education of the poorer classes. In fact, citing the scholar of the history of education Roberto Sani, only in this way «the poor class's

³ A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004, pp. 11, 19-25. See also A. Ascenzi, *Education and the metamorphoses of citizenship in contemporary Italy*, Macerata, eum, 2009.

⁴ R. Sani, *Sub specie educations. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istruzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, p. 304.

⁵ Sulstarova, *Arratisje nga lindja*, cit., pp. 35.

⁶ A.M. Thiesse, *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, Bologna, il Mulino, 2001, p. 172.

necessities for schools is manifested in a conscious and noticeable mode where is widespread and deep-rooted the culture of education. [...] Behind education these classes dispossessed glimpsed the possibility [...] of a different life»⁷.

2. *The first schoolbooks in Albanian language and the formation of the national identity*

The first schoolbook which affirmed the claims of Western origins of Albania, was *Historia e Shqipërisë* (The History of Albania), published in 1899 from Naim Frashëri, where the patriotic education and the formation of convictions with national character were transmitted through the themes treated as *Our parents, Wise words, Toskëria, Gegëria, Albanian language*⁸.

Even though the nowadays Albanians are divided into Toskë, Gegë, Çam e Labër, they constitute only one nation with only one common language. The Albanian language is the Pelasgian, «which in its terms derives from the Sanskrit, language of ancient Hindu and mother language of all European languages. [...] it is interesting to find out that Albanians, being the most ancient people in Europe, did not write their language like Greeks or Romans did»⁹.

N. Frashëri managed to construct his scientific discourse based on the theory of common Indo-European origin of popular folktales of the German philologist Friedrich Max Müller, also on the work of Franz Bopp of comparative origin. Both these scholars affirmed their thesis that «the relationships between languages which represent analogies are interpreted as of some kind of kinship and of the same branch of a common trunk». But Müller doesn't mention the Albanians when he explains his theory, sustaining that «Greeks, Latin people, Celts, Germans and Slavs are all of East origin». Thiesse sustains that «he unquestionably represented the most difficult case of the elaboration of a national language. Not only the spoken dialects are very different and the written texts are very rare, but the religious diversity as well poses a crucial problem: that of choosing the alphabet»¹⁰.

Why did the relationship between language and nation become the fulcrum of the Albanian nationalistic discussions?

The question of the national languages was one of the major problems in Europe around the end of the 18th century when «the proclamation of the French republic changes organically the prospective: the king's language usage was for the subjects a question of education and of choice, for the citizens

⁷ R. Sani, "Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam". *Istituti religiosi e scuola nell'Italia moderna e contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2009, p. 118.

⁸ Osmani, *Reflekse etnopedagogjike*, cit., p. 186.

⁹ N. Frashëri, *Istori e Shqipërisë* [The Albania history], Korçë, Korça, 1922, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰ Thiesse, *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, cit., p. 75, 168.

the usage of the nation's language was a must». According to the author, the duty of a language is, on one hand, that of substitution of the heterogeneity of linguistic moods, and on the other hand, that of representing the nation. Thus, it must permit the nation to be described and represented same in magnitude to all other languages¹¹. In this sense, Naim Frashëri, in order to represent and illustrate the national grandeur, writes:

God has honoured / each hour Albania, / famous was in past / now it still is! / It has always been/ abundant of heroes/ so much estimated/ so no other nation be/ [...] / such intrepid warriors/ Albania brought to life/ through time! / Bold and proud/ history lasts forever¹².

Shemsedin Sami Frashëri also made his theory of the Pelasgian origin of the Albanians – developed from the first Albanian activists of the Christian acknowledgement – and he made it popular through his work *Kamus al – alam*, published in 1889. Anyway, in these terms, he refers to a new Pelasgian theory: partially the common Aryan provenance there is no more discussed in terms of having strong links with the Greeks or the Latins. Also the Albanian language constituted a specific branch which directly belonged to the family of the ancient Aryan languages. S. Frashëri, fundamentally proposed a new 'territoriality' of Pelasgians in the Balkans defined as 'ottoman', focusing the Muslim character of the Albanians which from Greeks and their Christian confession¹³.

The young Albanians needed to take act of their origins so that a national conscience could be formed – be these linguistic or historic – they also had to verify all this scientifically; but they also needed to develop their own judgment on the heroic acts of their ancestors, to learn the pleasure of the glory and the stateliness of the truth. The history, as a science and scholastic discipline, puts an end to the de-conditioning started with the study of classical languages, so it gives a more complex vision to the universal situation. The teacher, according to new facts, had to offer the pupils those indispensable principles to take advantage of the historical judgment, based on the geography and chronology as well; also, the books had to value their own traditions and characters of historic relevance¹⁴.

Taking into account that Greeks wanted to attribute to themselves the most ancient roots, they held that the Albanians came in these lands after the death of Christ. The Hellenics ought to know that Albanians are the fathers of great personalities: Philip, Alexander the Great, Aristotle, Pirro, Skënder-beq, Ali-Pasha, Dora d'Istria and Constantine the Great, were all of Albanian origin¹⁵.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹² N. Jorgaqi, *Antologia della letteratura albanese*, Cosenza, Pellegrini Editore, 2007, p. 32.

¹³ N. Clayer, *Në fillimet e nacionalizimit shqiptar* [In the beginning of Albanian nationalism], Tiranë, Përpjekja, 2009, pp. 247-248.

¹⁴ P. Mesnard, *Rollin farkëton mendimin për arsimin e mesëm*, in J. Chateau (ed.), *Pedagogët e mëdhenj* [I grandi Pedagoghi], Tiranë, Toena, 2000, pp. 172-173.

¹⁵ Frashëri, *Istori e Shqipërisë*, cit., pp. 5-6.

What N. Frashëri exposes through the historic mystification of Albanian language origin and the glorious and heroic past, it is considered to be the so called ‘romantic swindle’, due to a simplified and wistful explanation of the historical events which cannot cultivate the real sense of the history. With his thesis of ancient roots of the nation and the glorious life of the heroes, the author idealized the past and could not apprehend the way in which influenced the present or the future. Hence, the Albanian pupils needed a memory to build their own identity more than nostalgic attitudes¹⁶, even though «there do exist many collective memories»; as Assmann recalls, «there is only one history», trying to demonstrate that not the memory but only the history manages to «level all the differences [...] respective to any memory of a given group [and] it reorganizes its facts in a completely homogeneous historical space»¹⁷.

However, the absence of a typical speculative thought and spirit of Western countries, which were characterized by a progressive intellectualism, sharply superior compared to those Balkan countries, made so that the attention shifted from the human soul conditions. In this sense, we can notice that the cultivation of a philosophy of poetry, the contrasts between the cult of the individual and the nature, the temporary exaltation of the poet or of the woman itself were absent¹⁸.

The texts of our romantic writers stressed the recall of the days of yore so that to demonstrate the ancient side of the nation. Holding these attitudes, the intellectuals could allude of «demonstrating something; because, if it was true that no one could be considered autochthonous provided that it is very distant in time, even so it was less true from the conviction of being autochthonous or not, could structure the consciousness»¹⁹.

According to Locke, the self-consciousness makes the man a person without conscience, Locke says there's not a person and the person it is not just an individual responsible of his own actions, also capable of perceiving the next, but he is also a conscious person who can collocate within the community's rights and obligations. The psychosocial meaning of the identity extends and finds a practical conscience in its moral and political level. The construction of the national Albanian identity could benefit from the moral, physical, and cognitive education, as the only way to form a worthy and conscious citizen of his own rights and responsibilities²⁰.

¹⁶ R. Regni, *Infanzia e società in Maria Montessori. Il bambino padre dell'uomo*, Roma, Armando Editore, 2007, p. 56.

¹⁷ J. Assmann, *La memoria culturale. Scrittura, ricordo e identità nelle grandi civiltà antiche*, Torino, Einaudi, 1997, p. 18.

¹⁸ E. Çabej, *Shqiptarët midis perëndimit dhe lindjes* [Albanians between West and East], Tiranë, Çabej, 2006, p. 75.

¹⁹ A. Benoist, *Identità e comunità*, Napoli, Alfredo Guida Editore, 2005, p. 29.

²⁰ P. Amerio, *Problemi umani in comunità di massa*, Torino, Einaudi, 2004, p. 46.

It is long before the Albanians could consolidate the truths of the history, they needed to recall to themselves who they were so that they could take note of the past. The memories of the Albanian people began to spring from the cultivation of folk songs – the same happened in other European countries – and of traditional costumes considered as live cultural treasures²¹.

Different writers, both from Diaspora and within nation, started to put in order these nationalistic elements in important publications. We can mention here Dora D'Istria; who tried with her work to present a ken of the multilateral faces of the culture and civilization of the East European in the Western Europe focusing on the national issues of the Balkan countries. It were particularly the doctrines of Herder which influenced Dora D'Istria's conceptual scheme of thought, because there could meet many proper elements of the romantic culture in the conceptions of Herder. Moving from considerations of linguistic type, Herder came to define the nation as something original and natural – even though it makes more sense of talking about identity as a cultural construction more than a natural one²² – and the gathering of folk songs as one of the principal instruments for the sensitization of the masses' concept on the idea of the nation²³.

Vincenzo Dorsa, the *arberësh* of Calabria, was the first to develop the thesis of Pelasgian origin of the Albanians in a study entitled *Su gli Albanesi. Ricerche e pensieri* (On the Albanians. Research and thoughts) in 1848. He aimed to «make known to the public the rights of a big but unknown nation». In the construction of his arguments, inspired from the studies of Byron, Hobhouse, Gibbon, Malte-Brun, Dorsa recognized the bellicose Albanian spirit and the art of war represented in every historic figure, like Skenderbeg, Philip, Alexander the Great, and Pirro. The author cannot perceive a multireligious Albanian nation though he himself mentions three Muslim characters like Ali Paşa Tepelena, Mehmet Aliu and Ibrahim Paşa²⁴.

In effect, the national Renaissance beyond the Adriatic Sea reached really important results thanks to the unceasing zeal of the *Arbëresh*. We can mention among those, Jeronim De Rada, the person who helped the Albanian literature enter in the current romantic period. He tried to find a synthesis of national Albanian traditions by means of another elaboration of historic and mythic contents. The merit of the Calabrese poet was that of realizing a particular

²¹ Thiesse, *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, cit., p. 116.

²² Assmann, *La memoria culturale*, cit., p. 18.

²³ Dora d'Istria was the literary pseudonym of Romanian Princess Elena Ghica Koltzoff-Massalsky, born in Bucharest in 1828 in the Ghica family, native to the Albanian regions of the Ottoman Empire. The literary debut of Elena Ghica came in 1855, when she published her first work in Switzerland, *La vie dans l'Église monastique Eastern*, who signed with the pseudonym Dora d'Istria (or Dora Danube, by Ister, the Latin name of the Danube). A. D'Alessandi, *The role of Dora d'Istria in the affirmation of Albanian national identity*, «Hylli i Dritës», n. 3, 2008, pp. 45-61.

²⁴ Clayer, *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar*, cit., pp. 157-159.

kind of ballads and songs based on the discovery of the national past, also focused on the exaltation of the medieval epoch, mystifying the golden age of the fifteenth century and from the fight against the Turks. He put attention to make the public know the epic events of his antecedents²⁵.

The school text *Istoria e Skënderbeut* (The history of Skanderbeg) of Naim Frashëri, written in 1898, incarnates these historic attitudes, proposing again the myth of the national hero as the only one that could save Albania from «the engraved sufferings because of the Ottoman Empire's domination over the country»²⁶. According to Naim, Europe of the fifteenth century was unable to survive without the help of Skënderbeu, a figure represented in this poem as irreducibly essential. In fact, according to Rexhep Qosja, these heroes described during the Renaissance period were configured as the absolute incarnation of the wellness and virtues, and their epoch was configured as a golden point in time for the history of the Albanian people²⁷.

How was the national hero represented in the novelettes of Naim Frashëri? Skënderbeg was portrayed as the saviour of Europe who searches at all costs to preserve an epistolary contact with the European representatives, also with the pope representatives as well. In this way, he could find salvation ways out from the Ottoman domination. The text of Naim Frashëri demonstrates the way in which the figure of Skënderbeg as a hero was undoubtedly the dominant character for both Turks and Albanians. On the other hand, all other characters were described as static ones, they didn't change throughout the entire story and they were lined up against one another. The only element carrying conflicts in Naim's poem remains between the Turkish, as the representatives of the evil; and the Albanians as the representatives of good. This way the figure of Skënderbeg is presented as a static one with attitudes definitely given. The Turkish were the people coming from Asia who threaten not only the Albanian people, but the entire civilization, or better, that Western one. So to say, if in one hand Europe and Albania as a part of it, embodied peace and welfare, the Asian nation brought death, destruction and ignorance with it²⁸.

We notice that even Schmid wrote on the cultural construction of Albanian hero myth, as follows:

The war of Skënderbeg against the Muslim ottomans by the end of the nineteenth century has been reinterpreted as a liberation war from the Sultans, bared from any religious colour. Thus, the intellectual interpretation of the hero responds to certain parts of the diminished oral tradition over the Balkans. This oral tradition viewed Skënderbeg as the ideal incarnation

²⁵ P. Rago, *Tradizione, nazionalismo e comunismo nell'Albania contemporanea*, Roma, Edizione Nuova Cultura, 2011, pp. 27-28.

²⁶ N. Frashëri, *Istori e Skënderbeut* [The history of Skenderbeg], Bokuresht, Tip. Chqipetarevot, 1898.

²⁷ Sulstarova, *Arratisje nga lindja*, cit., p. 50.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

of the hero; meanwhile he left his enemies in an odd half-darkness, without pointing out which hero he fought against. So, Skënderbeg in this sense becomes the frontage barrier for the national desires planning, the incarnation of national virtues; at the same time, it became more and more abstracted as a historic figure²⁹.

The young adults, taking note of this information from the schoolbooks, portrayed in their minds the representation of an absolute myth more than a historical one, who founds the image of the world and the apprehension of the reality of societies, which impede the internalization of the historic past. Unconsciously or not, what N. Frashëri managed to defend through his poetic exposure, was «mythic hero who can't bring the present to the light of a history meaning gifted», but which simply fills up the gaps in the reminiscence and collective memory. Beyond any intellectual endeavor of the Albanian Renaissance scholars to elaborate a new perception of the cultural progression, it can be achieved just a society incapable of any change of its intrinsic or individual structure with such mythic representations³⁰.

What we can now define how it is represented the process of the making of individual, between the nineteenth and twentieth century, through the new agencies of the social circles: kindergartens and elementary schools, places of patriotic pedagogy excellence, although it might be considered precocious to talk about patriotic pedagogy in the Albanian social context because for the majority of the families «there were many consequences in terms of income, food, health, family roles [or] demographic policies»³¹.

Mother tongue teaching and the character education leaded the process of patriotic education not only in Albania but in Italy as well; where after the reunion, the theme of the reconstruction of the national identity contributed in creating personal and collective requests rooting them in the descriptive places, spaces and formations. The insertion of various school disciplines, as for example the teaching of History, Grammar or Geography was of great interest for the internalization of the behavioural norms in a given historic moment³².

Within this new historical and scientific frame, the Albanian authors began to introduce short parts of Albanian folk culture in the school texts through the proverbs and tales, the collection of songs and the habitual observation of social values of behaviour.

In Europe, as it follows in Albania as well, the subject of History becomes a public usage with the intention of transmitting to the future members of society the values that, from time to time, need to be shared to all, so that the adequate

²⁹ Rago, *Tradizione, nazionalismo e comunismo nell'Albania contemporanea*, cit., p. 34.

³⁰ Assmann, *La memoria culturale*, cit., pp. 50-51.

³¹ M. Ferrari, *Asili, scuole per infanzia e 'presepi'*, in A. Rota, M. Ferrari, M. Morandi (edd.), *Patrioti si diventa. Luoghi e linguaggio di pedagogia patriottica nell'Italia unita*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2009, pp. 78-79.

³² G. Vecchi, *La famiglia*, in Rota, Ferrari, Morandi (edd.), *Patrioti si diventa. Luoghi e linguaggio di pedagogia patriottica nell'Italia unita*, cit., p. 25.

attitudes can be formed in the participation types intended to be promoted. In a sense, the teaching of history has always been oriented to that type of citizen requested by somebody on purpose, who, from time to time, holds the political power and takes the needs of the community. [...] that's why it is not surprising that from at least the half of the nineteenth century [...] the teaching of History in schools throughout Europe has always held the formation and the strengthening of national identity as the main purpose. The duty to construct the national consciousness was entrusted to the class of masters. Historically, the patriotism has been 'the fact' which indicated the criteria and the methods of teaching History as a subject³³.

The national identity was undoubtedly strongly connected not only with the resurgence of patriotism, but also with the construction of a conscious individual belonging to a nation. *Mirëvetija* (Good Behaviours) of Jani Vreto, published for the first time in Bucharest in 1886, was the first starting point of this our discussion. According to Vreto, the language teaching could not be taken into consideration if it was not reflected in the complex nature of the human being and in the close relation between the physical, moral and intellectual education – same as Ferrari Aporti maintained since 1833 in his *Manuale di educazione ed ammaestramento per le scuole infantili* (Educational manual and instruction for kindergartens)³⁴, mainly because man is made of flesh and soul, so the moral duty implied two aspects: taking care of one's body and one's own soul³⁵.

Vreto offered these inclusive concepts through his text, like nation, moral norm, patriotism, tradition, family and homeland as the first manifesto of the ethics and morality education. Different social agencies or categories – parents, sons, relatives, citizens, teachers, officials, donators, rulers and friends – should interact with each other so that good human and educational relations are built and the organization of ethic categories is permitted. These latter ones will be divided in three aspects: love for life, for themselves and for the others. The moral duty towards life consisted in inducing those people who had the right to practice their own religion and fighting the unnecessary religious fanaticism. In effect, Jani Vreto held an idealistic attitude toward the religious aspect, wishing just the harmony between the religious communities, in contrast with other intellectuals of the time who wished its removal. The moral duties towards oneself included the care for the body and the soul, which had two bad aspects according to the author: one belonging to the mind and the other to the desire.

³³ A. Cavalli, *L'insegnamento della storia contemporanea: un'indagine europea*, in G. Bosco, C. Mantovani (edd.), *La storia contemporanea tra scuola e università. Manuali, programmi e docenti*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2004, p. 307.

³⁴ Ferrari, *Asili, scuole per infanzia e 'presepi'*, cit., p. 80.

³⁵ L. Reçka, "Mirëvetija". *Teksti i parë mësimor i edukatës moralo-qytetare në gjuhën shqipe*, [The good Behaviour. The first moral teaching text of civic education in Albanian language], «Revista pedagogjike», n. 2, 1990, pp. 128-129.

For this reason, the rehabilitation of the soul passed through the cultivation of the knowledge and the study, the latter required a deep professional preparation of the teachers. A cultured, instructed, good educated citizen was undoubtedly ready to enter in optimal social relations with the others, also to serve to its homeland³⁶.

Moreover, the concept of the person schemes the moral dimension of the person not only through the private contest but also, through human rapports practice mostly. Kant in his *Fondazione della metafisica dei costumi* (1785) (*Foundation of customs metaphysics*) asserted that it should act in both you as a person and anybody's person so that humanity can be treated. This way the man became the protagonist of a moral dimension that was based on reasoning and freedom, and it engaged the man not only in intimate level but in a specific inter-subjective one, as well. Vreto wanted to build such a national identity so that the citizen could be capable of acting according to legal responsibilities. This was intended not as just a 'restriction' but as a norm which makes room for the free decisions and for the commitment of will³⁷.

In effect, the building of collective identity, as the very first step towards the national identity, includes an inter-subjective and shared feeling of 'we' which may derive from the direct or imaginative experience of a group's belonging. This feeling is represented in relation to a real or imaginative feeling of 'the other', making as such a national identity which affects and it is influenced reciprocally from the national culture, creating an imaginative national community³⁸.

There are generally three identified phases in the process of the creation of these imaginative communities:

In multi-ethnic empires, like the Ottoman or the Habsburg ones that were affected from the oppressed minorities they use the nationalism to demand both to the right to culturally exist and to the right of the political autonomy on the same basis of logic. However, how did the nationalistic ideology build an independence movement? [...] There are three phases. The first phase is the one during which a small group of conscious intellectuals is dedicated to the study of language, culture and history of a particular people; the second phase is the one during which a group of patriots disseminate the ideas of these intellectuals; the third and last phase is the one during which matches the apogee of the national movement, which can now rely on a sequel to the masses part³⁹.

We can notice, reading between the lines, that the formation of the social identities and gender identities, as a part of national identity, is strictly related to the family, social and professional roles, that an individual occupies in a given cultural context. These roles are being clearly dictated from gender expectations,

³⁶ Reçka, "Mirevetija". *Teksti i parë mësimor*, cit., p. 130.

³⁷ Amerio, *Problemi umani in comunità di massa*, cit., p. 52.

³⁸ M. Bray, B. Adamson, M. Mason, *Educazione comparata. Approcci e metodi di ricerca*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2009, p. 177.

³⁹ P. Geary, *Il mito delle nazioni. Le origini medievali dell'Europa*, Roma, Carocci, 2009, p. 33.

attitudes and behaviours that each community constructs through the ages. In this context, even in the books of the Albanian patriots of the twentieth century started to come out tales where the family roles were defined for each family member: «my son, do you know why it is always referred to language as mother tongue? Because father has to work outside in the fields, meanwhile the mother's duty is to educate and teach language to her own children», Ndre Mjeda wrote⁴⁰. «Here came the sunset. The dawn may be glimpsed in the horizon. Everyone is awake and start working. Father works in the lands; the eldest son arranges the wood pieces; mother cleans the house and the kitchen; the daughter helps her mother; the youngest son is going to school holding his books. What a wonderful morning!» wrote Mid'hat Frashëri⁴¹.

Considering these facts, it was not an easy process at all to make the young Albanian responsible of his identity projects. As a matter of fact, Vreto considered writing the own language and not just teaching it, as a crucial element, or better an emergency for the survival of the cultural memory and for the construction of a new idea about the nation: «We consider the homeland as our own home, and all the patriots are our brothers», the author continued, intending for 'brothers' those speaking the same language and benefiting from the same natural resources. The association of one's own home concept with that of the homeland offered a new approach to the identity issues, that of the place adhesion as an essential element for the construction of the national conscience⁴².

The people of the Albanian Renaissance, in general, tended to develop a sort of *place-belongingness* in order to form a positive perception of their own affiliation. Thus, Albania was a beautiful country, rich of resources, it offered various opportunities and everybody loved each other. The education was the place *par excellence*, for the formation of this new and loving attachment to the homeland. The place where you grow up, the external world and not the internal one, it is all reflected in the school texts through poetry, geography and history. All these are represented as a crucial part of the construction of the useful conscience needed for the national identity. In other words, it was important to offer to young people those *limits within which identifying themselves*⁴³ though «the real identity begins where identifications end» according to Erikson⁴⁴.

Ndre Mjeda was another writer who represented the homeland through the family-home relations. In 1912 Mjeda wrote *Letteratura per le scuole elementari dell'Albania* (Readings for the Albanian elementary schools. Fourth grade).

⁴⁰ N. Mjeda, *Këndimet për shkollat fillore të Shqipnis. Klasat e katërtë* [Readings for the Albanian elementary schools. Fourth grade], [S.l., Ministero dell'Istruzione, 1912], pp. 17-23.

⁴¹ M. Frashëri, *Këndime për reshtarë* [Reading for the elementary pupils], Mbrothësija, Selanik, 1910, pp. 12-13.

⁴² Vreto, *Mirëvetija*, cit., pp. 106-107.

⁴³ T.G. Gallino, *Luoghi di attaccamento*, Milano, Raffaello Cortina Editore, 2007, pp. 117-118, 182.

⁴⁴ Amerio, *Problemi umani in comunità di massa*, cit. p. 91.

Here Mjeda is good at describing the love for homeland equal to the same love intensity one feels for his own home, «where people love each other and are happy together». The homeland, portrayed as a grandiose, united and solid family living in a picturesque countryside, asks his youth to work heartedly and courageously. Inside his book, the author shows some short stories symbolizing the close relationship between one's own family to that collective one, but above all the enormous cultural resources of the Albanian people:

How beautiful our homeland is! – Ali says aloud to his father. The trees, the fields and the hills with all the animals grazing. His father gazes his son contently and says. Yes, my son. But it has not been always like that. Once upon a time, here it was only enormous deserted woods and wild creatures. After many, many years they were attacked from Illyrians, our brave ancestors of whom I have always told you. There, where only the cries of the wild could be heard, now a soft and beautiful language is spoken⁴⁵.

Not only the linguistic aspects, but the psychological nuances of nature description, also, were perceived as relevant for the identity formation. The romantic poets described the nature in order to define 'the national landscape' rich in feelings and senses in the same way the artists of the eighteenth century designed the landscape in order to find 'profusion of feelings'. How can one choose between mountains and lowlands, seas and lakes, knowing that so many countries also have these landscapes? Thiesse affirms that «we often search just a principle of differentiation»⁴⁶.

Naim Frashëri offers a peculiar description of the Albanian Nature in his work *Bagëti e Bujqësi* (*Livestock and Agriculture*), and in other works as well, published in 1886:

Meadows and rocks, between branches and kernels / among the shrubs and scattered junipers / are the herds and their little rattles / and cowbells with modulated / notes of flute and whistle through the air / resonates on the beautiful lands / and of the green range fresh and gay / gladdens the meadows, mountains, hills, peaks / what a goodness and beauty, what a love / Nature shines throughout! O mother earth, [...] you donate to the land / flowers, herbs and leaves, plants and cereal / fruit trees and, here you have collected together the natural beauty / please, oh beauty, caress turned / hast on me like that nightingale / and like all herbs, and all the flowers / be me your son / What a variety outside, what sweetened smells / I wonder where you took them / from your sen brought forth? O sweetness / Your beautiful hand you removed from God⁴⁷.

The vegetation and the natural beauty seem to take the essential part in the national landscape description, even though we might find pastoral scenes inspired from antique pictorial models, but adequate to the modern conception of the peasant world for as much it can be creator of the culture. The national

⁴⁵ Mjeda, *Këndimet për shkollat fillore të Shqipnis*, cit., pp. 21-23.

⁴⁶ Thiesse, *La creazione dell'identità nazionali in Europa*, cit., pp. 182-185.

⁴⁷ Jorgaqi, *Antologia della letteratura albanese*, cit., pp. 36, 45-46.

literature considers this poem as its milestone. The text style is that of a bucolic – pastoral one, describes a fabulous and cherished countryside, a poor but cheerful land⁴⁸, it also offers a nostalgic image of the homeland and a deep poetic expression effect:

Oh, you mountains of Albania! You high trees, also! Vast flourished plains that I recall day and night; and you stunning shores, and clear rivers, slopes, hills, cliffs, plateaus and verdant forests [...] Albania, my mother, even in exile far away from you, the love for you in my heart, will never be lessened⁴⁹.

Anyway, poetry belonging to the part of the new identity constructions, it is more interested in life cycle events, in creating new places to visit, in preserving and modelling than that type of having a rest under the tree⁵⁰.

Albanian writers tried to offer an idyllic panorama of the motherland through school texts, like the book of *Geography* of Sami Frashëri or *The World of Naim Frashëri* in 1895. That is just because the place identity would be based on relation space – community, a crucial element in the formation of the Self-conception. A recall of the flavour of years eight hundred, «the countryside is the face of the homeland» which goes back to pictorial representations in order to give a more concrete image to a new-born national identity⁵¹.

Nevertheless, in order to give a more concrete image of the Albanian territory there began to be exposed in the manual school texts notions of geography. Thus, in both books of Geography published in 1912 from Gasper Mikeli⁵² and Mid'hat Frashëri⁵³, Albania was considered a province of Turkey, divided in *Vilajet*; and its territory was 91,400 square kilometers; also its population was compound of Albanians, but also of Slavs, Greeks and Vlahs; it was confined to Montenegro, Greece, Macedonia and the Adriatic and Ionian seas. This territory represented for many centuries “an undefined entity, managed by an uncertain territorial extension determined from mutual administrative boarders of the four *vilajet* of Shkodra, Janina, Manastir and Kosova. The external borders of these four *vilajet* designed the natural borders of Albania thanks only to the intellectual elaboration of Renaissance exponents of the last quarter of the nineteenth century who expressed this idea⁵⁴.

The school aimed to give different scenery not only on the origins, the language or the Albanian culture, but also on its proper borders, so that it could form a

⁴⁸ Rago, *Tradizione, nazionalismo e comunismo*, cit., p. 30.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁰ Thiesse, *La creazione delle identità nazionali in Europa*, cit., pp. 184-185.

⁵¹ C. Cassatella, *Lo spazio dell'innovazione e la creazione della nuova identità*, in B. Cillo (ed.), *Nuovi orizzonti del paesaggio*, Firenze, Alinea, 2008, pp. 35-36.

⁵² G. Mikeli, *Dheshkronje për mësotore populllore e qytetnore* [Geography for popular and civil classroom], Shkodër, “Nikai”, 1912.

⁵³ M. Frashëri, *Dheshkronja* [Geography], Stamboll, Shtatit, 1912.

⁵⁴ Rago, *Appunti sulle caratteristiche del nazionalismo albanese*, cit., p. 95.

concrete idea and not only that imaginary one about the proper roots. Different social agencies, like family or school, continued to influence the construction of collective images through their changing roles; which were summoned from Albanian activists to sustain the education of the masses. In relation to the finalities assigned to the teaching of behavioural and moral attitudes linked to the patriotic education, the texts proposed from N. Frashëri pointed to the demonstration of the educative character of the literary disciplines as well as geography and history. In the school text *Reading for youth* (E këndimit çunavet) the author upheld that: «the duty of the youth is to apprehend and to love the parents, friends, their own homeland and the world [...] God has gifted the human with thought, modesty and wellness that is why the human has the power to think properly and to accomplish valuable works»⁵⁵. For this reason «everything should start from the child's heart so that it could go on to the nation's heart; from the family, which is the motherland of the heart, to the nation»⁵⁶.

In order to pass from duty towards its own community belonging to the love for the latter, it was necessary to have beforehand teachers capable of doing it. It often occurred that Albanian intellectuals revealed the vast absence of professional teachers and the need to form normal schools where these teachers could be graduated. So that we can get a more complete framework of the complex nature of the national identity formation, we can cite the scholar Anna Ascenzi, who offered us a clear exposure of historical facts, made evident the educative and formative problems of the reality after the Italian unification, which seem to be closely similar to these Albanian ones:

Related to this topic, [...] it was clearly highlighted what manner [...] was used so that two essential preoccupations could be evident: the first was to create a linguistic basis on which people build a founded cultural homogeneity, of the type where minimum levels of comprehension nationwide are facilitated; the second was dictated from the necessity to participate more actively, through the refinement of reading and writing skills, the cultural components deducted from the incorporation principles of the new State⁵⁷.

The Albanian state and the independents made use of the schools in order to get the educational tools of the multicultural and multi-religious citizenship which were prevalent in the ottoman cultural context, in order to get the formation that basis of cultural homogeneity needed for a new comprehension nationwide. First of all, they needed to build a solid legislation, so that it could be apprehended as a tuneful coexistence of ethnic and religious diversities, which has to aim at the functional and structural organization of instructed perspectives.

⁵⁵ Frashëri, *E këndimit çunavet*, cit., pp. 4-18.

⁵⁶ Ascenzi, *Tra educazione etico-civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale*, cit., p. 41.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

3. *The preparation to the new citizenship of the youth during the Albanian Renaissance*

Cimbalo offers a juridical point of view on the historical starting points of the new educational attitudes, re-dimension towards the construction of the secular and patriotic Albanian citizen:

The study of relationship between State and religion in Albania presents peculiar characters, because the nation is constituted of an isolated Muslim majority in an area hegemonized from orthodoxy. Apart this, during the long crisis of the Ottoman Empire, the relationship between governmental authorities and religious ones departs progressively referring to models of personal statutes, over which prevails, more and more powerful, the application of different Kanuns. These expressed the traditional right, observed from different ethnic breaches, independently of religious belongings. However, until 1913, there are registered various cults, administered using the stricter of Millet. With the burst of the independent Albania, there emerged fully proofed the overcoming of this structure through the acknowledgement of all the religious denominations in the country of equal dignity and rights, in the belief of the construction of Albanian nation it is required the overcoming of religious belongings until all contribute to the formation of the nation⁵⁸.

The ambitious project of the construction of the Albanian national identity, that is of the cultural and religious homogeneity that Ascenzi talks about, through the establishment of secular instruction, emerges several years before the declaration of independence. The secularism, hardly defined because it expresses a complex state of mind and it presents a multifaceted variety of positions, was ardously embraced by the Renaissance scholars, because it represented at the same time a mentality of systematic and alarming opposition towards any influence that might exercise the religion in general and that catholic hierarchy in particular with the people, in their activities and in their institutions. Why secularism was considered useful for the construction of the Albanian national identity? Because secularism induced the religious people to a deep existential polemic on the religious level in the name of a bigger opening to the world; but on spiritual level, the distances between self and the world become smaller, asserting one's personality as valuable and unique⁵⁹. In synthesis, it formed individuals conscious of their own rights and of social responsibilities.

The Albanian rising nationalism risked to re-establish that 'false cultural superiority' emphasized in the competition climate that was diffused through the big European nations. The logic of antipathy and the obsession around their

⁵⁸ G. Cimbalo, *I rapporti tra lo Stato e le Comunità religiose albanesi*, «Stato, Chiese e pluralismo confessionale», maggio 2010, pp. 1-2, <http://www.statoechiese.it/images/stories/2010.5/cimbalo_i_rapportim2.pdf> (accessed: December 10, 2014).

⁵⁹ G. Zambon, *Laicato e tipologie ecclesiali. Ricerca storica sulla "Teologia del laicato" alla luce del Concilio Vaticano II (1950-1980)*, Roma, Gregorian University Press, 1997, p. 160.

own superiority developed new attitudes even from the small rising nations. In fact, Europe obscured its power interests behind the ideals of civilization and progression, although it managed to promote the national unity due to a massive campaign of civilization and integration. The educative institutions played a crucial role in this campaign. The European pedagogy furnished the insertion of the national projects with images and cultural components; it also helped them to transmit these images through the school system efficiently. The educative system was a decisive tool for the creation of the national identity not only for the European countries, but also for the Albanians⁶⁰.

Nevertheless, the complexity of cultural and religious realities on the Albanian territory did not properly sustain the demarcation of the borderlines, the identification of common cultures and traditions, refusing the social impact of multiculturalism. The pedagogy could repudiate multiple identities in the name of the national education adhesion, but it could not underestimate the never resolved conflicts among the diversities of belongings⁶¹.

Very soon it will be a clash between the net of the Albanian patriots and those of Young Turks. The issue of the alphabet, as part of the attempts of inserting the teaching of the Albanian language in national schools, became a symbol of political pitfalls. On one hand the Muslims of the South arose, holders of the alphabet of Frashëri brothers; on the other hand the Christians of South with two representatives, Gjergj Qirjazi and Grigor Cilka, and two Orthodox ones, like Sotir Peci and a chemist in Elbasan, and two Catholics like Luigj Gurakuqi and Gjergj Fishta were the defenders of the alphabet *The Union*⁶².

This political panorama could not be completed without the position of the Commission Union and Progress, that promoted the Arab alphabet through the activities of Arif Hikmeti and Rexhep Voka from Macedonia, openly declaring that «using the Arab letters, the Albanian could easily acquire the language of the Turkish administration. In this way, we can, in one hand, have many citizens in the state administration offices, and on the other hand, we can eliminate such stereotypes on the Albanian people, defined as Turkish reticent»⁶³.

Fundamentally, what did the Latin alphabet supporters and the Arab alphabet ones observe?

Apart of the development of Latin letters, the formation of a 'Latin' identity would be appreciated, that is a Christian (Catholic) and European one. Equerem Bej Vlora openly sustained the Latin alphabet and the 'Arian' ancestry so that to represent both the Albanian interests and their European origins. On the other part, the members of the Committee Union and Progression did everything

⁶⁰ W. Lorenz, *Educazione e nazionalismi*, in F. Susi (ed.), *Come si è stretto il mondo. L'educazione interculturale in Italia e in Europa: teorie, esperienze e strumenti*, Roma, Armando Editore, 2008, pp. 115-130, in partic. p. 126.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁶² Clayer, *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar*, cit., pp. 557-558.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

to preserve the Muslim identity of the Albanian population beyond from any Western influence⁶⁴.

The fight between the propagandists of mother tongue and the clerical fanaticism was gaining more and more complex dimensions. We can just remember that in 1892 the Albanian language teacher P. N. Luarasi was banned from the Metropolitan Church of Kostur, Fillareti, in the name of 318 friars of the Church. Some years later, in 1911, Luarasi published his book *The ban of the Albanian letters and the slander of the Albanians*, constituted in two languages including the regions where the Greek Patriarch had banned the Albanian letters and the proclaimed the methods used against the progress of the mother tongue⁶⁵.

For this reason, the Albanian patriots insisted in constructing a secular education system, capable of forming a new European citizen, with a vast sense of community and of nation. The first Albanian ideologist that supported the constitution of the national education inclining toward a secular character was Zef Jubani (1818-180), who in 1870 formulated his thesis on the development of the educative platform: the schools in the Albanian territory had to teach only in Albanian language. Due to this, he asserted that they had to establish a gymnasium «without clerical and foreign influences» so that it would be functional to Albanian students who aspired to gain real knowledge⁶⁶. Because of the Garibaldean propaganda he made in Shkodra, the Jesuits denounced him in Vatican. The orientation of catholic circles in this city was very different from that of other circles and nationalistic currents: someone might have been ready to collaborate with Slavs against the power of Supreme Gate, upholding the Garibaldean idea of an alliance with Slavs against the Austrian empire; others were dragged from the catholic inspiration against Muslims⁶⁷.

The publication of qualified scholastic manuals was of great help to both teachers and Albanian pupils, so that they could change once and for all the image of the Albanian ‘without books’, that is with no culture, with no history or literature, subjects that prevailed in the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, an image that risked a lot the pretended national status. For this reason Sami Frashëri advocated that the very first thing that a nation must take into consideration was to start writing and preserving its own language; though the new challenge of the twentieth century was the education of the masses above all. These masses can later be part of the new civilizations through the publication of the schoolbooks and to create a new collective identity so

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

⁶⁵ A. Varfri, *Petro Nini Luarasi. Mallkimi i shkronjave shqipe dhe çpërfolja e shqiptarëve* [Petro Nini Luarasi. Curse of Albanian letters and Albanians bed rumors], Tiranë, Mësonjëtorja, 1999, p. 10.

⁶⁶ Osmani, *Reflekse etnopedagogjike*, cit., p. 201.

⁶⁷ Clayer, *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar*, cit., p. 257.

that we can demonstrate we are a nation⁶⁸. These remembered affirmations go back to the contribution of a particular approach for the formation of the common identity proposed from the theorists of the social pedagogy. A series of laws particularly contributed to the development of the social pedagogy, among them there were the law of the right for welfare of the youth of 1922, that of the juvenile courts of the 1923 and that of the protection of the youth in 1924.

The education promoted from the government aimed at the development of a solid communitarian conscience, the elimination of the barriers between the social classes, the democratization of the culture and the birth of a common national identity. There were different instruments used to this topic, like the opening of residences for infants, assistance to the prisoners, the construction of popular libraries and of the work academies. The society was obligated to absolutely assume a crucial role in the development of the new ethical – civic education⁶⁹.

In order to achieve such an objective, it was essential the formation and the political and nationalistic education of the teachers, because they «were trusted the delicate job as educators of the sons of the homeland; they were summoned to perform a cardinal function in the promotion of the love for homeland to the pupils of the elementary»⁷⁰.

Why did the school have a relevant educative impact on the citizens? Actually, «school itself became a form of social life, a community in miniature, a community which has an on-going interaction with other experienced cases associated beyond the walls of the school»⁷¹. All the psycho social value incorporated in its didactic activity it is transformed in a powerful arm to achieve patriotic goals, *in primis*, through the diffusion of secularism. That is why Vaso Pasha around the end of the nineteenth century wrote a poem addressed to the Albanians with these words: «Stand up Albanians, wake up from dreams, unite all together in an alliance like brothers do, and do not look at churches and mosques, for the religion of Albania is *Albanism*»⁷². It is evident, according to Lubonja that his recall responded to the need of defending its own lands from the extensional intentions of the Serbs and Greeks:

What happened with the passing of the years is typical of a mystification process of identity. The first line (and do not look at churches and mosques) that somehow revealed where the Albanian sight was really pointed at up to that period, it vanished in the memory or better

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁶⁹ M. Pollo, *Manuale di pedagogia sociale*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2004, p. 14.

⁷⁰ Ascenzi, *Educazione etico-civile*, cit., p. 194.

⁷¹ A. Porcarelli, *Educare la persona, il cittadino, il lavoratore. Linee per un'educazione alla convivenza civile nella pedagogia di Luciano Corradini*, in S. Chistolini (ed.), *Cittadinanza e convivenza civile nella scuola europea: saggi in onore di Luciano Corradini*, Roma, Armando Editore, 2006, p. 321.

⁷² Rago, *Tradizione, nazionalismo e comunismo*, cit., p. 35.

from the forms of self-representation. Only the second line (the religion of the Albanians is *Albanism*), [...] which has become one of the founder myths of nationalism; or better say in a common Albanian identity, which contributed to mitigate the effect of social fragmentation allocated to religion. This served to promote in the collective conscience the idea that the Albanian historically never nurtured a real sense of religion⁷³.

Even a French author of the nineteenth century, Admiral Zhylien de la Graviere, was impressed by the fact that the national spirit united the Albanians more than the religious one. Moreover, an English traveller described the national feeling as one of the principal traits of the population:

In these lands prevails a free spirit and a huge love for their own land. [...] when you ask the inhabitants what they are, they reply: we are Turks or Christians, but if you ask Albanians what are they, their response is: we are Albanians. The national feeling is undoubtedly a peculiar characteristic of their personality. [...] I have often been testimony of the joy they feel when they occasionally meet a compatriot in a faraway country⁷⁴.

The observations of Hobhauz on the nationalistic feeling of the Albanians are of particular interest for the scholars, because between the years 1878 and 1920, the Greeks and Slavs have often tended to hinder the process of the population reunion with the argument that an Albanian nation did not ever exist. Nevertheless, even after the attempts to form a solid community and a relevant collective identity, we have to consider that it was a very strenuous course. This was apparently because, as Konica says, individualism was one of the prevailed traits of their character⁷⁵.

The lack of this spirit of collaboration, admitted even from the Albanian scholars of pedagogy, has always put at risk the future of the national reunion. When the authors of the school texts tried to build the teaching programmes, they emphasized the safe and contemporary individual education as the only method to form a collective education necessary for the national survival. As it regards in particular to the published programmes, those of Parashqevi Qeriazi, proposed in the first decade of the twentieth century on the organization of the school system in Albania, it was one of the most relevant ones. We can notice that the author, like many other compatriots during this period, had perceived the importance of the personality formation during the psycho-social dynamics from the very early childhood. The starting point were the elementary schools, where the teaching should have as a pedagogical objective the personality formation of the Albanian citizen through the apprehension of writing, reading, arithmetic, history, geography, design, environmental confidence and local folk

⁷³ F. Lubonja, *L'Albania, tra mistificazione identitarie e realtà*, in F. Botta, G. Scianatico (edd.), *Lezioni per l'Adriatico. Argomenti in favore di una nuova euroregione*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2010, p. 29.

⁷⁴ F. Konica, *Vepra 2* [The literary works, 2], Tiranë, Dudaj, 2001, pp. 226-227.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

music⁷⁶. The boys and girls in the kindergartens and in the elementary schools could have the lessons together, meanwhile during the middle school it was separate but to be frequented from all pupils⁷⁷.

The individually main route of the Albanian intellectuals had such a cultural commitment which was a factor of unity to achieve knowledge, to enter in the progress and civilization path. Thanks to the unceasing work developed from the intellectuals during the last years of the nineteenth century, there were published editions of various types, particularly school texts and different translations in order to increase the scientific knowledge of the Albanian youth⁷⁸.

Within this historical framework the catholic clergy could not be unnoticed, but it contributed with an outstanding attitude on the issue of the formation of the national conscience. The Jesuits in Shkodra administered centres of catholic and cultural formation with schools and colleges in Albanian language. The Jesuits were principally of Italian nationality and were dependent of the province of Veneto. This brought the Franciscans, all of Albanian origin, to contrast the initiatives and the educative attitudes of other religious Orders, who tended to give an over-national character to the processes of education and to uphold the Albanian nationalism, also enjoying vast autonomies, because they responded only to their supreme general who resided in Rome. The instruction of popular masses in mother tongue constituted for them the main road towards the cultivation of a national feeling⁷⁹.

Conclusion

As pointed out, the people of the Albanian Renaissance, in general, tended to develop a sort of *place-belongingness* in order to form a positive perception of their own affiliation. Thus, the first Albanian school manuals tend to describe a different Albania as a beautiful and expansive country, rich of resources, that offered various opportunities and when everybody loved each other. The education was the place *par excellence*, for the formation of this new and loving attachment to the homeland. The place where you grow up, the external world and not the internal one, it is all reflected in the school texts through poetry, geography and history. All these are represented as a crucial part of the construction of the useful conscience needed for the national identity. Also, this national feeling was much unfamiliar among the popular masses. At the beginning of the twentieth century an article tells that when a young

⁷⁶ Osmani, *Reflekse etnopedagogjike*, cit., p. 177.

⁷⁷ R. Dishnica, *Motrat Qiriazi* [Qiriazi sisters], Tirana, Enciklopedike, 1997, pp. 90.

⁷⁸ Rago, *Traduzione, nazionalismo e comunismo*, cit., p. 22.

⁷⁹ S. Santoro, *L'Italia e l'Europa orientale. Diplomazia culturale e propaganda 1918-1943*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2005, p. 136.

person come from the diaspora to visit his homeland he was astonished when observes that the people of Kruja didn't know at all Skënderbeg, a national hero according to Renaissance intellectuals⁸⁰.

In effect, the collective identity that might be formed in a society of cultural and religious fragmentation, as the Albanian one is, it was simply the union of many social identities that converged – defined from the social roles that a person occupies – where the individual is self-recognized. These collective identities come to birth even from conflictual historical contexts. So, when the integrity of a group or community is threatened, the solidarities, the organization, the leadership and a real and proper collective memory may take place⁸¹.

Undoubtedly, the definition of the identity will always remain a really complicated issue, especially when it comes to treat a person's profile. But, on the other hand, it is the same more dramatic when we try to define the profile of a culture where the parental and individual spirits are encountered. These indicate the awareness that we can await of something good only from ourselves. This peculiar aspect of the identity may be conceived as a lack of identity, not because there is not such a thing, but because there are many identities which carry conflicts among them⁸².

During this important historical period it was made possible to construct a new form of national conscience thanks to the new psycho-pedagogical content of the scholastic texts. Referring to the theory of Leopardi, we can assert that the Albanian patriots have accomplished enormous endeavours and they achieved important objectives in the field of the masses instruction and the construction of the national conscience. But «the lack of a tight society and of good tone» has impeded the overpass of the Albanian society in the accomplished modernity, in the sense that the Albanian citizen remained committed to the pre-modern sphere of natural relationships – the family. The individual conscience had to be shaped mainly from formal and conventional relations of society, and less from the State institutions. It seems like the intellectual development of the Albanian society has been entrapped in a «never passing past»⁸³.

Also Hobsbaw highlight in *Nation and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*, that «a national restricted in the number of population and in territory especially if it has a separate language, can only possess a crippled literature, crippled institutions for promoting art and science. A small state can

⁸⁰ P. Rago, *Appunti sulle caratteristiche del nazionalismo albanese*, in G. Motta (ed.), *L'Albania indipendente e le relazioni italo-albanesi (1912-1922)*, Roma, CEMAS, 2013, p. 100.

⁸¹ L. Sciolla, *L'identità a più dimensioni. Il soggetto e la trasformazione dei legami sociali*, Roma, Ediesse, 2010, p. 40.

⁸² G. Cantaro, *Giacomo Leopardi e l'identità della nazione italiana*, in T. Serra, *L'unità nazionale nella filosofia italiana: dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento e oltre: atti del Convegno nazionale del Centro per la filosofia italiana*, Roma, 2, 10, 17 dicembre 2011, Roma, Edizione Nuova Cultura, 2012, p. 56.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

never bring to complete perfection within its territory the various branches of production»⁸⁴.

It would be possible assume that during the XIX century the Albanian nationalism tried to be a political doctrine, considering that the Albanian patriots have accomplished enormous endeavours to introduction in their scholar textbooks the «three momentous philosophical ideas, which in the early nineteenth century began to acquire political significance: Immanuel Kant's idea of self-determination, Johann Gottlieb Fichte's idea that the social whole is more important than its individual parts, and Johann Gottfried Herder's emphasis on the value of ethno-linguistic diversity»⁸⁵.

⁸⁴ E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 30-31.

⁸⁵ O. Zimmer, *Nationalism in Europe, 1890-1940*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 6-7.

The establishment of the Higher Attestation Commission (the VAK) and the politics of the Bolsheviks in the sphere of higher education in the late 1920s - early 1930s*

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ABSTRACT: The article is focused on the establishment of the Higher Attestation Commission (the VAK) within the context of the Bolshevik politics in the sphere of higher education. This was a link in the chain of measures called «the Great Break» by Stalin. Under Stalin, the system of the attestation of academics became one of the most important mechanisms, by which the academia was managed by the government. When the applications made by the candidates for degrees were considered ideological criteria usually mattered more than academic ones.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Higher Education; University; Social Control; Communism; Soviet Union; XX Century.

The historians of the Bolshevik politics in the sphere of science and education do not usually pay a good deal of attention to the creation in 1933 of the Higher Attestation Commission (the VAK in Russian) at the All-Union Committee for Higher and Technical Education (the VKVTO). At best, scholars have just mentioned that in January 1937 academic degrees and ranks were introduced¹.

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¹ See, for example: L.G. Berlyavskiy, *Vlast' i otechestvennaya nauka (1917-1941)* [Power and domestic science], Rostov-na-Donu, Izd-vo Sknts VSh, 2004, p. 263.

On the other hand, a few works dedicated to the establishment of the VAK study the history of the first years of its existence not in a narrow bureaucratic sense, out of political context². At the same time, both the creation of the VAK in 1934, and the introduction of academic degrees, for all the obvious simplicity of this phenomenon has a number of meanings that could be revealed in different ways in various contexts.

First, these measures should be seen as one of the steps taken in connection with the so-called «Great Break». This is what Stalin called the late 1920s-early 1930s. The Father of Nations saw the essence of this phenomenon in that social sector of economy would triumph over capitalist one. In his article *The Year of the Great Break* published in the «*Pravda*» Stalin wrote only about three ‘fundamental’ spheres: productivity of labor, industry and agriculture. However, the scheme of the frontal attack of socialism imposed by him was easily transferrable to other fields, including the academic one, where the opposition of ‘bourgeois’ and ‘socialist’ sciences was manifested more and more clearly. Addressing the 8th Congress of the VLKSM (the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League), Stalin said: «We face a fortress. This fortress is called science, with all its numerous branches of knowledge. We should take this fortress at any cost»³. It was at that time when a project emerged of the accelerated development of Soviet science through its global transformation based on a unified ideology. Stalin’s reasons for this are far from obvious and cannot be understood out of the context of general Bolshevik politics of the 1920s-early 1930s.

The system of academic attestation in the USSR certainly belonged to the sphere of state ideology. The mere fact of the introduction of academic degrees and ranks by the Council of People’s Commissars, and not, say, by the Academy of Sciences, shows that the government did not intend to give the right of academic attestation to the academic community. The fact that the VAK consisted only of people with academic ranks – academicians and professors – does not change the general picture. Even if they were directly linked to academia, within the VAK they functioned as bureaucrats who served the state. Indeed, the idea of attestation, produced by bureaucrats and imposed on academia, intended to combine two very different worlds: Bolshevik ideology and science. Scientific thinking always deals with things, which are not obvious, starts with the notion of the complexity and ambiguity of an object of study, and looks at it from various angles. A scholar lives in the world of questions and searches, and does not have ready-made answers. On the contrary, the

² See, for example: L.A. Kozlova, «*Bez zashchity dissertatsii...»: statusnaya organizatsiya obshchestvennykh nauk v SSSR, 1933–1935 gody* [“Without the defence of the thesis...” organization status of social sciences of the USSR in the years 1933-1935] [electronic resource], <<http://www.nir.ru/sj/sj/sj2-01koz.html>> (accessed: September 6, 2014).

³ I.V. Stalin, *Sochineniya* [Works], T. 11, Moskva, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel’stvo politicheskoy literatury, 1949, p. 77.

Bolsheviks embodied what Arthur Lovejoy called *esprits simplistes* (the spirit of simplification). For example, A Soviet philosopher and scholar A.A. Bogdanov who came up with the idea of the Proletarian University, thought that within three years an illiterate or barely literate proletarian could be educated at university level. The idea of Bogdanov was that science is «an instrument of the organization of social labour» and that «if a society consists of different classes, if the organization of labour in it is based on the domination of some classes over the others, then science also turns into an *instrument of this domination*»⁴. One of the ways the bourgeoisie enslaved the proletariat was that bourgeois science was inaccessible for the latter. According to Bogdanov, this science is characterized by «abstract form, unfamiliar for a common man, by abundance of 'specific' expressions and terms, by a multitude of intricate, unnecessary, in fact, arguments, by excessive amount of material, which makes it difficult to understand fundamental ideas and methods of science»⁵.

Universities were breeding-grounds for this bourgeois science, too complex for proletarians. These could not be reformed because class was intrinsic to them. In Bogdanov's opinion, universities made «bourgeois intellectuals» even out of «energetic and prominent workers»⁶. Thus, they should have been destroyed completely, as breeding-grounds for bourgeoisie, and replaced by the Proletarian University, where main scientific methods would have been taught in a form accessible for proletarians. Bogdanov developed a curriculum for such a university where not sciences themselves but only their basic methods were to be taught. He thought it important that workers would learn the instruments this or that science used, but not the way of research and the acquisition of scientific knowledge.

The idea of the Proletarian University failed at the start, and it could hardly be otherwise. Bogdanov himself explained this because. First, there was nobody to teach there – a limited number of enthusiasts who took the project on did not have necessary experience, and, second, the proletariat did not really want to study at a university. It is well known that Bordanov's Proletkult was not a dominant trend of Bolshevik ideology, and the ideas of Bogdanov were not shared by many Bolshevik leaders. In the opinion of A.V. Lunacharsky, «attempts to create scientific proletarian basis, made by comrade Bogdanov, for all their possible value, cannot in any way claim to be accepted as orthodox proletarian teaching»⁷.

⁴ A.A. Bogdanov, *O proletarskoy kul'ture 1904-1924* [On Proletarian Culture], Moskva-Leningrad, Kniga, 1924, p. 204.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁷ A.V. Lunacharskiy, *Eshche k voprosu o kul'ture. Iz istorii sovetskoy esteticheskoy mysli 1917-1932: sb. materialov* [Again to the question of culture. From the history of the Soviet aesthetic thought. Collection of materials], Moskva, Iskusstvo, 1980, p. 68.

Leaders of Bolshevism, Lenin and Trotsky, often argued against Proletkult. Since the first of them died relatively early, the other became the main opponent of the advocates of proletarian culture. In his opinion, proletariat, while producing cultural texts of its own, should not have set these in opposition to cultural space that had been created before it appeared on historical scene. Moreover, the task was to help proletariat assimilate cultural experience of all humankind. Thus, in 1923 Trotsky addressed the All-Russian Congress of researchers and demanded from them «to facilitate and accelerate the adjustment of scientific thought to those immense tasks of the new society that are posed to us by our historic fate». Although the People's Commissar on War and Navy immediately offered a qualification that he did not mean «the creation of official science of a new, Soviet model», he followed Bolshevik mode, and set unfree bourgeois science in opposition to the 'free' proletarian one: «Proletariat needs only a science that would rightly comprehend the objective world in its materiality and dynamics. Only the classes that outlived themselves have to set aims for science that are incompatible with its inner nature»⁸. We see here, that for Trotsky the only true science was materialist dialectics. Further, he expressed his opinion in more detail: in natural sciences in was Darwinism, in psychology – reflexology, and in sociology – Marxism. The fact that a party functionary explained to scholars what was science, and what it should be doing, already seemed self-evident to the Bolshevik government.

In general, debates on proletarian culture did not affect the view of university science as a phenomenon of an enemy class. Universities, with their divisions into students and professors, degrees and ranks, were for Bolshevik leaders remnants of feudalism, inherited by bourgeoisie to oppress proletariat. Thus, one of the first decrees of the Soviet government in the field of education was abolition of all degrees and ranks by a special decree of the Council of the People's Commissars (the SPC) on 1 October 1918⁹. Since that moment, «all persons who taught at institutions of higher education» were professors. The decree of the SPC of 21 January 1924 explained that «all persons with appropriate scientific training, which attested, regardless of presence of a Russian or foreign diploma, a degree or a rank, on the basis of both their own works and the references of appropriate institutions and experts, could be

⁸ L.D. Trotskiy, *K pervomu vserossiyskomu s"ezdu nauchnykh rabotnikov* [The first All-Russian Congress of Scientists], *Trotskiy Problemy kul'tury. Kul'tura perekhodnogo perioda* [Problems culture. Culture in Transition] [electronic resource], <<http://www.komintern-online.com/trotl960.htm>> (accessed: September 6, 2014).

⁹ *Dekret ot 1 oktyabrya 1918 goda: O nekotorykh izmeneniyakh v sostave i ustroystve uchenykh i vysshikh uchebnykh zavedeniy Rossiyskoy Respubliki* [The decree of October 1, 1918: Some changes in the composition and device researchers and institutions of higher education of the Russian Republic], [electronic resource], <<http://base.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc;base=ESU;n=18415>> (accessed: September 6, 2014).

employed by institutes of higher education»¹⁰. Thus, academic attestation was replaced by a simple recommendation.

Nihilist attitude to the traditional university system of academic attestation in practice led not to the democratization of higher education but to chaos. The abolition of entrance examinations led to random admission of students, and ignoring of qualification diplomas – to accidental employment of lecturers.

Initially it was decided to restore order by professional division of higher education. The idea was to make People's Commissariats responsible for the education of specialists in their fields. In 1930 the «Fundamental reconstruction of the system of the institutes of higher education that prepare Proletarian specialists» was declared. According to this decree of the SPC of the USSR, «many-faculty institutes of higher education and technical schools are reorganized into sectorial institutes and technical schools. Wherever necessary, similar specialties at different institutes are amalgamated». At the same time, «technical institutes and schools pass under control of sectorial economic units and appropriate Commissariats and other organizations of the USSR and the republics of the union». This decree took faculties of engineering and natural sciences out of universities and turned them into institutes¹¹. For example, out of the Moscow University the faculties of Soviet government and law, medicine, chemistry, literature, history and philosophy, and the geological survey department of the faculty of physics and mathematics acquired the status of independent institutes. The 'renovated' university had only a few departments: of physics, mechanics, astronomy and mathematics, soil science, zoology and botany.

Appropriate Commissariats governed new institutes. The People's Commissariat for Education continued to control universities, art and pedagogic schools. This division of united educational space was explained by the opposition of sciences that belonged to the base of society and those that had to do with its superstructure. The first group encompassed everything directly connected to material production, the second – humanities, responsible for ideology. Even within one discipline, the opposition of the 'base' and the 'superstructure' was preserved. The 'base' part consisted of specialization itself, and its 'superstructure' – of «programmes and methodical guidelines that preserve clear Marxist-Leninist line in the field of the training of new specialists». This part was also controlled by the Commissariat for Education. Since, according to Marxist ideology, the base is more important than the

¹⁰ Dekret ot 1 oktyabrya 1918 goda [The decree of October 1, 1918], [electronic resource], <<http://base.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc;base=ESU;n=18584>> (accessed: September 6, 2014).

¹¹ On this see: A.N. Dmitriev, *Raspisanie peremen: Ocherki istorii obrazovatel'noy i nauchnoy politiki v Rossiyskoy imperii – SSSR (konets 1880-kh-930-e gody)* [Schedule of Change: Essays on the History of educational and scientific policy of the Russian Empire – the Soviet Union (the end of 1880, 930 years)], Moskva, Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2012.

superstructure because the former defined the latter, thus in academic world the discipline of the 'base' (technical ones) were proclaimed to be more important than the ones of superstructure (the humanities). Thus at the time the VKVTO was considered to be the main organ in the sphere of education.

In reality, the opposite was the case. Ideology defined all for the Bolsheviks, and preference given to technical disciplines over the humanities was explained primarily by ideological reasons. It was necessary to «catch up with and overtake» the countries of the West. This was not a reference to the rise of living standard but rather to the need to balance the 'most advanced' ideology with backward base. So, although technical disciplines were preferred, the main criterion in the evaluation of a specialist was his Marxist worldview (or its absence). For example, when the section of natural and exact sciences was created at the Communist Academy, the «main tasks of the section» were

- a) struggle against anti-materialist doctrines in the field of the above-mentioned sciences;
- b) the promotion of materialist system of knowledge based on dialectical method;
- c) the evaluation of all new theories and doctrines from materialist point of view and the separation of the materialist kernel of truth, to be found in new discoveries, from idealist nonsense¹².

However, the growing ideological dictate, the decline of living standard, dismissals, arrests etc., notwithstanding, the scientific development in the USSR did not stop in the 1920s. It seems that struggle for power in the Politburo prevented the establishment of total control over science. Certain pluralism still existed in the academia. The main centre that guaranteed continuity of scientific tradition since pre-revolutionary period was the Russian Academy of Sciences (the RAS). The Academy was primarily associated with bourgeois science. The Bolshevik government and the scientists of the 'new type' had no doubts: this science had to be exterminated. It was more difficult to decide what to do with 'bourgeois' scholars. Were they to be exterminated together with the science, or their knowledge and experience were to be used in the building of socialism?

The Communist Academy existed in parallel to the RAS. It was responsible for various research and teaching institutes that spread the Marxist ideology. While the RAS was responsible for science, the Communist Academy was responsible for ideology. Although it was evident that science did not need ideology, and vice versa, peaceful co-existence of the two academies was impossible. Communist ideology was quickly absorbed by the Soviet society. The reason for it was not only in the demagogic claims about the need to produce a unified Marxist worldview, but also in the real fear and mistrust of bourgeois science shared by many leaders of the Soviet economy.

¹² *Organizatsiya nauki v pervye gody Sovetskoy vlasti (1917-1925): sb. dokumentov* [The organization of science in the early years of Soviet government, collection of documents], Leningrad, Nauka, 1968, p. 221.

The consequences of this lack of trust was the diversification of academic life. Many state institutes created their ‘own’, ‘agency-level’ science. Research departments were established at the Commissariat for Education (the Glavnauka), at the Supreme Soviet of the National Economy [the VSNKh] (the Department of Science and Technology of the VSNKh), at the Central Executive Committee (the Committee of Science of the SEC), at the Commissariats for Agriculture, Heavy Industry, Health etc. These new departments constantly competed with each other. When Stalin was struggling for power, he accepted this inter-departmental squabble because it helped him manipulate people in power. The political crisis of the late 1920s-early 1930s led to mass repressions in various social spheres. The «Great Break» (this is what Stalin called this period) affected science as well. Prominent Soviet economists A.V. Chayanov, P.N. Litoshenko, N.D. Kondratyev, L.N. Yurovsky and others were arrested in connection to the case of the «Peasant party» in 1930. The large-scale action was the purge of the Academy of Sciences in 1929-31. According to F.F. Perchenok, the ‘total number of the victims of the «case of the AS», including those who were exiled, is around a few hundreds. About four fifths of these were scholars in humanities¹³.

Ideological justification for this campaign was managed by Stalin through such ‘academic’ organization as the Institute of Red Professors (the IRP), the Society of Militant Dialectical Materialists (the SMDM), the All-Union Association of Scientists and Engineers for the Promotion of Socialism (the VARNITSO). However, it would be incorrect to assume that ‘Marxist’ science defeated the ‘bourgeois’ one. Stalin proclaimed war at two fronts: one against «Mechanical philosophy» and one against «Menshevik idealism». There was no scholar who could not have been labelled the former or the latter, if one wished so. It is not a coincidence, that the «Great Break» also broke the Communist Academy, and its Leningrad branch in particular; this was nearly exterminated.

In fact, the reason for this was not in widespread assimilation of Marxist ideology, as this was represented then and later, but rather the personal rule of Stalin. All illusions that someone other than he could differentiate between ‘true’ Marxism and revisionism were to disappear. Thus, when the first wave of repressions against science had receded, the organizations that had carried it out were decimated – the SMDM and the VARNITSO.

Repressions of scholars went in parallel to the campaign that promoted the importance of science in the life of the USSR. One of the most important propaganda moves was the widely declared intention to bring science back to the institutes of higher education and encourage lecturers to conduct research.

¹³ F.F. Perchenok, «*Delo Akademii Nauk* i «velikiy perelom» v sovetskoy nauke [The “Case of the Academy of Sciences” and the “great turning point” in the Soviet science], [electronic resource], <http://www.ihst.ru/projects/sohist/papers/perch95f.htm> (accessed: September 6, 2014).

The research in question was not only to be fully controlled by the state but also commissioned by it. Thus, the state became the main if not the only commissioner of scientific research. Consequently, the state determined the official status of a scholar in the society and his/her place in academic world.

Accordingly, the mechanism of encouraging of research was developed in parallel to repressions. The creation of the VAK in 1933 and the introduction of academic degrees and ranks in 1934 were to make science more prestigious, and the rise and fixation of salaries were to slow the personnel turnover and to reduce the number of part-time employees in the institutes of higher education. It is easy to explain why the VAK was created at the VKVTO. As we have seen, at that time science was associated with technology. «Science and technology» was a set expression used for many years. Thus, during the first years of the VAK degrees were granted in technological disciplines, and often to people linked to industry, and not to science directly. Degrees in humanities were granted less often. This situation mirrored the pre-revolutionary attestation practice when degrees had been granted mostly in humanities.

Now the opposite was true: technology was almost a synonym for science, and humanities were understood as part of ideological superstructure. Although there was no ban on degrees in humanities, the fact that the VAK was created at the VKVTO naturally established the priority of the attestations of ‘technology’. The idea of the VAK was accidental, and it seems that initially it was not thought to become a permanent institution. The procedure of attestation that emerged in early 1930s suggested this decision. At the time a professor was confirmed in his/her rank by the attestation committees of Commissariats, then documents were sent to the VKVTO for approval, and there they often laid for a very long time because there was not structure within the Committee itself to deal with attestation. The number of unconfirmed professors grew dramatically, and there was a real need to put things in order. At the same time, differentiation of attestation was needed, to stimulate professional development in science. So a special committee was created within the VKVTO, and it was called the Higher Attestation Committee (the VAK). The first chair of the VAK was the chair of the VRVTO – an old Bolshevik and a member of Lenin’s inner circle, a well-known power engineer Gleb Maximilianovich Krzhizhanovsky. He was to produce a draft of the decree on the granting of academic degrees and ranks. From the very beginning, Krzhizhanovsky organized everything in such a way that his Committee would not be reduced to technical control. It was to create a mechanism of academic attestation, to unify it, and only then to deal with particular cases. In practice, however, the Commissariats retained the right to grant degrees. Moreover, the Academy of Sciences, the Communist Academy, the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences (the VASKhNIL), and the All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine (the VIEM) also had this right. However, one key institution of Soviet science and education as not on

the list – the Committee of Academic and Educational Institutes at the SEC (the Committee on Science). This omission could not have been accidental.

When the draft decree on the granting of academic degrees and ranks was sent to various organs for discussion, the Committee on Science predictably moved against it. At the meeting of 8th April 1933, the members of Committee chaired by Yu. M. Steklov concluded that the project offered by the VKVTO was «insufficiently developed, incomplete and based on false assumptions». They decided to «ask the Council of the People's Commissars for this important question to be given a preliminary discussion at a special committee or at a special meeting that would include all interested organs, in particular, the Committee on Science of the SEC of the USSR, the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and the Communist Academy»¹⁴. The same meeting saw the adoption of an alternative project «On academic degrees and ranks». Unlike the VKVTO project that suggested two degrees – that of candidate and doctor, the project of the Committee on Science suggested only one degree – of doctor, but three ranks – of professor, associate professor, and assistant professor. The project did not explain how one degree could correlate to three academic ranks. Instead, there was a clear list of organs with the right to grant degrees: the VKVTO (with jurisdiction over the attestation commissions of Commissariats, excluding the one of the Commissariat for Education), the Committee on Science with its research and educational institutes, and the Commissariat for Education, which was to grant degrees to those outside of jurisdiction of the other two.

The members of the Committee understood only too well that the exclusion of their organ from the list of organizations with the right of academic attestation lowered its bureaucratic status considerably in the USSR and, in fact, deprived it of any independence. That is why Yu.M. Steklov, who at the time was the acting chair of the Committee, was persistent in his attempt to protect the positions of his organization.

The new project – he wrote to the SEC on 26th November 1933 – completely excludes the Committee on Science from the list of organizations that are to receive higher attestation commissions, and, unlike other research and educational institutes, for which the principle of centralization is introduced, the principle of decentralization is established for all institutions within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Science, in direct contradiction to the spirit of the whole project, while at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Communist Academy etc. the degrees are granted by the decision of the Presidiums of these institutions. Further, other important institutions are completely forgotten, such as the Institute of Red Professors, the Institute of Marxism and Leninism, the Museum of Revolution, Institutes of Oriental Studies and some other academic institutions¹⁵.

¹⁴ *Gosudarstvennyy arkhiv Rossiyskoy Federatsii* (henceforth GARF), f. 7668, op. 1, d. 887, l. 10. [State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7668, inventory 1, dossier 887, list 10].

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, d. 854. l. 44.

When Steklov understood that the alternative project offered by the Committee on Science would not be accepted he suggested the creation of «a unified higher attestation commission which would include representatives of all Commissariats for Education, Health, Academies, the VKVTO, the Committee on Science and the largest similar institutions»¹⁶. This suggestion was also rejected. On 14th January 1934, the decree of the Council of People's Commissariats «On academic degrees and ranks» of 13th January was published, and this document did not even mention the Committee on Science. On the same day, Steklov sent a letter to the consultation department of the SEC, where he repeated his arguments against this decree and again offered to give the Committee on Science and the VKVTO equal rights in attestation. On 17th January, another letter with similar contents was sent to the secretariat of the SEC. No results followed. On 10 June 1934, the VKVTO issued the special «Instruction concerning the application of the decree of the SEC of the USSR of 13th January 1934 on academic degrees and ranks». This document gave the right to grant degrees and ranks to the following organizations: the Higher Attestation Commission, the attestation commissions of the Commissariats for Education of the republics, the attestation commissions of the Commissariats of Health of the republics (including the commission at the VIEM), the presidiums of the Academy of Science of the USSR, the presidiums of the republican Academies, the presidium of the Communist Academy, and the presidium of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences. Altogether, more than 50 organization had the right to grant academic degrees and ranks, and 25 of these had the right to grant the degree of doctor and the rank of professor.

The conflict between the VKVTO and the Committee on Science was not just a case of inter-departmental squabble, otherwise it would have been difficult to explain stubborn disinclination of the authors of the project to include the Committee into the number of organizations that could grant academic degrees and ranks. This conflict has political connotations. The Committee on Science was headed by A.V. Lunacharsky who was dismissed from the position of the Commissar for Education in 1929. At that time Stalin had already began to exterminate the 'Lenin' old Guard' but still preferred to manipulate other old Bolsheviks into doing it for him. Before the revolution and immediately after it Lunacharsky was close to Lenin and Trotsky. Later, however, he changed sides and went to Stalin, but this did not help. According to Trotsky, Stalin could not forgive Lunacharsky for the latter's book *Silhouettes* published in 1923. The book was about the leaders of the revolution, and the name of Stalin was not mentioned there. Trotsky, however, got the attention proportionate to the role he really played in the October Uprising: «the two strongest of the strong blended to their roles to the highest degree – Lenin and Trotsky»¹⁷.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, list 44 the other side.

¹⁷ A.V. Lunacharskiy, *Lev Davidovich Trotskyi*, [electronic resource], <<http://www.magister.ru>>.

Next year, when the bacchanalia of criticism was unleashed on the Trotsky's book *The Lessons of October*¹⁸, the *Silhouettes* by Lunacharsky were «taken out of circulation, and Lunacharsky felt himself almost in disgrace». «But even then», continues Trotsky, «his happy characteristic – compliance – did not abandon him. He soon came to terms with the change of leadership, and, in any case, totally submitted himself to the new masters of the situation»¹⁹. Stalin, however, was not the one to forgive or forget slights. The time to settle scores with Lunacharsky had not come yet. All effort was put into the campaign against Trotsky. In 1929, he was exiled from the USSR, and in the same year Lunacharsky lost the position of the Commissar. Soon a campaign against him began in the press. The newspaper «Soviet Art» (1931) began its critical campaign against Lunacharsky «who hold wrong, non-Marxist and non-Leninist system of views on literature and art»²⁰.

When the VAK was established and academic degrees and ranks introduced, Stalin got a chance to knock two old Bolsheviks from the Lenin's circle together – Lunacharsky and Krzhizhanovsky. Three, not two, to be precise: the third was Lunacharsky's deputy-chair at the Committee on Science, Yu.M. Steklov (before 1917 – O.M. Nakhamkes) who, in fact, was the one to protect the interests of his organization. Lunacharsky stuck to background but felt that he was losing ground. It was not a coincidence that at the first meeting of the VAK Krzhizhanovsky said, «we have a great power, so to speak. And it has to be added that the actions of this power are eagerly anticipated»²¹. These words demonstrate quite unambiguously that the conflict with the organization led by Lunacharsky for the right of attestation was, at least for Krzhizhanovsky, a struggle for power. The old Bolshevik let the cat out of the bag unintentionally, and this phrase was taken out of the final version of the minutes²². However, the words about power show that the first chair of the VAK saw his Commission as more than just a mechanism of attestation – as a mechanism of government. Krzhizhanovsky saw the task of the VAK not as the development of a formal and bureaucratic procedure of academic attestation, although this also came within his sphere of responsibility, but rather as carrying on of independent personnel policy in the field of higher education.

The trend to unify the criteria of attestation naturally implied the exclusion of all attestation commissions other than the VAK. A decree of the VAK of 11 January 1936 pointed out numerous shortcomings of other attestation

msk.ru/library/politica/lunachar/lunaa014.htm (accessed: September 6, 2014).

¹⁸ For more detailed account see: Y.V. Parsamov, *Za kulismi zhurnal'noy polemiki vokrug «Konarmii» Babelya* [Behind Side Scenes of Journal Polemic around “Red Cavalry” by Babel], «Rossiya», vol. XXI, n. 1, 2011, pp. 158-162.

¹⁹ A. Lunacharskiy, K. Radek, L. Trotsky, *Siluety: politicheskie portrety* [Silhouettes: Political portraits], Moskva, Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury, 1991, p. 370.

²⁰ B. Yuryi, *Borev Lunacharskiy*, Moskva, Molodaya gvardiya, 2010.

²¹ GARF, f. 9509, op. 1, d. 2, l. 12, fund 9509, inventory1, dossier 2, list 12.

²² *Ibid.*, l. 10.

commissions of Commissariats. The decisions to grant a degree were often based not on a candidate's works but only on the references of his employers, the dissertations were not sent for external reviewing, «and reviews often were so general in character that no decisions should have been based on them», the members of attestation commissions often saw the works of candidates for the very first time at the meetings when their cases were discussed, and so on. A special comment was made about the lack of attention of the commissions to the public and political image of candidates; worse, «there were cases when some persons got [their degrees] confirmed although they had had negative matters in their past, without political evaluation of these persons by public organizations» etc.²³

In the spring of 1936 the VKVTO was replaced with the All-Union Committee for Higher Education (the VRVSh) chaired by Ivan Ivanovich Mezhlauk, and Krzhizhanovsky was, in fact, dismissed from managing the system of education. The new board of the VAK under Mezhlauk became part of this new Committee. In his keynote speech at the joint meeting of the VAK and the members of expert commissions on 2nd December 1936 Mezhlauk set out new goals for the VAK. His speech reflected double standards typical for the Bolshevik government. By 1936 when the Russian Academy was nearly destroyed, and many prominent scholars died, Stalin promoted the role of science in society and education. This task was entrusted to the newly established VKVSh. Mezhlauk was right to say that a department at a high school or a university was to be a place where research and teaching would come together. A professor could only be a «true researcher, otherwise he could not teach students, and could not bring them up as future scientists, if one is not carrying out this work personally»²⁴.

The true meaning of the speech of Mezhlauk was not in the demagogic statement that had nothing to do with reality of the university life of the time, but in the section of the speech where he referred to the need to be more vigilant. The psychology of besieged fortress imposed from above was to permeate the activities of the VAK as well. The attestation of researchers and university lecturers was, in fact, one of numerous ideological filters that protected the academia, and «enemies of the people» were to be revealed within it. Instead of professionalism, ideological vigilance was required from the members of the VAK. At the same time, they were not protected from the Great Purge. In 1938, the chair of the VAK, Mezhlauk, and a few of its members – a historian V.G. Knorin, a lawyer E.B. Pashukanis, a pedagogue A.P. Pinkevich, and a mathematician Ya.N. Shpilrein – were executed. Feeling growing political pressure, the VAK tended to use ideological criteria in its work. Attestation

²³ Постановление Высшей аттестационной комиссии ВКВТО при СНК СССР [Resolution of the Higher Attestation Commission of All-Union Committee for Higher Technical Education at the Council of People's Commissars], 1936, n. 1, art. 5, pp. 5-6.

²⁴ GARF, f. 9509. op. 1, d. 115, l. 75, fund 9509, inventory1, dossier 2, list 12].

that had barely anything to do with the quality of submitted works became a powerful instrument of controlling the academia. At the same time, the requirements to the formal side of the submission of dissertation became more regulated. Bureaucratic barriers in the shape of multi-level expert commissions that a candidate had to face made it easier for the VAK to reach 'necessary' decisions.

Civic Education and public opinion in Argentina during the transition to democracy (1982-1983)*

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ABSTRACT: In mid-1982, after several years of military dictatorship, Argentina began the transition to democracy, leading to the return of constitutional and parliamentary normality, and bringing also substantial changes in every sphere of life. Education was not spared such considerations; on the contrary, it appeared as one of the key parts of the process, both medium and long term, so that very soon, the democratization process, the standardization and modernization of educational institutions were undertaken, from primary schools to universities, not forgetting popular education and other means of training and care towards the most vulnerable and disadvantaged population. Part of public

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opinion echoed the most urgent challenges in education and contributed significantly to configuring the pedagogical imaginary interiorized by the common citizen, ideas that lasted during the period of consolidation of democracy, and the governments of Raúl Alfonsín. The study presented here aims to deepen the analysis about the representations of collective imaginations about civic education in Argentina, the idea of citizenship and democracy and the role school could play in strengthening and sustaining it. The basic sources for the research consist of editorials, opinion articles, interviews and reports on civic education published in Argentina in major national newspapers – such as «Clarín», «La Nación» and «La Prensa» – during the period of transition.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: Education; newspapers; Public opinion; Argentina; Democracy; School.

1. Sketch of education in Argentina during the Transition to democracy

The coup d'état carried out by the Argentine Armed Forces on 24 March 1976 terminated the constitutional government and established a military dictatorship of centralized power held by a Junta of Commanders representing the Army, the Air Force and the Navy. The military junta initiated what was called the National Reorganization Process (NRP), which supposedly aimed to reinstate *normality* and *order*, and to end the *populist* and *subversive* practices that had supposedly characterized Argentina's development, and the redress of which was to require profound changes to the country's political, social, economic and cultural structures. In this way, the new regime adopted, from the start, measures that were designed to limit, reduce, and even eliminate, public liberties and civil rights. To this end, it imposed an aggressive and effective system of control of public spaces – and many private spaces as well – and severely repressed any opposition to the NRP. This took the shape of a series of mechanisms of administrative purge, detentions, forced *disappearances* and internal and external exiles of people deemed *subversive*, as well as different modes of intervention into and censure of mediums of cultural diffusion, in particular mass communication – press, radio and television –, which were to play a crucial role in legitimizing the military coup. In addition to this, a number of economic adjustments were imposed during the first years of the dictatorship. These were characterized by technological stagnation, the start of a process of deindustrialization, a decrease in productivity and competitiveness, and the capitalization of wealth in just a few oligarchies, which did nothing but worsen existing social inequalities¹.

¹ M. Borrelli, *Voces y silencios: la prensa argentina durante la dictadura militar (1976-1983)*, «Perspectivas de la Comunicación», vol. 4, n. 1, 2011, pp. 24-41; G. O'Donnell, *Transiciones, continuidades y algunas paradojas*, «Cuadernos Políticos», vol. 56, 1989, pp. 19-36; R. Patiño, *Intelectuales en transición. Las revistas culturales argentinas (1981-1987)*, São Paulo, Universidade

Education was not to be spared the attention of the new government. On the contrary, controlling the national education system was made a priority-something, indeed, upon which the very survival of the regime was possibly to rest. On one hand, the system of educational governance was dismantled, public funds for education were reduced, and an elitist and authoritarian educational model was adopted. This meant, to a large degree, a break with the educational priorities of the democratic government, which had considered schooling as a means of integration and social advancement. On the other hand, the new regime introduced, in all spheres and at all levels of education, mechanisms of repression and ideological control, such as the administrative purge of teachers and educators, censorship of authors and didactic materials, and the adoption of content aimed at spreading Christian values of the Catholic Church and strengthening national identity both of which were merged into the compulsory subject *Moral and Civic Education* [*Formación Moral y Cívica*]. The consequences of these developments were particularly harsh for universities: some closed and those which remained open did so under strict political and ideological surveillance, a policy of quotas and entry examinations was reinstated, curriculums and course contents were redefined and some docents were subject to administrative review processes and dismissed. All these measures were ultimately aimed at reducing the size of universities' structural framework, redistributing enrolment, redirecting research and scientific innovation away from university settings, and neutralizing any trace of dissent or opposition at the core of what was understood to be a pressure group with great potential for political, social and cultural rallying².

By 1981 it was clear that the economic plan put in place by the regime was failing: recession was intensifying, external debt had increased, and both unemployment and inflation rose at a rapid speed. It was also readily apparent that the military core was being plagued by internal cohesion issues as well as by constant external challenges to social control, in particular those posed by dissident groups defending human rights and freedom of the press and who were becoming increasingly critical of its economic policy and *anti-subversive measures* (read «state terrorism»). These were all symptoms of some measure of fragility and instability of the regime, fissures that anticipated its disintegration.

de São Paulo-Departamento de Letras Modernas, 1997; S.E. Visacovsky, R. Guber, *¿Crisis o transición? Caracterizaciones intelectuales. Del dualismo argentino en la apertura democrática*, «Anuario de Estudios Americanos», vol. 62, n. 1, 2005, pp. 55-85.

² P. Buchbinder, *Historia de las Universidades Argentinas*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Sudamericana, 2005; R. De Luca, *La educación secundaria en Argentina durante la última dictadura militar (1976-1983). Currículum, educación para el trabajo, disciplina y evaluación*, «Revista Educação e Cultura Contemporânea», vol. 9, n. 19, 2012, pp. 53-77; Id., *La educación argentina en épocas de la última dictadura militar: regionalización y descentralización del nivel primario de educación (1976-1983)*, «Contextos Educativos», vol. 16, n. 1, 2013, pp. 73-88; P. Pineau, M. Mariño, N. Arata, B. Mercado, *El principio del fin. Políticas y memorias de la educación en la última dictadura militar (1973-1983)*, Buenos Aires, Colihue, 2006.

This was to be precipitated by the political and economic wear of the Falklands War: the Argentine defeat by the United Kingdom in June 1982 was a crippling blow to the government's credibility, which was to be subject to increasingly intense critique in the daily press³.

In this way, in mid 1982, Argentina joined the «third wave» of democratization of Western societies and began, after several years of dictatorship, its transition to democracy. The process was initiated abruptly by the collapse of the military regime and was therefore characterized, amongst other things, by the absence of an institutional agreement that would define with some precision the «rules of the game» for the democratic reconstruction that was to culminate in the electoral victory of Raúl Alfonsín in December 1983. And yet the country had expected from the heralded democracy something more than a mere return to constitutional and parliamentary normality and the changes that were to naturally ensue from it – namely, the political and organizational State transformations, respect for Human Rights, and acknowledgement and safeguard of public liberties and social rights. It had been assumed that the idea of democracy implicitly carried within it a number of other principles, such as social equality and justice, solidarity with and respect for minorities, direct participation in governance, and an increase of production of material goods and expansion of social services, as well as an equitable redistribution of them⁴.

Education was not exempt from these considerations. It figured as one of the key aspects of the process, both mid and long term. Therefore the aim was, from early on, to democratize, normalize and modernize educational institutions, from primary to university education, including popular education and other training media that specifically attended to the most vulnerable and disadvantaged sections of the population. In addition to this profound ideological transformation, the new government also set out and implemented the first strategies designed to face Argentina's most pressing cultural and educational problems – namely, illiteracy, repetition and disengagement rates in schools, descending quality of education levels, centralization and excessive bureaucratization of state school structures, inadequate funding and exiguous teacher pay⁵.

³ Borrelli, *Voces y silencios: la prensa argentina durante la dictadura militar (1976-1983)*, cit.; O'Donnell, *Transiciones, continuidades y algunas paradojas*, cit.; Patiño, *Intelectuales en transición. Las revistas culturales argentinas (1981-1987)*, cit.

⁴ C. Braslavsky, L.A. Cunha, C. Filgueira, R. Lémez, *La educación en la transición a la democracia. Casos de Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay*, Santiago de Chile, UNESCO/OREALC, 1989; M. Kers, S. Leiras, *Veinte años de democracia en la Argentina ¿Qué democracia?*, «Revista Venezolana de Ciencia Política», vol. 25, n. 1, 2004, pp. 76-90; G. O'Donnell, P. Schmitter, L. Whitehead, *Los procesos de transición y consolidación democrática en América Latina. Transiciones desde un gobierno autoritario*, Buenos Aires, Paidós, 1988; J. Russo, *Tipos de oposición y consolidación democrática: Argentina y Brasil*, «Papers», vol. 35, 1990, pp. 61-93.

⁵ Braslavsky, Cunha, Filgueira, Lémez, *La educación en la transición a la democracia. Casos de Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay*, cit.; A. Rivas, *Radiografía de la educación argentina*, Buenos

The case of the University is particularly noteworthy for it figured in public consciousness as the great issue in education. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in a certain way, there remained echoes of the ideals of the Enlightenment, which understood, among other things, that Higher Education institutions could – and should – play a central role in social, political and economic regeneration, as well as help broaden the country's horizons of freedom, justice and progress. Scientific research was slowly being reintroduced as an essential function of university institutions, the reinstatement of open lectureship competitions enabled highly qualified researchers and academics who had been dismissed during the dictatorship to return to their posts (in many cases this also meant a return from exile), student societies began to regroup and reorganize, unrestricted admission to state universities was established, and a normalizing process was put in place to ensure that educational institutions functioned in accordance with their statutes⁶.

Such were the priorities that determined the main political activities regarding education in Alfonsín's government. In addition to normative reforms aimed at democratizing all aspects of Argentina's educational system, however, it also initiated two particularly ambitious projects. The first of these was the National Literacy Campaign, launched in 1984, which aimed to create, in just two years, more than seventeen and a half thousand adult education centres that would provide for the cultural needs of more than two hundred and sixty-two thousand people. The second great initiative was the II National Pedagogical Congress of October 1984 (the first had taken place in 1982). The congress, which remained active until 1988, had a clear international projection and aimed to raise public awareness of the importance of education in a nation's future, gather ideas and perspectives from the different agents involved in education, analyze the problems, difficulties, limitations and defects of the educational system, suggest alternatives and solutions for them, provide advice to legislators concerning pedagogy, and establish communication and collaboration networks among educators in different regions of Latin America⁷.

Aires, Fundación CIPPEC-Fundación Arcor- Fundación Roberto Noble, 2010.

⁶ L. Arriondo, *Universidad y Política: el movimiento estudiantil en los 80*, «La revista del CCC», vol. 11, 2011, pp. 1-12; Buchbinder, *Historia de las Universidades Argentinas*, cit.; G. Ruiz, N. Cardinaux, *La Autonomía Universitaria: definiciones normativas y jurisprudenciales en clave histórica y actual*, Buenos Aires, La Ley. Universidad de Buenos Aires, 2010; A. Servetto, V. Chabrand, *Participación estudiantil en la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba durante la transición democrática: legados y desafíos*, «Cuestiones de sociología», vol. 8, n. 1, 2012, pp. 1-10; M. Toer, J.C. Gorlier, *O Movimento Estudantil na Transição à Democracia na Argentina: Estudo de Uma Organização na Universidade de Buenos Aires*, «Revista de Ciências Humanas», vol. 8, n. 11, 1992, pp. 71-94.

⁷ Braslavsky, Cunha, Filgueira, Lémez, *La educación en la transición a la democracia. Casos de Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay*, cit.; M. Southwell, «Con la democracia se come, se cura y se educa....» *Disputas en torno a la transición y las posibilidades de una educación democrática*, in A. Camou, M.C. Tortti, A. Viguera (edd.), *La Argentina democrática: los años y los libros*, Buenos Aires, Prometeo Libros Editorial, 2007, pp. 307-334.

All such developments were closely followed by part of Argentina's media, which took on board the most urgent educational challenges. It thus significantly contributed to shaping the pedagogical imaginaries of the average citizen, which were to takehold at least from Alfonsín's government, when the process of consolidation of democracy was initiated.

2. *Public opinion and civic education in Argentina (1982-1983). Methodological notes*

This research is framed within a broader project that seeks to analyse public opinion in Spain and Argentina in relation to education during their respective transitions to democracy at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s. To this aim, the project considers items of the national daily press, a repository of fresh and rich material with notable explicative and interpretative potential. Such archive makes it possible, among other things, to explore the prevailing mentalities, ideologies and collective pedagogical imaginaries that both condition and are conditioned by a particular time and space, to explore spheres of the history of education that are not contained in nor exhausted by official registers, to reconstruct part of quotidian educational occurrences, to bring into relief the interest focus and priorities of the media, and to clarify, delimit and analyse currents of public opinion.

In the case of Argentina the daily press is a field of research that has scarcely been addressed by historians of education, and is therefore a novel and original material, the precise scope, importance and value of which is yet to be determined. At the time of writing, a number of relevant works that draw on the daily press as main research source have been identified. These include projects by V. Álvarez Aragón, F. Gustavo Boccardi, L. Bracamontes, J.S. Califa, S.A. Robert, N. Diaz y C. Kaufmann y J.L. Hernández Huerta y S. González Gómez⁸. The latter is particularly relevant to the present study

⁸ V.Á. Aragón, *Educación y prensa en el contexto electoral: un estudio comparado Argentina, Brasil y México*, «Educação & Sociedade», vol. 18, n. 58, 1997, pp. 84-122; F.G. Boccardi, *La sexualidad en la red de los discursos mediáticos: Una lectura de la construcción de la educación sexual en la prensa argentina*, «F@ro: revista teórica del Departamento de Ciencias de la Comunicación», n. 12, 2010, pp. 1-6; L. Bracamontes, *Derroteros feministas en la Argentina a principios del siglo XX: Una aproximación desde la prensa de Bahía Blanca*, «Mora», vol. 15, n. 1, 2009, pp. 34-52; L. Bracamontes, *Mujeres, trabajo y educación a principios del siglo XX: las maestras en la prensa católica del sudoeste bonaerense argentino*, «Diálogos Revista Electrónica de Historia», vol. 12, n. 1, 2011, pp. 101-127; J.S. Califa, *El movimiento estudiantil reformista frente al primer episodio de la 'laica o libre' (mayo de 1956)*, «Sociohistórica. Cuadernos del CISH», vol. 26, n. 1, 2009, pp. 51-79; Diaz, Kaufmann, *El II Congreso Pedagógico Nacional (1984-88) a través de los diarios regionales El Litoral y El Diario*, cit.; Hernández Huerta, González Gómez, *Opinión pública y educación durante la transición a la democracia en Argentina. Primeras consideraciones*

insofar as it traces, delimits and describes the documental sources for the study of representations of education in Argentinean public opinion during the period of transition to democracy, as well as offering a profile of editorial writers, and an overview of the main education-related issues that captured the attention of the daily press and upon which public debate was focused at the time.

The fundamental aim of this work is, specifically, to explore and elaborate upon the collective pedagogical imaginaries in Argentina during its transition to democracy in the 1980s. It also seeks to interrogate the social representations of civic education during the period, and to consider the figure of the citizen and the role that schooling was seen to play in strengthening and sustaining a democratic future.

The body of writings considered in this study is composed of articles and editorial pieces published in the newspapers «Clarín», «La Nación» and «La Prensa» that, in one way or another, address issues related to civic training during the Argentinean transition to democracy (1982-1983)⁹. This includes, first, texts that specifically addressed the taught subjects «Moral and Civic Training» and «Civic Education». Second, and given that the subject was intimately linked to national history, it covers texts that addressed the kind of history that was being taught by educational institutions in Argentina. Finally, it is also encompasses opinion pieces and editorials that focused on the role that educational institutions played – or were seen to have to play – in the construction of a more «civilized» society.

It should be noted that the body of texts considered here exceeds, *stricto sensu*, the period of Argentina's most recent political transition to democracy, namely the period between June-July 1982 – the moment in which the NRP started to crumble – and October 1983 – date of the victory of Raúl Alfonsín in the elections that formally put an end to the military dictatorship. The reason for this is twofold. First, it makes it possible to trace the currents of public opinion on the subject of «civic education» during the last phase of the dictatorship and, through this, observe the shifts effected in such matters as the democratizing process gained strength. Secondly, it makes it possible to further

y guía de fuentes documentales, cit.; S.A. Robert, *(En)gendering responsibility: A critical news analysis of Argentina's education reform, 2001-2002*, «Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education», vol. 33, n. 4, 2012, pp. 485-498. It should be noted that some of these references are not, strictly speaking, circumscribed to the objectives of the research outlined here. What is intended is to highlight the fact that the Argentinean daily press is a source concerning the history of education that is yet to be examined in detail.

⁹ The following newspapers have been excluded from the present research: the «Crónica», the «Buenos Aires Herald» and the «Argentinisches Tageblatt». The first has not been considered due to the fact that, given its self-definition as a paper that offered only so-called objective information, it did not include any editorial or opinion sections and therefore falls outside of the framework set out for this study. The last two have been omitted due to the fact that, while influential, they had only limited impact upon the mostly Spanish-speaking Argentinean population.

observe these shifts during the first stages of the consolidation of the young democracy.

A total of forty-five relevant texts have been identified: twenty editorial pieces and twenty-five opinion articles¹⁰. The data registered in Table 1 reveals interesting information. On one hand, it highlights the fact that not all newspapers awarded the same importance to issues related to «civic education». For example «La Prensa» alone published twenty-four – namely 56% – of the texts considered here. On the other hand, it reveals that it was during the period between July 1982 and December 1982 that the greatest number of editorials and opinion pieces were published.

Table 1. *Primary sources, arranged by time, media and publication period*

| | <i>La Prensa</i> | <i>La Prensa</i> | <i>La Nación</i> | <i>La Nación</i> | <i>Clarín</i> | <i>Clarín</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| | January-June 1982 | July 1982 / December 1983 | January-June 1982 | July 1982 / December 1983 | January-June 1982 | July 1982 / December 1983 |
| <i>Editorials</i> | - | 5 | 5 | 9 | 1 | - |
| <i>Opinion pieces</i> | 8 | 11 | - | 2 | 2 | 2 |

The three newspapers considered here share a number of common traits. Firstly, «La Prensa», «La Nación» and «Clarín» were all established by individuals who had personal links to Argentinean general politics and who therefore carried a certain weight within the society of the time. Secondly, the daily papers were, from the start, managed by the direct heirs of their founders, making the Paz, Mitre and Noble families some of the most powerful and influential of the country, responsible, in great measure, for the collective imaginaries and the currents of Argentinean public opinion. Finally, sales of all three papers decreased considerably during the period considered here. This was due, on the one hand, to the growing inflation and the economic crisis; and, on the other, due to the relative uniformity of content brought about by both official censorship and preventive self-censorship, which discouraged many readers from purchasing second newspapers with which to contrast information and opinions. It should be noted that the number of inhabitants of Buenos Aires who purchased newspapers went from close to two million in 1970 to around one million in 1980¹¹.

¹⁰ A full list of primary sources can be found in the Annex.

¹¹ O. Getino, *Las industrias culturales en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires, Colihue, 1995; Hernández Huerta, González Gómez, *Opinión pública y educación durante la transición a la*

Despite the limits placed upon freedom of expression and information during Argentina's most recent dictatorship, which were accompanied by intense repression campaigns – *Disappearances*, assassinations and imprisonment of journalists, *black lists*, interference with and closure of newspapers –, daily journals tried, in their output, to make the most of the limited (albeit progressively broader as the NRP lost its political capital) ideological and rhetorical margins available to them. Initially all three newspapers legitimized the coup of 24 March 1976: they readily accepted the *anti-populist* and *anti-subversive* policies aimed at re-establishing *normality* and *order* and went along with the views and statements issued by the Armed Forces, denouncing, for example, the *anti-Argentine* campaign during the 1978 World Cup or, later, the *external interference* by the International Human Rights Commission, or during the Falklands Conflict. However, little by little, as the repressive state apparatus yielded and the political and social hold of the regime crumbled, newspapers started, albeit timidly, to voice criticism against some aspects of the NRP, in particular in regards to the *anti-subversive struggle* and its practices, which became the subject of increasingly detailed reporting in ever more high-profile pieces. For example, «La Nación», a paper of traditional liberalist leanings and with close ties to the Catholic Church and the *neo-developmental* sections of the Armed Forces, expressed its disagreement with the economic policies and, on occasion, condemned the excessive censorship and internecine battles within the inner circles of the regime. «Clarín», on the other hand, also highlighted the economic politics, defending foundational developmentalism ideals that drew it close to the *neo-developmental* faction. Finally, «La Prensa», a conservative, anti-peronist and anticommunist newspaper also delved into economic policy but differed from the other two journals in that it adopted a particularly critical stance against the *anti-subversive struggle* and the issue of Human Rights¹². In this way, it is possible to establish two phases in the analysis of the Argentine daily press during the dictatorship:

A first phase that could be summarized as one of repression, persecution and censorship/self-censorship (1976-1980) [...]; and a second phase, from the 1980s on, that is characterized by a breakdown of the discourse of the dictatorship and the progressive weakening of its repressive apparatus in such a way that it made possible instances of criticism that were to become even more explicit after the Argentine defeat in the Falklands conflict, on June 1982¹³.

democracia en Argentina. Primeras consideraciones y guía de fuentes documentales, cit.; H. Muraro, *La comunicación masiva durante la dictadura militar y la transición democrática en la Argentina 1973-1986*, in O. Landi, *Medios, transformación cultural y política*, Buenos Aires, Legasa, 1987, pp. 3-58.

¹² Borrelli, *Voces y silencios: la prensa argentina durante la dictadura militar (1976-1983)*, cit.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

From then on, and once the process of return to institutional normality was underway, the cultural and political life of Argentina entered a new stage, one increasingly adapted to the «rules of the game» proper to liberal democracies. Within them, the «fourth power» plays a central role, and the freedom of thought, expression and the press are both a sovereign right and also a guarantee of the endurance and balance of democratic political systems. During this time, therefore, «La Prensa», «La Nación» and «Clarín» backed the political developments and strengthened the collective affects and voices that were calling for the *transition*.

3. Argentina faces Education for Citizenship (1982-1983)¹⁴

Education for citizenship has, under a number of names, and according to the preferences and objectives of different governments, at all times been present in the Argentinean educational system. The subject that explicitly addressed issues concerning society, politics and culture at the time of the coup by the Armed Forces in March 1976 was the *Study of Social Reality and Argentina* [*Estudio de la Sociedad Social y Argentina*]. The subject was strongly influenced by dependency theory and liberation pedagogy, and conceived a social model that was clearly opposed to the principles that lead to the NRP¹⁵, which meant that it was promptly and radically altered by the new government to suit the requirements of its new order. In this way, on 08 July 1976, the Ministry of Culture and Education published Decree number 1259, which incorporated the subject of Civic Education to the middle level basic curriculum (*Ciclo Básico del Nivel Medio*) in secondary education schools. According to the document, «true civility» was to be understood as the «expression of that which is proper to the nation», which meant that schooling was to be a decisive tool in raising the «Argentinean man» – namely a man characterized by his beliefs and by having developed, in a «free and creative» manner and relieved from all «ideological sectarianism», a «full consciousness of his nationality» and a «clear understanding of his nation's values» and «traditional culture».

The subject underwent changes shortly after, in July 1978, through *Recommendation number 7*, issued by the VII Extraordinary Assembly of the

¹⁴ So as not to overcrowd the text with citations, only direct quotes have been noted. A full list of sources can be found in the Annex.

¹⁵ G.D. Cora, M. Rodríguez, *Construyendo la «Nueva Argentina». Cultura Ciudadana y la consolidación de la política educativa del peronismo (1952-1955)*, «Espacio, Tiempo y Educación», vol. 2, n. 1, 2015, pp. 187-205; I. Porro, M. Ippolito, *Educación política y régimen político. Un recorrido por la enseñanza de lo político en la escuela media argentina (1953-2003)*, in *Sexto Congreso Nacional de Ciencia Política de la Sociedad Argentina de Análisis Político*, Rosario (Argentina), Universidad de Buenos Aires - Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, 2003.

Education Federal Council. This not only changed the name of the subject – thereafter «Moral and Civic Education» – but also charged it with a strong religious character, in clear alignment with the Catholic Church. These changes were effected in the curriculums approved in 1979, 1980 and 1981, which established new objectives for the subject: in addition to those concerning the strengthening of national spirit, they also emphasized aims such as «perfecting the development of ethic and religious attitudes [...] internalizing ethical principles and applying them to personal life [...] Appreciating and respecting the values of Western and Christian life». A second important development that was to contribute to the progressive disassembly of the social, cultural and political fabric in favour of the idea of social harmony was introduced – namely the substitution of a thematic block that focused on the idea of community for another that instead emphasized the human being as an individual, the family as the primordial nucleus of socialization and a gendered division of social roles. The area of influence of the subject was to be broadened further when, in July 1981, Ruling no. 497 of the Ministry of Culture and Education determined its compulsory inclusion into adult education programs.

The patriotic and religious values espoused by the NRP permeated all aspects of education and its institutions, and came to figure prominently in the symbolic, material and intellectual spaces of the whole education system. In this way, for example, textbooks – one of the main and most efficient areas of diffusion for official ideas – were a clear expression of the purposeful coupling of nationalism and Catholicism:

The aim of cohesion that such religious education – covered up by official voices and crystallized without pretence in the *Manuals of Moral and Civic Formation* – took on a many-sided front: among other things, it aimed to uphold the power of the clergy upon the *public* education sector thus leading to ideological hegemony of the Catholic Church; to aid the fight against materialism, «the international Marxist aggression», by establishing in the «Argentinean school» a morally defensive barrier against such aggression; to reinforce the idea of an «Argentinean identity» by redefining national identity in denominational terms; to strengthen the «Catholic Argentina», appealing to an essentialist discourse that aimed to legitimate it against the threat of ideological foreignness; to monopolize the educational practices, which were themselves already penetrated and regulated by unifying and standardizing religious practices; to «moralize» [...] through [...] Christian beliefs and values, dogmas of faith and revealed truth; to establish the «moral traditions» [...] to introduce Christian social thought through the guidelines provided by the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church; to introduce «docility», «submissiveness», «vigilance», «hierarchical obedience», «compliance» [...] to avoid the emergence of conflict and dissent. [...] Religion and the Nation are not distinguished, for the order must be re-established: «in accordance with the values of Christian morality, national tradition and the dignity of being Argentinean¹⁶.

¹⁶ C. Kaufmann, *La enseñanza encubierta de la religión: la Formación Moral y Cívica*, in Id., *Dictadura y Educación. Tomo 3. Los textos escolares en la historia argentina reciente*, Buenos Aires, Miño y Dávila, 2006, pp. 203-223.

During the first semester of 1982 the daily press addressed, from different perspectives and in accordance with each paper's particular editorial projects, issues related to the role that schooling was to play in the process of «regeneration» of Argentinean society and the creation of a «new Argentinean man». Editorials and opinion pieces published in «La Prensa», «La Nación» and «Clarín» shared some common characteristics in regards to their style and argument. Firstly, it was habitual in all three to refer to official statements and addresses, adopting and reinforcing their ideas and slogans. Similarly, the overarching narrative followed a dual discourse in which the disaster that previous regimes' educational policies had entailed for the Argentinean nation was set over and against the *new order*. The latter was then presented as an efficient solution to past problems, with the power to create and sustain a democratic and free republic – which itself implied that the current political system indeed democratic and free. Finally, in some occasions, the texts backed their arguments with sources of authority, drawing on historical figures or contemporary intellectual experts close to the NRP.

«La Prensa» was the paper that devoted the most space to civil education in a broad sense, and that addressed education-related issues with the most depth, elaborating refined, careful and extensive arguments, almost always by external collaborators. The paper attributed the educational system – which was deemed to be paradigm of civilization – with aims and responsibilities such as raising the cultural level of the population, the social promotion of some sectors and minorities, and progress, which was broadly understood as an extension of schooling to all sectors and pursue of economic development within a liberal model. But the driving force of the education for citizenship discourse in «La Prensa» was freedom. This was taken to be a genuine human trait, something that cannot be extricated from man, and that distinguishes him from other species, given that, unlike other members of the animal kingdom, man does not possess a sufficiently broad repertory of phylogenetically programmed conducts to resolve all the challenges of existence. On the contrary, life, for man, needs to be made; he must choose, at every moment, what to do and how to do it – and this in turn is only possible if the being lives in and embodies his own freedom. And yet still, given that not all individuals are aware of their condition of freedom and the possibilities that this entails, it is necessary to guide and educate them. José Antonio Abuín put it thus in his article *Lets dare to be patriots*, published on January 24, 1982:

In the speech given on occasion of his inauguration as rector of the National University of Buenos Aires, Dr Alberto Rodríguez Varela noted: «The University should educate free men, capable of living in peace and harmony, tolerant and respectful of their adversaries, willing to search for commonalities is higher values and to disagree without grievances on matters of opinion» [...] Indeed, very much so. The first priority is to educate free men; after that, the rest follows: scientists, professionals, researchers, educators. But there seems to be an extreme necessity, an agonizing need to educate free men. Why? Simply because without

them there can be no freedom. [...] This is *the* question of questions – that which demands of us the greatest clarity. If it cannot be understood well, cannot be correctly approached, then we are to fail in whatever else we attempt. Every man is free. But not all know that they are free. In order for them to know and, consequently, for them to act as such, they must be educated. And yet what we are witnessing is quite the opposite: men are being *miseducated* in such a way that many believe that their purpose is merely to follow whatever orders this or that person may care to issue, to follow rulings that they do not understand, and, in sum, to get used to not living their own lives, but rather the lives that this or that person might instruct them to live. We find ourselves today returned to the Middle Ages, where there were no citizens, but instead lords and serfs. There is only one path out of this situation: to educate citizens – that is, free men. They will be capable of overthrowing the oppressive corporativism that surrounds us. They will make us see that each self-enclosed group is but an oligarchy – or seeks to be so. And they will show us that it is impossible, not only to live as a society, but also to have order, peace, freedom, justice or prosperity, so long as such myriad of oligarchies continue to operate. Here, today, amongst us, it is difficult to institute order for, as soon as something reasonable is attempted, immediately some group or another rises in protest against the perceived impingement to its privileges and «social conquests», often masking the claims with calls for a «defence of sovereignty»¹⁷.

Freedom, therefore, figured as the driving principle, the means and the aim of all education, the indispensable ingredient for a democratic society, the *conditio sine qua non* for individuals to reject their subjection and adopt the condition of citizens with duties and responsibilities; to be a citizen, therefore, was to be free, and vice versa. But freedom was also understood as responsibility, order, discipline, rigour, capacity and possibility of choice, ideological neutralization and dismantling of the social fabric – and in this task educators of all levels and grades of education were especially important. Such was the unequivocal position of Arístides Alejandro Incarnato in his article *Only through education will we be free*, published on April 8, 1982:

[...] it is important to highlight [...] that such exercise of revitalization of education will only be achievable by educators who not only exhibit an undisputed republican spirit, but also find the externalization and transmission of such spirit to their students to be permitted, facilitated and stimulated. Educators, that is, that encounter no obstacles as they instil in their students the love of truth, the compliance with discipline, the horror of subversion, the scorn of insolence, the excellence of knowledge, the irrationality of fanaticism, the humiliation of obsequiousness, the respect for hierarchies based exclusively upon capacity and conduct – all the resources, in sum, that when deployed negatively, made it possible for the Argentinean people to have accepted, twice in three decades, a regime of shame and dishonour. Such is the simple strategy that we propose in order to train, through true high quality education, the multitude of free citizens that the Republic calls for – a strategy that, obviously, cannot consist merely in teaching to read and write. [...] needless to say, in order for the strategy to be effective, it will be necessary to reinstate the climate of calm, respect and justice in which educators carried out their task during the best times of the Republic. So long as our teachers and professors continue to live in a state of permanent upheaval; so long as they are unable to trust in their own merits to progress in their careers; so long

¹⁷ J.A. Abuín, *Atrevámonos a ser patriotas*, Opinión, «La Prensa», 24 de enero 1982.

as they are forced to abdicate their freedom and make it subservient to others, or need to alienate it and renounce agency over their own destiny – so long as this is the case, they will hardly be able to educate for freedom, for no one can offer others what he has not already himself conquered¹⁸.

The contributors who addressed issues related to education for citizenship did so through a dual language that established a broad and confused category of the enemy that was to be fought and guarded against in all spheres, even within schools. Communism and the extreme left stood out as the principal threats to liberalism. These were argued to have infiltrated the educational system and destabilized its order and, against them, it was the role of education to exalt and promote patriotic and Western values and educate for freedom. Carlos Ernesto Viana put it thus:

The latest assault against the liberal education tradition in Argentina has left public schools and universities vulnerable to leftist penetration – even more so than it was, for the same reasons, in 1969, on the eve of the armed subversion. The current predominant tendency in faculty meetings at all levels – save the honourable exceptions of a few universities and educators – is predominantly «revisionist», as is the historiographical bibliography. The purpose of this «revisionism» continues to be doctrinaire and unscientific, and it is not limited to Argentinean History, but is also spreading towards the whole of Western history [...]. To the «de-nationalizing» process that is being inflicted upon the «psyche» of our youth, has now also been added the attack against the most glorious tradition of Western culture: freedom. [...] It is necessary to educate for freedom again. [...] It would not be consistent with the democratic aims outlined by the government, nor with its proposed liberal economy politics, nor with its alleged pro-Western orientation in international relations, that tyrannical and authoritarian figures were idolatized within important sectors of public education¹⁹.

The paper «La Nación» also addressed these issues, though less profusely and always in pieces penned by its Director, Bartolomé Mitre. In general terms, these endorsed the official discourse on education, highlighting its most vital points, such as the patriotic spirit, the «divine values» and the family, and Catholic religion as the cornerstone of social dynamics. It also reinforced the call for «order» that had been initiated in 1976 «following long, arduous and pitiful years of student disruption, movements of so-called liberation against every rule and authority, and ideological infiltration in universities»²⁰. It offered public opinion the idea that culture and education, in addition to being the mark of civilization, were also the basis of a democratic society, and that, therefore, the expansion of schooling and the broadening of the range of compulsory education were particularly important issues for the country's development. But this task was not the sole responsibility of the State and public

¹⁸ A.A. Incarnato, *Sólo por la educación seremos libres*, Opinión, «La Prensa», 8 de abril 1982.

¹⁹ E. Viana, *Educación para la libertad*, Opinión, «La Prensa», 24 de febrero 1982.

²⁰ B. Mitre, *Objetivos esenciales en Educación*, Editorial, «La Nación», 26 de enero 1982.

administration. Rather, it was to be the result of the joint efforts and activities of public powers, private initiatives and families, who had the duty to safeguard the proper development of all dimensions of the human being. Among these, two were highlighted. On the one hand, emotional education, which was understood as a love of knowledge, the link that is developed between student and teacher, and the conjunction of feeling and reason that gives meaning to ethical norms:

The different cycles of education must be devoted to developing a rounded man whose feelings are modulated by reason – a reason, in turn, not too far removed from feelings. In this way, it will be possible to reach the ethical values that translate into behaviour. In short, each man's behaviour is both the cornerstone and the touchstone of his intelligence and of his contribution to the common good²¹.

On the other hand, freedom figured as the ultimate aim of education. It was not only considered something intrinsic to human beings, but was also, by extension, that which was to distinguish education from training, domestication, or routine and habit-formation, and was, ultimately, to allow individuals to free themselves from impulses and instinctive reactions. But this freedom was understood in a very narrow and precise way – namely as responsibility, order and some measure of capacity and possibility of choice. The editorial piece published on January 3, 1982 is particularly illustrative in this respect for, in addition to putting forward an «authentic», genuine and profound idea of education for freedom, it also lamented the fact that the Argentinean education system, far from achieving this aim, was actually fostering its opposite:

In his recent address, the president of the Nation included a brief passage regarding the educational system. Within it, we noted a phrase: General Galtieri affirmed that what is being attempted is to shape an environment that will make it possible to «educate for freedom». There is in truth, however, no education that is not education for freedom, for it is only insofar as the student is free that the educational labour can help him mature him a free man, or, what is ultimately the same, a man. [...] Middle school is the schooling level proper to adolescence. Adolescence is the stage of life in which the human being ceases to be a child and becomes a man. In this challenging and complex transition he discovers freedom, and he must learn to live with it and with its counterpart – namely responsibility. And yet the traditional organization of Argentinean middle school, both in regards to its contents and to its comprehensive organizational regime, is characterized precisely by the absolute denial of liberty. [...] the student [...] has no chance of choosing any of his tasks, of making any of his own choices [...] Of this same student is later demanded that, once he has completed his studies, and while he is still treading the edge of maturity, barely having become a rightful citizen, he be able to intelligently make important decisions concerning work, higher education, family and civic and personal life. Middle school trains a man for dependence and pretends that upon his graduation society gain a free man and a responsible citizen. A dramatic contradiction, if ever there was one²².

²¹ B. Mitre, *La educación sentimental*, Editorial, «La Nación», 4 de marzo 1982.

²² Id., *Educar para la libertad*, Editorial, «La Nación», 3 de enero 1982.

«Clarín» was the newspaper that devoted the least attention to the education for citizenship provided by formal education. It only published two articles, in which, furthermore, it maintained an ambivalent position. In the first place, it offered a fine and clear critique of the educational and cultural politics of the regime, in particular within universities, where interventionism, censorship and the lack of scientific freedom were intensely felt. The poet, essayist and professor of Philosophy and Literature Santiago Kovadloff published, on March 8, 1982, the article *A culture of catacombs*, the title of which was a reference to a group of people who were attempting to find the means and the mode of preventing that the difficult moment might «in some time irrevocably discourage [...] thinking altogether». Such individuals shared a number of traits: almost all of them were ex-university professors who were earning a living through private education and who believed that they were duty-bound to continue their labour of resistance against subjugation, because «it not only combated discouragement and loss of heart, but was also a way to preserve the critical spirit and the gift of cohabitation/coexistence»²³. The wagered, ultimately, on a return to constitutional normality, a process in which the University was to play a crucial role, provided that it regained its place in society as one of the focal points of culture, knowledge production, technological advancement, regeneration of the socio-political fabric, and enriching of civic participation, given that it was precisely in University that young people, among other things, sharpen their critical reason, mature their spirit of vindication and develop the most intimate sense of what it means to be a citizen. They warned, furthermore, that the worrying condition of the civil life of the country, which was characterized by a dismantled society, culture and politics, was progressively crystallizing in the conduct of adolescents and young adults who were embarking upon their university education:

In the current state of the county, the education that is being imparted in its catacombs is hardly indicative of our fortitude. It is more so of our precarity. Those of us who are within them know all too well the gravity of the obstacles placed upon education, not only by those who challenge us, but also – to their own regret, to be sure – by students. Youth lack, almost entirely, any civic experience. The degree of political misinformation is alarming; the level of comprehension of our national history, virtually nonexistent in almost all youngsters. Such hardships, as well as others, cause intellectual vocation to emerge as a necessity in order to counter the atmosphere of extreme individualism and a temperament entirely unaware of its own social alienation. A disorientation proper to a citizen sensibility that fails to find its path to maturity is everywhere felt amongst the majority of students. [...] If national university were still what it once was – and should yet be – the centres of intellectual labour that today give rise to a culture of catacombs would be its modest complement, never its replacement. [...] The centres of expression and reflection that, separate to universities, are proliferating in Argentina during the 1970s and are likely to continue to multiply in the 1980s, will only properly accomplish their mission if they encourage a return to a democratic community.

²³ S. Kovadloff, *Una cultura de catacumbas*, Opinión, «Clarín», 8 de marzo 1982.

Otherwise, they will but absorb for a while longer the heat of a sun that is no longer shining but will be incapable of perpetuating its warmth. [...] If it is to have a revitalizing effect, the teaching carried out in the catacombs of national education will need to lead to a fully reinstated university activity. And this can only be possible through a normalization of constitutional life. So long as the university is determined to forget the country, we shall, from the catacombs, devote ourselves to keeping its memory. But this memory will only have the life that is conferred to it from the outside. If such vitality ceases, then so too will the life of the culture of catacombs: we will stagnate and our teachings will atrophy. We will cease to be the space that preserves the seed of future development, and will become instead the sepulchre where the seed finally perished²⁴.

Later, on May 29, 1982, in the midst of Argentina's dispute with Great Britain, «Clarín» applauded and supported the government's proposal for a so-called «intermediate level», which was to be introduced, starting in the academic year 1982-1983, between primary and secondary levels, with the aim of «strengthening the moral and republican education of children in such a way that they are better prepared, once they enter productive life, to uphold, from within their own convictions, the pillars of national life»²⁵.

At the start of the transition, following the Argentinean defeat in the Falklands' conflict, the progressive breakdown of the military regime started to reveal itself in public opinion. New currents animated periodicals, which responded to a society which was now beginning to demand a return to democracy and civil guarantees. The education question, once more, was not immune to such effects. Progressively, pedagogical discourses were modified – timidly first, through linguistic and conceptual turns; later more openly, firmly supporting a return to constitutional normality and, with it, a democratization of education and its principles, means and aims. Such change, however, took place differently and at different paces in the three papers considered in the present research.

«La Prensa» was, once again, the newspaper that devoted the most attention to education for citizenship. The aim that was attributed to the educational system continued to be education for freedom, which in turn continued to be understood as democracy – though now in a truer and more genuine sense, and married to a more virtuous style of life. The prototype of the «good Argentinean citizen» that schools were to promote was republican, respectful towards institutional organization, rights and legal guarantees, dignity of all persons merely by virtue of their being and, particularly, towards the National Constitution, the supreme law that condensed freedom, justice and solidarity. And it was thought that the educational system was the best tool to elevate civil culture in children and youth insofar as it provided an experience of coexistence based on respect, which was different from the experience of community provided by the family, peer groups and other extra-curricular socialization

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ E. Herrera De Noble, *El nivel intermedio*, Editorial, «Clarín», 29 de mayo 1982.

institutions, which were seen to be based on feeling. Furthermore, it offered a revised idea of education, namely the sense that education was not only a vehicle for transmission and repetition of knowledge and a series of technical and scientific principles, that indeed this was only a small part of education, and that in its most basic and precious sense its function was to teach how to think, how to learn to grow and face life's challenges. This meant that the role of educators also had to be revised, and should focus on accompanying and guiding students through their various stages of development²⁶.

In a first instance, despite the fact that the paper yielded to the information restrictions and requirements of the regime, it also did not miss any opportunities to introduce in its discourses elements that anticipated the imminent process of transition to democracy. Thus, barely a few weeks after the Falklands conflict, «La Prensa» reported on a meeting of educators that had aimed to discuss the matter of teaching the history of Argentina, in particular in relation to the austral archipelago. It was apparently agreed that it was necessary, given the circumstances, to intensify and change the lens through which the subject was taught. On the one hand, the possibility of increasing the number of teaching hours devoted to the Falklands and, even, of setting up a single-topic subject on the archipelago problem, was discussed. On the other, it was suggested that a historiographical shift that would revise national history in light of recent occurrences was necessary. It was thought that such a shift would give rise to a new reading of the past that would locate Argentina within a Latin-American perspective, which in turn would impact upon the identity and citizen consciousness of present and future generations. For this, however, democracy was deemed essential:

Indeed; but it is only possible within a truly democratic regime, where the majority and minorities respect each other, discuss publicly, and admit their defeats without excessively acclaiming their successes. The triumphalism is the psychological weapon most proper to autocracies²⁷.

In the initial moments of the transition, «La Prensa» expressed some concerns regarding the Argentinean population, who, given its lack of citizen maturity and training, could endanger the impending delicate process of constitutional normalization. This situation was nothing other than a reflection of what Máximo Gainza called, on 2 August 1982, the «absolute failure of the education for citizenship curriculum». If such curriculum was deemed insufficient to

²⁶ Despite the winds of renewal, reactionary opinion pieces, still firmly anchored in the discourses of the dictatorship, continued to appear. Such was the case with Arístides Alejandro Incarnato, whose article *Anti-school*, published on November 25, 1982, reproduced the words of an earlier one – *Only through education will we be free* – which had been published in April of that same year.

²⁷ Observador, *Consideraciones historiográficas a propósito de las Malvinas*, Panorama educacional, «La Prensa», 23 de junio 1982.

train responsible and mature citizens, it seemed therefore reasonable to seek the collaboration of other educational agents who were operating beyond the official educational system. Thus, for example, a more casual and broad-reaching political education was suggested, one that would complement that of formal education and that might take the shape of open talks or the dissemination of leaflets and documents explaining constitutional order. Television too figured as a powerful tool for civic education. Owing to its growing impact as a means to configure and communicate collective imaginaries and to generate currents of public opinion, it was seen as capable of opening an educational space within which experts might clarify the constitutional text. The immense potential that television was deemed to hold in regards to education, training and socialization of people – possibly greater in its influence than school or the family – is clear in a text of November 3, 1982:

Human culture had fundamentally been based on the use of its two most important senses: sight and hearing, through which the environment had imprinted itself upon man's psyche. [...] The two senses were combined in Television's mechanism. Furthermore, while one could imagine the audience of the radio carrying out other tasks while listening to it, it seemed almost impossible to imagine an individual who, while watching television and fully attending to its sounds, might, at the same time, carry out any work other than a purely mechanical task. To affirm this was, in other words, to consider television as encompassing the broadest radius of mental influence, which meant, further, that through it the greatest pressures, both productive and detrimental, might be applied. What made matters worse [...] was that television exercised its dominion throughout all stages of man, from childhood to old age. [...] it could come to have a greater influence [upon him] than school or the family itself²⁸.

Such worry concerning the limited civic maturity of the average Argentinean was the subject of an editorial piece of 19 August 1982 that addressed the measures taken by the Ministry of Education in order to strengthen the study of the national Constitution and Government – that is, civic education – at all levels and grades of the educational system. The text noted that, in recent times and for «reasons of which all were aware», many adult citizens did not know what it meant to exercise the right to vote and young people had been expelled from political life and had undergone a poor and defective political education, trammelled by ideological interferences, and that therefore the need for a citizen education particular to democracy and expressive of popular will was entirely justified:

Whichever pedagogical technique is applied in order to promote the training of future citizens, it is imperative to recognize the necessity that such task be carried out. The generations that pass through public schools must be prepared to face the delicate responsibilities entailed in

²⁸ Diótima, *La televisión y la formación del individuo*, Opinión, «La Prensa», 3 de noviembre 1982.

civic action within a democracy, as well as those derived from the exercise of government. From elementary school to its higher levels, education must be geared towards instilling the fundamental principles of our political organization, being as it is representative of a popular will that holds no similarity to despotic and authoritarian regimes²⁹.

Civic education was to be education for freedom and democracy, and this was understood as more than just a form of government or political participation through vote. Democracy was deemed to be «a way of life based on virtue» that had to be developed through schooling, where classrooms were «irreplaceable instruments for education for citizenship» and vehicles for the «fulfilment of democratic institutions». The task of educating for citizenship was not only understood to be an imperative of the Argentinean educational system, whose democratic and republican spirit had been present from the dawn of national independence, but was also deemed to be a historical and circumstantial need brought about by the political occurrences, which required the joint efforts of all agents involved in education and without whom the very future of the Republic would be unviable. Alberto Rodríguez Varela wrote to this effect in his article of 24 November 1982, *Lets create citizens. Civic Education*, in which he also called for concord, forgiveness and national reconciliation:

And in these crucial moments that Argentina is living through, when poles reveal the shortage or absence of civic education in vast sectors, we should all commit to promoting, like in the past century, a true crusade to regenerate the Republic, overcoming animosities and disagreements, and swearing not to repeat the grave errors that have so harmed the Nation. [...] *It is not a matter of learning the Constitution, but of learning to live the Constitution.* [...] We must return to the path of civic education initiated at the dawn of our independent life. It is a task that concerns fathers, pedagogues, politicians and, above all, those who hold a modern seat of incalculable projection and the exercise of which carries great responsibility.

Several months went by before «La Prensa» reengaged education for citizenship – or, more broadly, the aims of education – in its pages. The articles published in 1983 on these themes betrayed a freer and pedagogically more modern tone. On the one hand, the paper adopted an ideological position in relation to the programs proposed by the political parties in view of the upcoming presidential elections. The editorial piece of May 15 is worth highlighting in this regard. The editorial is noteworthy, not due to its definition of what ought to be the aims of the national education system, and of civic education in particular, but rather because it clearly spelled out what might be a disastrous cultural and educational politics for the Republic. The object of its critique was a Peronist-inspired program put forward by the *Partido Justicialista* which suggested that the main task of school was to generate future citizens and to inculcate in them

²⁹ M. Gainza, *Educación cívica*, Editorial, «La Prensa», 19 de agosto 1982.

a solid national and Latin-American consciousness driven by freedom, human dignity and the liberation of Argentina:

It is incomprehensible how the «liberty and dignity of man» can be outlined as the «primordial objectives» of a project that has actually been conceived to mould the intelligence of children, youth and adults and submit it to the different modalities of a violating and selective «doctrine» [...] registered in [...] the quotidian practice of the most diverse modes of indoctrination. In what concerns the educational activity, no one will have forgotten that the school was not used to promote in children the love of culture, nor to inspire in them the spirit of creation, but rather to gain followers for a so-called liberatory cause. Schools were made factories of premature peronists. The technique, applied in the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany under totalitarianism, was imposed in Argentinean schools [...]. It was not, by the way, as it is now claimed, in order to free children or adolescents' minds of prejudices, plagiarism or servitudes, that tons of books, procured with public funds, were distributed to educational establishments, exacerbating hatred and resentments against people, ideas and historical facts. [...] The «Second Five-Year Plan» was revealed in 1953. Through it, schoolteachers were forced to incorporate the principles of the «doctrine» into each of the subjects taught, with no exception [...]. That document also established the idea that universities «must serve the people by complying with the objectives of the government». None of these antecedents speak favourably of the «political project» nor of the «national project» that Juan Perón «set out» at the time and that have now been exhumed and exhibited as models of the *Partido Justicialista*'s cultural action³⁰.

On the other hand, it was agreed that the ultimate aim of education was to teach to think, and to be a man, a task to which the Humanities, insofar as they offered testimony to the paths that human beings had followed in order to become so, were to be central. Education was portrayed, furthermore, as a craft, a careful labour aimed at developing responsible individuals. The role of the educator was therefore not limited to providing students with the knowledge deemed socially necessary, but also to guide them in their development, teaching them to be and to be in the word in such a way that was attentive to the particular interests, skills and qualities of each individual student:

Education must give only two things: a reasonable amount of basic knowledge and the method to continue learning by oneself, including knowing who and how to ask for assistance when deemed necessary. To think and to reason is to know how to find solutions, understand facts and to be capable of distinguishing the true from the false. The labour of educating requires time, patience, dedication and effort. But above all, it requires grasping the fact that the most educated is not he who knows the most, but he who understands and thinks better³¹.

«La Nación», on the other hand, devoted several editorials and an extended opinion piece to the issue of education for citizenship, which continued to be presented to the public as one of the priorities of the national education system.

³⁰ Id., *La educación que nos proponen*, Editorial, «La Prensa», 15 de mayo 1983.

³¹ M. Barón, *Enseñar a pensar*, Opinión, «La Prensa», 28 de noviembre 1983.

«Plural» democracy now appeared as the only system of government capable of guaranteeing public and private liberties, maintaining peace and establishing justice. And equal education across all strata of society was essential in order to be able to count upon a critical mass of free, responsible and well-educated citizens, capable of managing the legitimate paths of expression of popular will for the benefit of collective progress and wellbeing. In consequence, the prototype of the Argentinean citizen envisioned by school also had to mutate and adapt to the new political, social and cultural requirements. Like «La Prensa», «La Nación» supported a model of the «good» Argentinean as the bearer of the most genuine Argentinean republicanism, which implied a series of high values, such as the defence of equality before the law, alternation of political parties, tolerance towards the «other», and love, above all other ideologies, of the nation and the traditional values that defined it.

In this regard, it is worth noting the words of Carlos Flora, published in the article *Political Education*, which appeared on 28 July 1982, a few weeks after the Falklands disaster. In the article, the author expressed his concern for the lack of democratic experience and training of Argentinean society, especially in the youth, who had been brought up and educated within scepticism, authority, fear of dissent and habits of corruption. Furthermore, he defended the idea that, ultimately, civic training should focus on knowledge of the National Constitution, the close and critical study of contemporary history, and the understanding of the relationships between right and morals, in particular regarding the traits proper to Argentinean society:

One of the fundamental intuitions of Greek philosophers was that education must be related to the desired kind of political regime. Certainly, it is not the same to educate a citizen to live in a pluralist democracy as to train him to live in a dictatorship or totalitarian regime, for the styles, dominant mentalities, beliefs and practices within the two forms of government and society differ greatly between them. [...] Education brings into relief part of the «cultural politics» of a society. It is, in a way, its systematic expression. It is linked to the type of desired political regime, to the public behaviour that is expected of citizens, to the preferred type of society and to the behaviour of those in power. It is intimately related to the disposition of individuals to be good realists while not for this reason falling into cynicism, but rather grasping the reality of what is happening while intuiting what should happen in one's country for the benefit of concrete individuals and for the common good. [...] Political education consists not only on a thorough examination of the assumptions of the political phenomenon and its historical manifestations. This is of course necessary in order to explain politics and the political, but it is not sufficient in educational terms. Political education must propose ideals and offer guidance regarding the means to approach them; it must justify and not merely examine. [...] A sceptical approach to political education, one that «does not justify any desirable claim, indirectly fosters the adhesion to political irrationality, simplistic solutions and, eventually, the recourse to violence». [...] We must know why a pluralist, democratic, constitutional republic is preferable to any other political regime, despite it not being a perfect formula – which, in any case, does not exist in politics, for in politics perfectionist capriciousness ends up oppressing man. As Montesquieu desired, a democratic republic has an interior logic, corresponds to a kind of society, entails virtuous behaviour

in both the ruling and the ruled. [...] there will not be a consolidated republic without the knowledge, habits and abilities cultivated from primary school, and which include both the examination of reality and the political horizon that is to guide the behaviour of the citizen. [...]. To learn, that is, that the Argentinean society is plural, but that the desired pluralism among Argentineans, depends not only upon the acceptance of such reality, but also in the psychological disposition that gives a positive meaning to the tolerance of the other. [...] This must be taught in schools, social institutions and universities, through thought and quotidian action³².

The tone of the editorials about education for citizenship published by Bartolomé Mitre changed progressively, from a tepid critique of the regime to the more decisive and committed support for a return to constitutional normality. Like «La Prensa», «La Nación» favourably valued the NRP initiative to address History in a different manner following the end of the Falklands conflict. Such initiative consisted on a reorganization of the History curriculum, introducing new areas and themes of study and approaching the subject from a Latin American – and therefore non-Eurocentric – perspective such that enabled students to gain a certain Argentinean and Latin American historical consciousness. In general terms, and given the importance of the subject for the construction of an Argentinean national identity, the paper reviewed the educational measures favourably, but in the editorial of 13 July 1982 it offered two observations that were intended to curb the ideological enthusiasm of the dictatorship:

The changes that are to be proposed, however, will need to maintain the necessary equilibrium in order not to fall prey to the excesses inspired by primary or unbridled emotions. In the first place, it would be absurd to approach universal history studies through a Manichean vision, proper only to ideologues that divide the development of human actions between good and bad like an adventure movie. This would only lead to the intellectual cheapening of students' education and would not, incidentally, serve the high objectives pursued by the ministerial decision, with the spirit of which, we repeat, one cannot but agree. It must also not be forgotten that, whichever the attitude of governments or European nations in regards to Argentina, the civilization with whose essence we identify is that of Latinity, whose principles originated in the Judaic-Hellenic-Roman civilization, developed as Medieval Christianity and flourished during the Renaissance as prelude to the great social, scientific and technological achievements of modern times [...] ³³.

Education for citizenship was considered to be more complex than the mere instruction of knowledge regarding the political organization and the characteristic traits of liberal democracies, given that these are not only a desirable form of government, but also a whole way of life that requires individuals who are thoroughly trained and who have a well-educated political character. Therefore, while the task was to be a priority of the educational

³² C. Floria, *La educación política*, Opinión, «La Nación», 28 de julio 1982.

³³ B. Mitre, *La enseñanza de la historia*, Editorial, «La Nación», 13 de julio 1982.

system, the responsibility of executing it could not rest solely upon it. The aims required the joint action of all agents involved in socialization and education, the means of communication, political powers and, especially, the family, which, by example, contributed to making of democracy something educational in itself. Such was the view noted in the editorial of September 11, 1982, the national «Teachers Day» and 94th anniversary of the death of Sarmiento:

The education of the sovereign individual must therefore today be, as Sarmiento proclaimed and put into practice, the essential task of the Republic. Let us not, however, diminish the nobility of the task by reducing it to just school education. To be sure, schools are the main and irreplaceable part of the great mission, but it must not be forgotten that, from the most humble administrative clerk or law enforcement agent, to the highest magistrate or civil servants, all share fundamental responsibility over this common task that commences when each inhabitant awakens to civil life and extends until the very end of his existence³⁴.

Indeed, the family appeared as a basic pillar in the education for citizenship of children and youth. It was considered to be the other school of civility, an educational agent of the first order, the first laboratory for citizenship that every human being encountered in his or her socializing process, in which children acquire basic notions of freedom, respect for the rights of others and the rules of coexistence within a civilized community. Women were seen as a crucial element in this task, since they were, within the home, in charge of receiving and channelling among the members of the family the general aspects of quotidian domestic life that went on to manifest in a broader community – a community in which they, therefore, both directly and indirectly participated. The family a laboratory for citizenship of the first order, and democracy was the most desirable social and political order:

If one takes into account the apothegm that considers the child as the father of man, it is not difficult to discover in the education received within the family the most profound root of the democratic consciousness of the individual. This, in time, adds itself to the invisible though indestructible weave – made up of similar consciousness – of the only system of government that is capable of preserving individual and public liberties in an atmosphere of peace and justice that fosters productive work and creative effort. It has been rightly said that the well-educated individual is easy to guide but difficult to manage; easy to govern but impossible to enslave³⁵.

Bar a few fleeting allusions on the eve of the presidential elections «La Nación» kept silent regarding the issue of the civic aims of Argentinean education during almost a year. It was only on 28 November 1983 that the paper reengaged the issue in a clear way. Merely weeks after the victory of Raúl Alfonsín and shortly prior to him entering office as the president of the nation, an article revisited the topic of education, this time in a serious and

³⁴ B. Mitre, *Educar al soberano*, Editorial, «La Nación», 11 de septiembre 1982.

³⁵ B. Mitre, *Primeros pasos del civismo*, Editorial, «La Nación», 6 de septiembre 1982.

rigorous tone. In the piece, Bartolomé Mitre asked what the role of the school was going to be in the delicate enterprise of reassembling the social fabric and securing a long-lasting democratic and republican system of government. He supported a form of civic education based on the values of the Republic, but also argued that it should transcend mere knowledge and that it should make of democracy a whole style of life in which freedom, justice, responsibility and respect, together with patriotic love, austerity and renunciation determined the mode of being. Such were the proposed aims of education for citizenship – a task in which school teachers were to play a central role:

During this time in which the country is moving towards the reconstruction of its fundamental institutions, it is important to pause and consider the decisive role that education is being called to play [...]. Educators at all levels have, in this sense, a great responsibility. Educating is not only the transmission of knowledge; it means not only to plant in a student the seed of scientific knowledge. It also shapes full human beings and, above all, conscious and responsible citizens [...] Educational establishments must be schools of civility. [...] Neither curriculums, nor programs, nor texts should be vehicles of any kind of partisan expression or slogan, and only the sounds of the National Hymn should preside school ceremonies and activities, as has invariably been the legitimate tradition of the Argentinean school. Educators must teach the principles of republicanism: equality of all men before the law, respect for public opinion, the firm supremacy of the law above the whims and discretion of those in power, responsibility of civil servants before the sovereign people, the periodic renewal of government posts. But it is not enough that educators outline these principles. It is necessary that they illustrate them through the live example of their own behaviours. [...] Life in the classroom must transform the virtues of republicanism into quotidian habits of conduct so that Argentinean children and youth get used to living equality, justice and the exercise of responsibility³⁶.

«Clarín» was, once more, the paper that least attention devoted to the aims of the national education system and, in particular, those regarding education for citizenship. On the one hand, it defended a more active and modern pedagogical model in which the idea of instruction lost ground against a broader understanding of education, which focused on instilling in pupils powers of reasoning, comprehension and experimentation, and not only mere reproduction. These ideals were, of necessity, to have an impact upon the manner in which the different aspects of civic education were to be approached, for these were now also inextricably linked to ideas of participation, cohabitation and community, as well as individual responsibility. If the aim was for civic education to become social conduct it was necessary that students had the opportunity to directly experience what it meant to be a citizen. Such was the argument put forward by Natalio Isaías Schmucler, the Rector of the Scholem Aleijem Secondary School and professor of Social History of Education in the

³⁶ B. Mitre, *Educar para la Repùblica*, Editorial, «La Nación», 3 de noviembre 1983.

Instituto Nacional del Profesorado, in an article published on August 11, 1982, titled *Teaching or educating?*

Education entails, basically, the capacity to respond to imperatives of conscience on the basis of socially-oriented knowledge. One can only speak of education, for example, when a pupil is incapable of unruliness, not because of external pressures, but due to his own inner sense of responsibility. This model of education, this «unbridled force», is founded upon a logic altogether removed from that which rules teaching: it responds to the progressive internalization of rules of cohabitation that is cultivated by being fully participant in the moral duties and codes that guide communal life [...] For this, it is of course necessary to redefine that objectives of schooling – in particular middle school – by considering it in light of the current discursive opposition: “to teach or to educate?” [...] it will be necessary to give greater berth to the opening of the present moment [...] renovating currents – interdisciplinary and actualized! – may definitively sweep some of the stagnant waters of its institutionalization. Note for example the regime of disciplinary warnings, that can never inspire in pupils the notion of discipline as a gradual process of mutual tolerance and shared respect, but rather fosters in them the hypocritical leanings of mere orthopedic adjustments to threats and sanctions – and this so when the misbehaviour of students is caused by the un-exciting teaching format of lectures and keynotes and the mind-numbing backwardness of their content in the first place!... Certainly, powers of diverse design – in all orders – that strive to find a true path; that want – concerning public education – to found a new educational system: may they become destiny³⁷.

On the other hand, the paper scorned the principles that had guided the national education system between 1976 and 1982, namely authoritarianism, individualism and reproduction of knowledge. It also defended that civic education, which now seemed to be accompanied by other principles expressive of the changes taking place within society at that time, such as social change and participation, was to be an urgent and critical task of schools. It was understood, furthermore, that it would take time for the democratic message to truly permeate the educational system. It was necessary, first, to remove the educational cultures instituted during the dictatorship; and, second, that the public administration backed such democratizing measures. Noteworthy in this regard is the article *Education and Democracy*, published on March 2, 1983 by Lucio Cerdá, a retired psychologist and university and secondary education professor who participated as researcher in the American States Organization of Comparative Education:

The result of decades of stagnation and, in particular, of the ruthless neglect it suffered in the last few years, Argentina's education poses an unspeakably complex problem [...] For this reason, I dare to suggest the need for two types of change in educational institutions. One change that is global, progressive and laborious, and that will depend upon the democratic life of the country as a whole – that is to say, the democratization of education. The second type of change is made up of an ensemble of practical measures, guided by central powers, that back and actualize the first aim. After these merciless years the school is due a more

³⁷ N.I. Schmueler, *¿Enseñar o educar?*, Opinión, «Clarín», 11 de agosto 1982.

defined and transcendent role that one might think. In the same way that after a storm it is necessary to remove the dust off of old and loved objects, so too school will be one of the places that will need to be ruled by the most profound meaning of the word democracy. The sense of possible social cohabitation, the matrix from within which respect for disagreement might again flourish, the practice of tolerance will need to be sustained every day in every classroom. In order to offer children and youth a more civilized vision of social and political life, it will not suffice to merely change the content of some subjects – be this democratic education, civic instruction, or any other preferred name. [...] It is crucial to accentuate the education of social responsibility, entirely banishing those schooling and/or pedagogical practices that privilege individualism, authoritarianism and competitiveness. In this sense, the role allocated to teachers by the management strata of education will need to be reversed. Educators will need to be real agents of social change and definitively reject their prototype as objects of unconscious reproduction of dates and information. [...] The current delicate moment of Argentinean social life is witnessing, with good reason, an inescapable urgency in social practice: participation. This precious civic conduct cannot be learnt solely from books; it must be practiced daily through actions³⁸.

The intention of Alfonsín's government to actualize, modernize and democratize the national education system soon translated into concrete measures that gathered a large portion of the ideas expressed by public opinion in regards to education for citizenship, which would continue to be one of the principal objectives of the Argentine education system. Ruling 536 of 8 March 1984, issued by the Ministry of Education and Justice, substantially changed part of the official curriculum, substituting part of the «Moral and Civic Training» subject with that of «Civic Education», the latter of which adopted a political and pedagogical orientation diametrically opposed to that of the former. The aims were now for young generations to value and adopt democracy as a way of life – which in turn required that they understood and became aware of the reality and values of the local, national and international communities of which they were part –, that they respected ideological and religious plurality, and that they internalized the principles, beliefs and collective representations recorded in the National Constitution. The contents that were included in the subject were aligned with such aims and did nothing other than attempt to strengthen the newly rescued democratic culture, sustained by dialogue and consensus, by the inclusion of all public agents and by broadening civic participation. Among the content covered by the subject, a number of concepts and ideas that had disappeared during the dictatorship and that were now to become pillars of the education for citizenship, are worth highlighting:

the concept of *community* as the sphere in which man's different expressions are socialized, of the *State* and its democratic political organization, of the *deformities of democracy*: anti-democracy, totalitarianism and the dictatorship. [...] In this regard it is worth highlighting

³⁸ L. Cerdá, *Educación y democracia*, Opinión, «Clarín», 2 de marzo 1983.

the inclusion in school curriculum of a number of themes and topics that were vital for democratic recovery [...]: the defence of human rights, the modes of violation of human rights, and explicit mention of those that had been perpetrated during the years of the Dictatorship – namely, terrorism, censorship and repression³⁹.

Conclusion

A number of final remarks are worth highlighting. Education was presented as a key factor in sustaining and strengthening all regimes of government, but particularly so within democracies, insofar as, given their very nature, these require a critical mass of well-educated citizens operating within a firmly-established and operative civic culture.

There was, it appears, a certain consensus within public opinion in regards to the idea that education for citizenship should be a crucial objective of the national educational system, both during the period of dictatorship and during the transition to democracy. In both cases, the aim was to educate for liberty, democracy and the values of the nation in order to create good Argentinean subjects.

While the formal expressions hardly varied, their content, sense, meaning and ideological weight did change substantially, in a process that was similar to that described by Orwell in 1984. During the first phase of the dictatorship, the model of the «good citizen» to be cultivated through education was that of a disciplined individual, committed to social order, capable of *choice*, ideologically neutral, fearful of public demonstrations of popular will and with a strong and firmly established national spirit – all of which in turn required setting in motion a schooling culture that would uphold such principles. Discourses regarding this question were, in general terms, mobilized through the following narrative: the regimes prior to the NRP had corrupted the grandiosity of Argentina and had utilized education in order to do so. The new government, however, was to defend true democracy and freedom and safeguard them against the so-called «leftist factions», the tenuous name adopted for the enemy and which was to prove broad and vague enough for anything and anyone to be potentially included.

Conversely, later, as the process of constitutional normalization gained shape, the prototype of the Argentinean subject that the educational system was to foster became the «good» Republican, guarantor of the National Constitution, tolerant of the «other», respectful towards dissent, promoter of freedom, justice and solidarity, with a clear sense of the Argentine nation, as

³⁹ D. Doval, C. Kaufmann, M.I. Monzón, *El trabajo como contenido de enseñanza en los manuales de Civismo (Argentina 1976-1989)*, «Ciencia, Docencia y Tecnología», vol. 43, 2011, pp. 55-96.

well as a solidly developed Argentinean and Latin American consciousness. Such objectives entailed and required more dynamic and modern styles and techniques of education that enabled young people to experience themselves as citizens. In the case of «La Nación», these messages were articulated within its broader editorial project, which meant that the family figured as central within its discussions of pedagogy and education for citizenship.

Political uncertainty also filtered through to discussions about education in the media. Both «La Prensa» and «La Nación» lamented the absence of civic culture in the average Argentinean. The papers also expressed the concern that such immaturity and lack of civic maturity might jeopardise the newly-initiated return to constitutional normality. The situation was blamed for the most part on the deficient education for citizenship that the Argentinean population had long since received, saturated as it had been with dogmatism and authoritarianism, and which had done nothing other than contribute to the dismantlement of the social, political and cultural fabric of the country. This meant that, in that particular moment of Argentina's history, the responsibility borne by the educational system in regards to education for citizenship took on a new and crucially important dimension.

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Drawing for the nation. The role of drawing classes in the construction process of the national identity and industry (1861-1891)*

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ABSTRACT: The present contribution aims at explaining the importance of teaching drawing in the construction process of the national identity and production during the first forty-years period after the unification; this process was placed within a wider framework of general industrial growth which required an educational system based on the valorization of graphic disciplines. This article will illustrate the most significant actions that the educational policies took at this respect, which often coincided with the participation of Italy to universal expositions, that represented, at the same time, the occasion to reinforce the role of Italy as a political and economic force and to strengthen the national identity.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Technical Education; Italy; Educational Policy; Italy; XIX Century.

Introduction

The teaching of drawing has not received, up to date, the proper attention from school historians. The national historical-educational patrimony lacks the useful documents for an in-depth analysis of the theme, although this represented, during the period analyzed here, a central issue for the definition of technical-

* List of abbreviations: MPI = Minister of Public Instruction; MAIC = Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce; C.M. = ministerial note; R.D. = royal decree; BUMPI = Official Bulletin of the Minister of Public Instruction.

professional study paths functional to the strategy of industrial growth pursued by the Italian government¹. This is certainly due to the greater attention that has always been given to humanistic studies versus technical education². The research results presented herein, in fact, are mostly referred to the artistic/historical historiography that studied the educational paths of the artists and craftsmen, that were connected to the elaboration of the visual language of XIX century industrial society. The analysis of these contributions, the proceedings of pedagogy and arts congresses, and the reports from the universal expositions, have helped to define the political and cultural framework of the regulations promulgated by MAIC and MPI, which had the jurisdiction over the technical and professional education at that time³.

The expositions represented the starting point for all discussions on the theme⁴; these were the places that brought up the value, from the point of

¹ See the text by C. Baldoni, *L'insegnamento del disegno nella scuola italiana postunitaria: l'istruzione scientifica, l'istruzione tecnica nel settore costruzioni*, Roma, Aracne, 2006.

² For an in-depth analysis of technical and professional instruction in Italy see: G. Castelli, *L'istruzione professionale in Italia*, Milano, Vallardi, 1915; A. Tonelli, *L'istruzione tecnica e professionale di stato nelle strutture e nei programmi da Casati ai giorni nostri*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1964; C.G. Lacaita, *Istruzione e sviluppo industriale in Italia 1859-1914*, Firenze, Giunti G. Barbera, 1973; S. Soldani, *L'istruzione tecnica nell'Italia liberale (1861-1900)*, «Studi storici», n. 1, 1981, pp. 79-117; C.G. Lacaita, *Alla ricerca dell'economia perduta. L'istruzione tecnica e lo sviluppo economico in Italia, 1840-1914*, «Rivista milanese di economia», n. 19, 1986, pp. 135-144; A. Santoni Rugiu, *Nostalgia del maestro artigiano*, Firenze, L. Manzuoli, 1988; F. Bacchetti, *Il dibattito sull'istruzione tecnica e la legge Casati nell'Italia delle destra liberale*, in G. Genovesi (ed.), *Cultura e istruzione tecnica-professionale in Italia tra '800 e '900. Atti del V Convegno Nazionale CIRSE (Centro italiano per la ricerca storico-educativa)*, Venezia, novembre 1988, Pisa, ETS, 1988; F. Hazon, *Storia della formazione tecnica e professionale in Italia*, Roma, Armando Editore, 1991; A. Santoni Rugiu, *Il braccio e la mente: un millennio di educazione divaricata*, Scandicci, La Nuova Italia, 1995; M.F. Gallifante, *L'insegnamento tecnico nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento. Aspetti del dibattito prima e dopo l'inchiesta Scialoja sull'istruzione secondaria*, in *Una storia dell'economia politica dell'Italia liberale*, 2 Voll., Milano, Franco Angeli, 2002, vol. I, pp. 199-228; F. Pruneri, *L'istruzione professionale in Italia: lo sviluppo della legislazione*, in E. Bandolini (ed.), *L'eredità del Beato Lodovico Pavoni. Storia e sviluppo della sua fondazione nel periodo 1849-1949. Atti del Convegno di studi*, Brescia, Congregazione dei Figli di Maria Immacolata Pavoniani, 2007; A. Santoni Rugiu, *Breve storia dell'educazione artigiana*, Roma, Carocci, 2008; C.G. Lacaita, *L'istruzione tecnico - professionale e la modernizzazione italiana*, «Nuova Secondaria», n. 7, 2010, pp. 35-42; V. Viola, *Agli albori dell'istruzione professionale in Molise (1848-1865)*, in H.A. Cavallera (ed.), *La ricerca storico-educativa oggi. Un confronto di Metodi, Modelli e Programmi di ricerca*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia Editore, 2013, pp. 591-603; V. Viola, *L'istruzione tecnica nel Meridione nel quarantennio post-unitario (1861-1898). L'esperienza del Molise*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 9, n. 1, 2014, pp. 559-601. For a framework of the state of art of the studies in historic/educational field on the theme of technical/professional education see: V. Viola, *Dalle scuole di disegno ai musei di arte industriale. Percorsi di educazione ed istruzione artistico e professionale in Italia durante l'Ottocento. L'esperienza del Molise*, Doctoral Thesis, Department of Education, Cultural Heritage and Tourism (Supervisor Roberto Sani), Macerata, Università degli Studi di Macerata, Academic Year 2013/2014.

³ In the period analyzed technical and professional education was under the jurisdiction of both MPI and MAIC. For an in-depth analysis see Viola, *Dalle scuole di disegno ai musei di arte industriale*, cit.

⁴ For an in-depth analysis on expositions see P. Colombo, *Le esposizioni universali: i mestieri*

view of the industrial growth, of professional education based on the teaching of drawing – at first experienced in France and then amplified in England⁵ – where art was interpreted in a productive key. The educational paths that were included in such a system – and whose highest expression was represented by industrial and arts museum – were often the centers for the elaboration of decorative and industrial arts, where the techniques of industrial work were applied to arts, thus obtaining low cost objects. This new low cost “elegant merchandise” utterly conquered the market, thus leading several nations to redefine their system of professional education.

Initially, «useful arts» in Italy were supported especially in Lombardy, given the industrial vocation of the territory. Several representatives of the intellectual, educational and political environment close to the Lombard entrepreneurship sector, like Camillo Boito, Pietro Selvatico, Giuseppe Colombo etc., firmly supported the opportunity to create *ad hoc* schools for the future operators of the artistic industry sector, and to give more value to the teaching of drawing. The idea was to conceive drawing courses as a booster for the industrial progress and a means for spreading the language of national industry among the artist-workers, who had the task to recuperate the supremacy that Italy had held for centuries in the crafts and luxury sectors.

This article will attempt to track down the main initiatives taken by the national school policies at this respect – which often coincided with the participation of Italy to universal expositions and that constantly looked at the educational systems of European industrial powers – by highlighting the reasons that prevented drawing from being the progress coefficient of Italian industry.

d'arte sulla scena del mondo (1851-2010), Venezia, Marsilio, 2012.

⁵ For a framework on industrial arts in Europe see: *Il R. Museo italiano*, Torino, Tipografia C. Favale e comp., 1873, pp. 9-17; F. Bologna, *Dalle arti minori all'industrial design: storia di una ideologia*, Bari, Laterza, 1972; G. Are, *Alle origini dell'Italia industriale*, Napoli, Guida Editori, 1974; E. Castelnuovo (ed.), *Storia del disegno industriale*, Milano, Electa, 1989; M. Picone Petrusa, *L'arte nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia dall'Unità alla seconda guerra mondiale*, in *Storia del Mezzogiorno. La cultura contemporanea*, Napoli, Edizioni del Sole, Rizzoli, 1991, vol. XIV; U. Bile, *Musei e Scuole Tecnico Industriali e formazione professionale a Napoli tra il 1806 ed il 1848*, in *Musei, tutela e legislazione dei beni culturali a Napoli tra '700 e '800. Quaderni del Dipartimento di Discipline Storiche dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli*, Napoli, Luciano, 1995; L. Arbace, *Dalle Esposizioni murattiane e borboniche alla nascita del Museo Artistico Industriale di Napoli: brevi note sulla «promozione»*, in *Civiltà dell'Ottocento. Le arti figurative*, Napoli, Electa, 1997; G. Ricci, Boito e la didattica delle arti decorative, in G. Zucconi, F. Castellani, *Camilo Boito: un'architettura per l'Italia unita*, Venezia, Marsilio, 2000; M. Amari, *I musei delle aziende: la cultura della tecnica tra arte e storia*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2001; O. Selvafolta, *Arti industriali e istituzioni scolastiche tra Ottocento e Novecento: una realtà lombarda*, in D. Bigazzi, M. Meriggi, *Storia d'Italia. Le regioni dall'Unità ad oggi. La Lombardia*, Torino, Einaudi, 2001; F. Mangone (ed.), *Architettura e arti applicate fra teoria e progetto. La storia, gli stili, il quotidiano 1850-1914*, Napoli, Electa, 2005; G. Bigatti, S. Onger (edd.), *Arti tecnologia progetto. Le esposizioni d'industria in Italia prima dell'Unità*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2007.

1. *Industrial and decorative arts and the crisis of Made in Italy*

With Italy being made, the problem was not only «making Italians»: the *Made in Italy* needed an identity, too, although it was actually born even «before Italians»⁶. Giving an identity to the national productions was necessary not only for strengthening the sense of belonging to the nation, but also to launch it on the international market. The political and cultural fragmentation that had characterized Italy before *Risorgimento*, had not facilitated a sense of political or cultural belonging among the producers nor, consequently, the full conscience or knowledge of the national manufacturing style. Moreover, Italian producers tended to remain anchored to an old-fashioned way to make arts, and to refuse to apply to the craft production the innovation and the features of the mechanical industry work. And it is especially with respect to this latter point, that «Italian production could not keep up with French's or English's»⁷. The match arts/industry had produced a whole range of elegant articles at small prices, suitable for a type of market that addressed both to aristocracy and the middle class. This was the outcome of an experimentation based on the mechanization of the production of both luxury and daily-use objects, made by workers whose graphic culture was functional to industry. The wide consent given to this «decorative and industrial type of art» forced the entrepreneurial and political world to redefine the production standards of luxury goods and crafts that were starting to lose their prestige⁸.

To be competitive, governments needed to imitate those countries which were building their fortune on industrial arts. It was not simply a matter of adopting a production method, but a whole new culture that combined entrepreneurship with arts, and therefore a new model of professional education. Ornella Selvafolta says:

It was not simply a matter of renewing production processes, but investing on the phases related to the very project and the drawing, and to intervene on the very training methods and aesthetical education of the makers. Hence the debate on a new and more conscious questioning on the functional use of objects, with useful reflections on the mutual influences between arts and industry, and, consequently, on the fruitful provisions to take in the field of education, teaching tools, and the institution of model museums⁹.

Such a production resulted from a complex strategy of economic growth enacted by the British government, that used as leverage a widespread net of design schools for workers revolving around South Kensington Museum, today *Victoria and Albert Museum*, that made available for the workers a whole

⁶ Colombo, *Le esposizioni universali*, cit., p. 69.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹ Selvafolta, *Arti industriali e istituzioni scolastiche tra Ottocento e Novecento*, cit., p. 864.

collection of industrial goods and minor arts objects, till then banned both by the Conservation authorities and by academic programs¹⁰. The Paris Exposition of 1855 decreed the success of such a system. England out-matched the other exhibitors; therefore, the other participating countries had to acknowledge the necessity to comply to the new educational and production model proposed by England if they wanted to be competitive on the international market.

2. An educational system to redesign: observations by intellectuals and Italian delegates to universal expositions (1861-1867)

From the second half of XIX century the participation to expositions has represented for industrialized states an instrument of national affirmation, as well as a moment of confrontation and verification of the respective policies of economic development. To Italy, which had only recently affirmed itself as a unified state, these events were essential for outlining, by observing the countries guiding the industrialization process, an educational model functional to the industrial growth project. The expositions, in fact, were the mirror of the national production state of health. Right after the Unification, Giuseppe Colombo had expressed, from his participation to the Florentine exposition of 1861, his concern for the estrangement of the Nation from the new industrial arts language. The negative evaluations received by the products exhibited in Florence, «on one hand too excellent and virtuous to be widespread, and on the other hand lacking the added value corresponding to the evolving needs of the public, reflected the acknowledgment of the loss of the ancient national supremacy»¹¹. After the London Exposition of 1862, these concerns affected also the political and intellectual national community. To cut the distances from the European powers was necessary a reformation of the national artistic culture in terms of production for the progress sake.

¹⁰ The Museum contained the *National Art Training School*, established in 1837, devoted to the preparation of the workers assigned to applied arts and industry and to future instructors. The English government also disposed for the establishment of: a Department of Sciences and Arts to promote the study of drawing; a central normal school of drawing within South Kensington Museum; schools of arts all over the territory. The Government guaranteed an allowance equivalent to a quarter of the necessary expense to build the premises and sent a teacher, provided, though, that the local committee promised to establish drawing classes in 5 elementary schools, or to 500 pupils, in addition to a night class to hold three times a week. In 1851 England had 19 drawing schools; in 1855, 64, which in 1860 rose up to 85. See P. Villari, *Relazione sull'istruzione elementare in Inghilterra e nella Scozia al comitato italiano per la esposizione internazionale di Londra*, Torino, Dalmazzo, 1864, p. 256.

¹¹ Selvafolta, *Arti industriali e istituzioni scolastiche tra Ottocento e Novecento*, cit., p. 863.

To the London Exhibition took part Pasquale Villari¹², the future Minister of Education, who proposed the conversion of the national elementary school system into the industrialized foreign systems, based on the teaching of drawing. He was convinced that the industrial progress of nations such as England or France was connected to the study reformation based on the development of industrial drawing. He wrote:

The results were already visible after the Exposition of 1862. Carvings, fabrics, porcelains, majolica testified at one time the expertise in drawing acquired by the workers and the study made on Italian masterpieces. [...] But to really draw profit from these talents, the industrial drawing needs to be promoted extensively [...]¹³.

These initial solicitations remained unheard in the educational sector; in fact, after the Paris exposition in 1867, Italian production did not record significant improvements. This was because Italian workers were not yet skilled enough in the graphic disciplines. The delegate Giuseppe de Luca, disappointed by the judgement expressed by the examining board, which had admitted just one Neapolitan candidate over 30, said:

Our workers lack the resources for the advancement of the arts learning, whereas Fine Arts Academies enjoy an Oriental luxury! A lot of money is spent to make mediocre and therefore poor painters!¹⁴

De Luca was especially against Fine Arts Academies which «heavily weighing on the state finances» were spread all over the nation and whose supposed benefits were «completely out of date» and, therefore, «hindrances to the advancement of useful arts»¹⁵.

The academic arts culture, at least initially, hindered the fulfillment of an industrial rebirth project that had to take into account the concept that «arts could pay». The application of the artistic drawing to the industrial sector irritated the purists, who were reticent to destine the artistic creation to different aims, and to recognize equal cultural dignity to decorative arts, which were considered minor arts. Besides, the utilization of arts in production processes entailed a redefinition of the artist's role within the society that overturned the cultural and social hierarchy safeguarded for centuries by the academies. Giuliana Ricci said:

¹² Pasquale Villari, delegate of the Government to the exposition was in charge to draft a report on elementary education in England and in Scotland. His report, finalized in 1867, collected his impression on the current national and foreign school situation. See Villari, *Relazione sull'istruzione elementare in Inghilterra e nella Scozia al comitato italiano per la esposizione internazionale di Londra*, cit.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

¹⁴ G. De Luca, *L'Italia nell'esposizione universale del 1867 in Parigi per Giuseppe de Luca*, Napoli, Tipografia dei Fratelli Testa, 1869, p. 123.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

In the Sixties was still widespread the belief that the only institution that could influence the drawing was the academy [...]; in such a context, though, the people of culture realized that the education of artisans had a hard time developing within the logic of the academic system, which, in its turn, was hindered by an excessive intake and by an exagerate number of too divergent educational objectives¹⁶.

The delegates to the expositions were the first who criticized this system. They supported the adaptation of the educational system to the modern market demand, to be carried out through the implementation of drawing classes right from elementary school, the reduction in number of Fine Arts academies and the enhancement of educational channels for artisans and workers.

The economic destiny of the nation and the responsibility to rehabilitate its name were now entrusted to artisans and workers. Pietro Selvatico in 1867 addressed to the students of the *School of practical drawing of modelling and carving for the craftsmanship* in Padua with the following words:

Us, who were once so skilled in the blacksmith work, when will we even up the English and other foreigners, so to keep up with the competition on European markets and be self-sufficient? Only when the drawing will be the basis of industrial education [...] Let us work, then, brothers, let us always work, let's work for the sake of our families and the country [...]¹⁷.

The relaunch of the *Made in Italy* could not depend upon the artists of the academies who produced arts for its own sake, but had to be entrusted to the workers of professional school who knew how to draw profit from it.

3. *Drawing without industry. The teaching of drawing in the first years after the Unification (1860-1867)*

The negative results that Italy obtained at universal expositions triggered the first reflections and initiatives made by school policies towards the teaching of drawing. Before then, in fact, such discipline was only secondary. Especially around the time of Unification, the political concerns and the perception of Italy's industrial delay as to the other European countries contributed to keep this subject confined within the boundaries of the mere technical studies. It is emblematic that drawing, within the organization of technical schools established by the Casati Law, was paired to Calligraphy, whereas in technical institutes to Geometry fundamentals. The regulation for technical schools and technical institutes issued by Terenzio Mamiani, implementing the Casati

¹⁶ Ricci, *Boito e la didattica delle arti decorative*, cit, p. 141.

¹⁷ P. Selvatico, *Nell'apertura della nuova Scuola di disegno pratico di modellazione e d'intaglio negli artigiani istituita dal Comune di Padova. Discorso di Pietro Selvatico. Presidente del Comitato de' Patroni della Scuola* (21 Novembre 1867), Padova, Tipografia Editrice Sacchetto, 1867.

Law n. 4315 of 19 September 1860, confirmed this course of action. In the prospects reporting the number and length of the technical institutes classes, the entry «drawing» has no specifications. In technical schools, instead, drawing exercises (decoration in 1st year, line drawing and decoration in 2nd year, architectural drawing in 3rd year) were considered, just like modern languages, optional courses, financed by the single communes¹⁸. A few positive signals were recorded after Italy's participation to the London Exposition in 1862. Villari's proposition, expressed in the 1864 report, was to include drawing among the basic courses along with reading, writing and calculating, on the basis that «drawing was essential to promote not only the culture, but also the heritage of the nation»¹⁹. The following year, Gian Maria Bertini in its *Report and proposals for secondary teaching [Relazione e proposte sull'insegnamento secondario]*²⁰, went a step further and suggested to include drawing among the subjects of the first three years of the middle school, that he proposed to establish by merging the gymnasium with the technical school. By adding drawing classes – «useful both to those who want to learn mechanical arts and to those who study natural sciences» – the general cultural framework essential for the preparation to both professional and scientific careers would have been complete²¹.

The road was still long, though; the typically humanistic frame of mind of the nation was not inclined to recognize a prominent position to practical and scientific courses within study programs, and to adapt them to industrial needs. The *Directions and Programs for the classical, technical, normal and pedagogical secondary teaching, and elementary teaching in the schools of the Kingdom [Istruzioni ed i Programmi per l'insegnamento secondario classico e tecnico, normale e magistrale, ed elementare nelle Scuole del Regno]*, emanated with the Royal Decree of 10 October 1867²², that were supposed to give a practical turn to technical schools, did not bring any substantial change, not even with reference to practical courses like drawing. A slight change interested only the weekly amount of hours and the course's denomination. The definition

¹⁸ MPI, *Raccolta delle leggi, decreti, regolamenti, circolari, istruzioni e decreti ministeriali vigenti nel Regno d'Italia sull'ordinamento dell'istruzione normale, secondaria, classica e tecnica ed elementari, con annotazioni e raffronti approvata dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, Saluzzo, Tipografia Fratelli Lobetti-Bodoni, 1870, pp. 591, 605.

¹⁹ Villari, *L'istruzione elementare nell'Inghilterra e nella Scozia*, cit., p. 243.

²⁰ *Sulle condizioni della Pubblica Istruzione nel Regno d'Italia. Relazione generale presentata al Ministro dal Consiglio Superiore di Torino*, Milano, Stamperia Reale in esercizio di A. Molina e Socj, 1865.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

²² MPI, *Raccolta delle leggi, decreti, regolamenti, circolari, istruzioni e decreti ministeriali vigenti nel Regno d'Italia sull'ordinamento dell'istruzione normale, secondaria, classica e tecnica ed elementari, con annotazioni e raffronti approvata dal Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione*, cit., pp. 591, 605.

of the discipline lost its specificities, and it gained only half an hour per week at the 2nd year of school.

Even the MAIC was initially negligent towards graphic disciplines. The Royal Decree n. 1712 of 18 October 1865, that reformed technical institutes into industrial and professional, did not bring any substantial improvement in that respect²³. It is also quite striking that the paragraph entitled *Teaching rules* did not give any indication on the topic. Even the observations that follow the *Teaching prospects* [*Specchi degli insegnamenti*], each one referring to the nine sections described, rarely refer to the teaching of drawing. It is nonetheless possible to trace within the document a first, shy element of interest towards decorative drawing and its applications to industry. The *Observations* [*Osservazioni*] that guide the teaching prospect of the section *Chemical industries* [*Industrie chimiche*] tell that at the 3rd year were held exercises of decorative drawing that «were needed for the specialization to industry». Even the section *Mechanical Industries* [*Industrie meccaniche*] contained, until the 3rd year, drawing and descriptive geometry exercises, along with decorative drawing. The 4th year merchant navy students, instead, had to practice in steam machines' special drawing. The educational policy intensified its efforts in this direction after the participation to the Paris Exposition of 1867, as an attempt to react to yet another failure on the foreign market, rather than out of genuine interest.

4. *Reading, writing, calculating and... drawing: MAIC and MPI's initiatives in favour of drawing classes (1868-1891)*

A reverse trend was recorded after the deeds of the *Commission for the coordination of technical schools with technical institutes*, appointed on 16 January 1868 by the MAIC Minister Emilio Broglio²⁴.

Afterwards, both MAIC and MPI gave drawing more importance. At first, MAIC proved more sensitive than MPI as to the importance of teaching drawing with reference to the industrial-artistic production, probably due to its productive/economic vocation. After the suggestion of Domenico Berti, President of the High Council for industrial and professional education, in November 1868 MAIC started a study to measure the quality of drawing classes in technical institutes and to propose actions towards its improvement²⁵.

²³ R.D. n. 1712 del 18 October 1865, *Regolamento organico per la istruzione industriale e professionale*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, dei decreti e delle istruzioni circolari dell'anno 1867 ed altre anteriori*, Firenze, Editore Enrico Dalmazzo, 1867, p. 865; Tonelli, *L'istruzione tecnica e professionale di stato*, cit., 1964, p. 23.

²⁴ MAIC, *Gli istituti tecnici in Italia*, Firenze, Tipografia Barbera, 1869, p. 127.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 103, 128.

Confronting the drawing essays of the technical institutes students with those of other European students looked like the best way to measure the quality of the national institutes. Four commissions were appointed²⁶, each one in charge of implementing the conclusions of the preceding one. The fourth, led by Selvatico and composed by Berretti, Giusti and Colombo, had the task to deliver the general result, useful for proposing a teaching reformation in technical institutes. The weight of drawing within the school curricula became more significant after the emanation of the Decree of 3 November 1869, which followed the deeds of the four commissions that MAIC had established in 1868²⁷. This provision commanded a bigger relevance and articulation of drawing within the programs of the technical institutes' sections. According to this decree, drawing classes in technical institutes had to include the following typologies: descriptive geometry, topography, architectural, machines and decorative drawing. Moreover, the provision revealed the inclination to give the relative assignments to teachers who were culturally closer to the particular discipline. For example, the descriptive geometry instructor was in charge of teaching the theoretic and applied sections, the construction instructor was in charge of topographic and architectural drawing, and to the mechanic instructor was assigned the teaching of machines' drawing. Only the decorative drawing class was assigned to a particular teacher. The decree decided, furthermore, that in case the class had more than 40 students, the teacher could have asked for an assistant²⁸.

The MPI's response was quicker than expected. Right after the publication of the commission's results, the MPI presented the first provisions aiming at implementing and giving a productive turn to the teaching of drawing in Fine Arts academies and in technical schools. Minghetti, Ministry of the MAIC, in the letter published in *Technical Institutes in Italy [Gli istituti tecnici in Italia]* in 1869, praised Berti, President of the High Council for industrial and professional education, for the emanation of the Royal Decree of 9 July 1869²⁹, that established special drawing classes at Fine Arts Academies and

²⁶ During the works of the third commission presided by Colombo, another one was appointed, composed by Brin, Director of naval constructions, and D'Amico, a Parliament man, for evaluating the quality of the essays submitted by institutes of merchant navy. The conclusions were illustrated in the report of 23 June 1869. *Ibid.*, p. 176. The fourth and last commission, presided by Selvatico, composed by Beretti, Colombo and Giusti, on the basis of the results from the previous studies, drafted, on the report of 10 September 1869, a reformation project for the study of drawing in technical institutes.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. XXX.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ In the instructions for the Directors of fine arts academies on the special courses of decorative and technical drawing of 30 October 1869, the Minister Villari underlined that the instructions described in the document concerned especially industrial drawing. R.D n. 5198 August 1869, *Programmi pei corsi speciali di disegno da istituirsi in alcune Accademie di belle arti*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1869 ed altre anteriori*, Torino, Tipografia Editrice di Enrico Dalmazzo, 1869, pp. 1284-1285; on 30 October Pasquale

approved teaching programs including decorative drawing applied to industry and decorative architecture. The provision was the sign of a change of attitude of the cultural world and the school system towards graphic disciplines, which brought to revise programs and update the artistic, technical and professional educational culture in a productive light. The new state of things is very well pictured in the report that Pasquale Villari sent to the Minister of Public Education on 1 August 1869, on the *Approval decree of the Rules for elementary drawing schools in the Fine Arts institute of Naples* [Decreto di approvazione del Regolamento per le scuole di disegno elementare nell'Istituto di belle arti di Napoli]. The report says:

Italy needs elementary drawing schools, which is necessary not only to all artists, whatsoever arts they wish to profess, but also to the people who devote themselves to industry, and to those who want to open their soul to the enjoyment of the works of art³⁰.

The MPI involved even technical schools in the process of cultural revaluation of drawing. The Minister Napoli, following his MAIC fellow, with the note dated 19 April 1869, invited the technical schools heads to send the students' essays to the Ministry for the ritual surveys. Such an operation was essential to improve the graphic culture of the nation's technicians and for the progress of the county. The note says:

The teaching of drawing has to be fundamental in every system of public education. And for a good reason, because the industries which count on drawing or take profit from it are many; the advantages coming from this practice helped to improve already existing industries or contributed to create new ones [...]³¹.

It is clear from this note that the MPI was finally oriented towards a school policy based on industrial drawing. Such an effort is also traceable in the use of a vocabulary updated to the concept of the industrialized Europe school culture; words like arts and industry, till then totally separated, started to go hand in hand.

A great impulse was also given by the numerous discussions on the topic that were held within the congresses on arts and pedagogy from the 1870s. Pietro Biscarra wrote in 1872:

The importance of the subject, as well as of finding an harmonic educational system is strongly felt; many documents have referred to a desire for improvement, as was testified

Villari, on behalf of the Minister of Public Education, published the *Istruzioni ai Direttori della Accademie di Belle Arti intorno ai corsi speciali di disegno tecnico decorativo*, *ibid.*, pp. 1663-1664.

³⁰ R.D. n. 5215, 1st August 1869, *Regolamento per le Scuole di disegno elementare dell'Istituto di belle arti di Napoli*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, decreti, istruzioni e circolari pubblicate nell'anno 1869 ed altre anteriori*, cit., p. 1319.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 704.

during the discussions that took place at the first Arts Congress in Parma or the Pedagogic Congress of Naples, where the topic was dealt with and successively documented in the Report of the special Commission presided by Domenico Morelli. The same topic will also be discussed in two sections of the next Arts Congress in Milan³².

A few years later, the Minister of Public Education Bonghi tried to strengthen and disseminate the drawing culture even among elementary schools. The idea, as explained in the note dated 20 November 1875³³, aimed at improving the preparation of the workers attending the drawing schools that had been multiplying all over the nation. The project, that required premises equipped with all the necessary instruments, would have been fulfilled only in those centers with 4th elementary classes with at least 80 pupils. The communes showing interest to the initiative would receive funding up to the amount of half the total sum.

The preparatory studies to the reformation of technical institutes of 1871 were more receptive of the new dispositions than those carried out by the MAIC between 1868 and 1869. Some of the Commissions' directions, not traceable in the Decree of 3rd November 1869, flew into Berti's report of 1st August 1871, attached to the note of 6 September of the Minister Castagnola³⁴. The teaching of drawing, as suggested by the 4th Commission, thanks to the studies' extension, found more space within the school organization, especially in the second biennium, and was calibrated to the curriculum of the single sections. The six weekly hours of decorative drawing classes held during the common biennium, had to provide the students with the necessary basic culture for working on the specific graphic disciplines of each curriculum. The second biennium contemplated, on a weekly basis: for the mathematics/physics section 6 hours of decorative drawing and 4 hours of descriptive geometry and drawing; for the industrial section, 5 hours of decorative drawing at the 3rd year, industrial mechanic and machines' drawing (6 hours at the 3rd and 10 hours at the 4th year), construction and construction drawing (5 hours at the 3rd and 8 hours at the 4th year); for the agronomic section, 6 hours of decorative drawing, practical geometry and topographic drawing at the 3rd and 4th year, 8 hours of rural construction and drawing at the 4th year; for the commercial

³² C.F. Biscarra, *Istruzione Artistica. Del disegno elementare e superiore ad uso delle scuole private e pubbliche d'Italia per Pietro Selvatico e incidentalmente di altre pubblicazioni di argomento analogo*, «Arte in Italia», n. 8, 1872, p. 113.

³³ C.M. of 20 November 1875, *Vantaggi derivanti dalla istituzione di scuole di disegno per le arti fabbrili, a compimento delle scuole elementari superiori maschili*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, dei decreti e delle istruzioni circolari dell'anno 1875 ed anteriori*, Firenze, Presso gli Editori, 1875, p. 1304.

³⁴ *Relazione del Vice Presidente del Consiglio Superiore per l'istruzione tecnica a S. E. il Ministro d'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio intorno alle riforme da introdursi negl'Istituti tecnici* annexed to C.M. of 6 September 1871, *Riforme da introdursi negli Istituti tecnici, e riparto delle materie d'insegnamento*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, dei decreti e delle istruzioni circolari dell'anno 1871 ed anteriori*, Firenze, Presso gli Editori, 1871, pp. 1581-1582.

section, only 6 hours of decorative drawing during the whole biennium. For the accountancy section, whose objective was to educate accountants, no drawing classes were foreseen in the second biennium³⁵.

In 1872 the heads of technical institutes, invited by the Minister to make propositions to improve the reformation of 1871, expressed a few recommendations also for this subject. The Minister Luzzatti, on the basis of said recommendations, which had been asked for on the note of 4 November 1872³⁶, suggested to dedicate the second biennium of the agronomic section only to the study of topographic and construction drawing, thus removing the decorative one, and to subdivide the drawing hours of the first biennium between the decorative and geometric drawing.

Even the drawing programs of technical schools complied, compatibly with their cultural nature, to the new orientations deriving from the surveys that had been carried out by the MAIC since 1868. Rather than providing particular graphic abilities to spend within a specific professional sector, the programs deriving from the emanation of the Royal Decree n. 5664 of 30 September 1880³⁷ by the Minister De Sanctis were aimed at giving the technical school students a wider knowledge of the decorative and geometric design. The aim was to provide the students with the sense of «good taste», as Coppini restated in the following Decree n. 3454 of 21 June 1885, which spread the *Annexed instructions for teaching in technical schools and institutes [Istruzioni per l'insegnamento allegate ai programmi d'insegnamento per le scuole tecniche e gli istituti]*³⁸, being the latter, in the meantime, fallen back into the jurisdiction of the MPI in 1877. The Decree said:

In technical education drawing has both a practical and an educational purpose. As such, it has to provide students with the instruments to understand and express the graphic representation of things. As far as the educational purpose is concerned, it aims at sensitizing the students to the importance of the resemblance between the drawing and object portrayed, and to judge the bounty of the representation, thus developing what it is called “good taste”. The drawing instructor will be conscious of the importance of his teaching by acknowledging that this aims to arise the general aesthetic sense, which affects the beauty of the industrial production, that is one of the great concerns of civil people nowadays³⁹.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1591-1593.

³⁶ C.M. of 4 November 1872, *Discipline per la divisione e l'ordine degli insegnamenti negl'Istituti tecnici*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, dei decreti e delle istruzioni circolari dell'anno 1872 ed anteriori*, Firenze, Presso gli Editori, 1872, p. 1318.

³⁷ R.D. n. 459, 30 September 1880, *Programmi ed orari per le Scuole tecniche*, in *Collezione celerifera delle leggi, dei decreti e delle istruzioni circolari dell'anno 1869 ed anteriori*, Roma, Tipografia Regia, 1881, pp. 1321-1322.

³⁸ R.D. n. 3454, 21 June 1885, *Approving the teaching programs and the set of rules for technical schools and institutions of the Kingdom*, in *Raccolta ufficiale delle leggi e dei decreti del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, Tipografia Regia, 1885.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4753.

In order to facilitate the development of the aesthetic sense, the MPI ordered that a room for drawing would be reserved in schools, in compliance with precise criteria of exposition and width, and equipped with the necessary instruments and furniture. Specifically, technical schools and institutes needed: a rich collection of courses of decorative drawing in lithography or etching, photo reproduction of arts collections and decorations belonging to the most representative styles and artistic periods; big-size boards drawn by the instructor, useful to the fulfillment of the gradual lessons; a collection of wire solids and big-sized plaster surfaces; a collection of plastered models representing leaves and different fine-style compositions⁴⁰. The cultural connotation that the provision gave to technical institutes lightened the teaching burden of the drawing courses required by MAIC's reformations of the 1870s. The students of the physics/mathematic section could now complete their common preparation of decorative and geometric drawing, accomplished in the biennium, with the classes of decorative applications and architectural drawing; those belonging to the agronomic section, with elements of topography and construction and related drawings. The accountancy section kept being drawing-free. The reformation of 1891, which simply modified the programs of the 1885 reform, did not change the teaching weight in technical institutes. The cultural connotation given by the MPI to technical studies organization had set aside the project of making drawing the grammar of Italian technicians for good.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4756.

The Correspondence (Corrispondenza) of «Il Giornalino della Domenica» (1906-1911): a training ground for the development of civic education and national sentiment in the Italian youths

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ABSTRACT: This article illustrates the attempt to promote among the youths of Italian middle-class the national identity and education to citizenship, by means of a little-known source that is the correspondence between young readers and editors in the periodical «Il Giornalino della Domenica», specifically, in the section *Corrispondenza*, between 1906 and 1911. The journal started as an educational/cultural project addressed to middle-class children with the aim to facilitate the creation of a sound national education through the celebration of patriotic ideals. The nationalistic tones can be found in some aspects of the journal's organization, like the creation of an army of young readers, initially promoted by Scarpelli in the column *Chiacchiere artistiche con i miei lettori* and, later, in the organization of the *Confederazione Giornalinesca* army, also traceable in the section *Parte Politica* of the *Corrispondenza*.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Italy; Periodical; Children's Literature; Education to Citizenship.

Introduction

«Il Giornalino della Domenica»¹ was the result of several elements that characterized the period between 1800 and 1900, and it was one of the Italian

¹ Hereinafter referred to as «Giornalino» or GdD.

journalistic experiences that better contributed to the definition of the concept of national identity and citizenship in the middle-class youths. The protagonist of this new editorial experience is definitely Luigi Bertelli, the Tuscan journalist also known as Vamba. The choices that Vamba made shaped this experience, which finds its place among the new propositions addressed to children and youths between 1800 and 1900; furthermore, it is the reflection of the cultural buzz linked to the mutations that the Italian society underwent in that period, as well as of the pushes towards a relaunch of the national education. This kind of journals were supported by the specialized editorial industry, of school-educational type, that based its development on the growing demand of periodicals addressed to a younger audience. «Il Giornalino della Domenica» was issued within a political scenario that was witnessing the growth of the liberalism, which started in 1900 by the governments of Zanardelli and Giolitti² and was oriented towards the consolidation of the liberal institutions by means of the democratic conquests of the middle and lower class. This process was supported by a project of democratization of the Italian society, including its educational structures, with the aim to scholarize the lower class and give a nationalistic imprint to education. By the second half of 1906, the Giolitti government reached its peak, even thanks to ulterior evolutions in politics, society, economics and culture. From that very year, in fact, within the socialist party developed a reformist trend under the guidance of Filippo Turati, that would eventually lead the Party. The other strong component that had characterized the society, the Catholic movement, was in its turn undergoing a phase of reorganization with the crisis of the Christian Democracy and the anti-modernist movement. On the other hand, new cultural streams and anti-democratic pushes were making their way into the Italian socio-political life by giving start to a new nationalistic season. All this was happening within a framework where economic growth was gradually giving way to crisis and industrial decline. In 1907, within a scenario still marked by a relative well-being, a wave of strikes was hitting the country with growing intensity, also due to the rise of new trade unions originating from the working class, like the Italian General Confederation of Labour (CGIL) or the Turin Industrial League.

The editorial experience dealt with in this contribution takes place within this articulated scenario.

² See A. Aquarone, *Tre capitoli sull'Italia giolittiana*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1987; G. Sabatucci, V. Vidotto, *Storia D'Italia*, 3. *Liberalismo e democrazia 1887-1914*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995; E. Gentile, *Le origini dell'Italia contemporanea, l'età giolittiana*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2003.

1. A new protagonist in Italian children's and youth literature: the role of Luigi Bertelli as a modern educator to national ideals

Over the last decade of 1800, the journalist Luigi Bertelli makes his first approach to children's journalism. He stands out from the other children's authors because of the innovative spirit that gave to children's literature, though being himself an 'educational' writer like the ones who had come before him³. He was animated by the ideal of «shaping a new ethic-civic conscience in the new generations, following the spirit of that political pedagogy that was supported by his idol Giuseppe Mazzini and by the heroes of Risorgimento»⁴.

He aroused the affection and interest of the youths, not only as a writer but also as a man and as a friend. His uniqueness, in fact, stands just in his closeness to youths, to whom he offered his knowledge and affection, rather than boring them with a merely educational attitude. Under the cheery disposition he hid a depth of sentiment and tenderness for the youths, to whom he used to give his best⁵. To fully understand the complexity of this figure, it should be taken into account that, as Fanciulli wrote, Vamba did not preserve his Mather's faith but «he never lost the religiousness, which he shaped in the theism of Mazzini and the adherence to the transcendence of ideal values»⁶.

His pen-name *Vamba* recalls the jester of Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, but also a Visigoth king of VII century Spain. He would later motivate, in «Il Gornalino della Domenica», the choice of his pen-name name like this: «in my veins flows the blood of a king; and in my brain springs the whim of a jester. Once, kings needed their jester and jesters needed their king. I, instead, am the king and the jester of myself»⁷.

In all the periodicals where Vamba used political satire, he hit ambitions, meanness and opportunism, but always in a benevolent and polite way, preferring the civil and moral function and the educational purposes that were hidden in the satire. He was a fervent supporter of Mazzini's ideas of nation and patriotism. He lined up against De Pretis' transformism and against Austria in favour of the democratic radicalism of Felice Cavallotti.

In the last decade of 1800, the Tuscan journalist reached a new and deeper reflection towards children's literature, that brought him to experiment, in 1893 at the age of 33, a new path, children's writing, through the publication

³ R. Lollo, *Sulla letteratura per l'infanzia*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2003.

⁴ A. Ascenzi, «Per educare la gioventù della nuova Italia». *Luigi Bertelli giornalista e scrittore per l'infanzia tra eredità risorgimentale e costruzione di una nuova coscienza etico-civile (1860-1920)*, in A. Ascenzi, M. Di Felice, R. Tumino (edd.), *Santa Giovinezza, lettere di Luigi Bertelli e dei suoi corrispondenti (1883-1920)*, Macerata, Alfabetica Edizioni, 2008, p. 17.

⁵ L. Nissin Rossi, *Vamba (Luigi Bertelli)*, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1954.

⁶ G. Fanciulli, *Scrittori e libri per l'infanzia*, Torino, SEI, 1953, p. 85.

⁷ GdD, vol. III, n. 35, 30 agosto 1908.

of the novel *Ciondolino*⁸ with Bemporad publishing house. This transition was due both to economic reasons (children's productions was more rewarding, as Capuana also said), and because «it is a thousand times more pleasant to work for the youths, who at least know how to laugh, than for adults, who don't know how to do even this»⁹.

On 1903, at the age of 43, Vamba became the father of his first son, Beppino. This event was the motive for an even more passionate dedication to the pedagogical-educational activity. In 1907 he became the father of Ida.

The passage to children's literature in those years was not a rejection of his former political engagement, but rather a new way to express his political ideas. Bertelli's intent was to reconnect the youths with the national ideals. The ideals of nationalism and irredentism that the author pursued, though, are not to be associated to the forms of imperialistic and antidemocratic nationalism that were being established in those years, but rather to the traditional patriotism derived from the ideas of Mazzini and the Risorgimento.

To this political-educational aspect can be referred his civic history works, where he dealt with the issue of nationality, unification, republican ideals. The first of those texts was issued in 1905 with the title *Per la storia della Giovine Italia, miscellanea di lettere, scritti, documenti inediti e rari riguardanti i fatti del Risorgimento italiano*¹⁰ [For the history of Young Italy, a collection of letters, writings, unpublished and rare documents on the facts of Italian Risorgimento].

The educational adventure that engaged him the most was the direction, in 1906, of the weekly journal for youths «Il Giornalino della Domenica» that last until 1911, when it stopped because of financial difficulties; it started again in 1918.

Another work to remember for its educational and social value is *I bimbi di Italia si chiaman Balilla. Ragazzi italiani del Risorgimento*¹¹ [Italian children are called Balilla. The Italian youths of Risorgimento], published in 1915, when Italy entered World War I. This book of patriotic propaganda told with vividness the story of the youths of Risorgimento from 1821 to 1860. Vamba was a supporter of the Italian intervention in alliance with the Entente Powers, and participated to the War as a volunteer, by the side of those youths that had shaped themselves to the patriotic ideas expressed in «Il Giornalino della Domenica», and whose names were indicated in his books so that their memory

⁸ The opinions on the first edition diverge: for some it is 1893 (see A. Michieli, *Vamba*, Brescia, La Scuola 1965, p. 33); for others 1895 (P. Boero, C. De Luca, *La letteratura per l'infanzia*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1995, p. 115).

⁹ Introduction by Luigi Bertelli to his *Novelle Lunghe per i ragazzi che non si contentano mai*, voll. I e II, Firenze, Bemporad, 1920.

¹⁰ L. Bertelli (ed.), *Per la storia della Giovine Italia, miscellanea di lettere, scritti, documenti inediti e rari riguardanti i fatti del Risorgimento italiano*, Firenze, Luigi Bertelli editore, 1905.

¹¹ L. Bertelli, *I bimbi d'Italia si chiaman Balilla. I ragazzi italiani nel risorgimento nazionale*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1915.

could be preserved.¹² According to Anna Ascenzi¹³, Vamba took his distances from the rhetoric of De Amicis and, although he was glorifying the same values of sacrifice, altruism, patriotism and accomplishment of duties, he expressed them with «a rapid, clear, joyful style that showed not only his personal writing technique, but also the adaptation to what youths should read [...], an example of how history should be narrated to youths so that they remember and by this are educated»¹⁴. The text was an accusation against «the selfishness of the miserable bourgeois and proletarian bureaucracies» and it contained anticlerical and anti-pacifist elements, unlike a few years before when the ideas he expressed went quite to the opposite direction.

Another important element to understand the support that Vamba gave to the nationalistic spirit of the time was the forefront participation, in 1919, to the «Fiume Exploit» [*Impresa di Fiume*], together with the youths of «Il Giornalino». On 12th September 1919 Gabriele D'Annunzio, with 2.600 legionnaires, occupied the city of Fiume which, according to the International Treaties, was not to be part of the Italian territory. «Il Giornalino» published with great emphasis the article of the poet who exalted the heroism of the Fiume youths during World War I¹⁵, and Vamba positively commented the action on the «Il Giornalino» with these words: «the endeavor of the poet is undeniably good because it is inspired to the love for the Country and the Justice; and it is beautiful, because it has been accomplished with joyful boldness by a superior man who is at same time a great poet and a heroic soldier [...]»¹⁶. From the very birth of his journal, Vamba had been a supporter of the irredentist cause, which claimed the incorporation to Italy of Trentino, Venezia Giulia, Istria and Dalmazia, which still belonged to the Austro-Hungarian empire, although the majority of their inhabitants were Italian speakers. The topic was further emphasized by the introduction, among the pages of the journal, of a space dedicated to the Fiume chronicles, developed by Giuseppe Fanciulli from 1918.

Vamba's production is characterized by strong political references to the historic period, expressed and dealt with by means of a heartfelt educational vocation, accompanied by an easy-going tone and the frequent use of actual elements merged with popular traditions. Other important element is the sarcasm against the 800s concept of charity and human arrogance. Furthermore, his works are characterized by a vivid moralism that asks for the right punishment

¹² Giosuè Borsi, Rino-Schiavo Campo di Palermo, Gigi Damin di Roma, Mario Slataper, Gino Picciola di Trieste, Giulio Passerini di Firenze. See Bertelli, *I bimbi d'Italia si chiaman Balilla. I ragazzi italiani nel risorgimento nazionale*, cit., p. XIV.

¹³ Ascenzi, «Per educare la gioventù della nuova Italia». Luigi Bertelli giornalista e scrittore per l'infanzia tra eredità risorgimentale e costruzione di una nuova coscienza etico-civile (1860-1920), cit., p. 42.

¹⁴ Michieli, *Vamba*, cit., p. 161.

¹⁵ G. D'Annunzio, *I ragazzi di Fiume...*, GdD, vol. VIII, n. 40, 21 September 1919, pp. 1-3.

¹⁶ Vamba, ...e i ragazzi delle altre città d'Italia, GdD, vol. VIII, n. 40, 21 September 1919, p. 3.

for crimes; moreover, they are innovative for the loving look on the child, who is no longer a simple subject to educate from scratch and treat like a *tabula rasa*, but he lives, he is not only mind and brain but also heart and soul. The new subject loses the negative qualities and the faulty attitude that had characterized him until then, and acquires the physiognomy of a creature who goes towards life and to whom the adult-educator (Vamba) places his hopes and faith of man and Italian.

In Vamba's production there are also posthumous works, like *O Patria mia!...*¹⁷ [Oh, my Country] published between 1922 and 1924, and the color pamphlet *Casa mia casa mia, novella vera davvero*¹⁸ [My home, my home, a truly true story], published in 1919 on occasion of the VI Prestito Nazionale [VI National Loan] with Bemporad types, to persuade Italian to support it (the pamphlet was republished in 1927). The pamphlet narrates the history of Italy as a tale, where Italy is personified as a queen banished from her own house, and later brought back thanks to Beppe il rosso (Beppe the red, the representation of Garibaldi) and by Mr. Savoia (Victor Emmanuel II); those publications represent the socio-political engagement of Vamba towards the education of the youths.

Part of the recent historiography, made by the writings of Gibelli¹⁹ and Faeti²⁰, has misinterpreted the works of Vamba, probably for having depended solely on the later manipulations that his works underwent. In *Il popolo bambino* [The childish people], Gibelli speaks of an attention of Bertelli to children «marked by an aggressive nationalism, totally compatible with the 800s republicanism and radicalism, in a twist that is typical of the Italian political culture between the two centuries»²¹. The author speaks of a premature engagement of childhood and an abandonment of De Amicis' sentimentalism in favor of a too sudden passage to action. Faeti, in his turn, explicitly states that the prototype of «Gian Burrasca summarizes the childhood of those who would later become the braves of Piave, the legionnaires of Fiume, and, eventually, the Blackshirts». The prototype is that of a 'fierce' child, 'a future fighter ready to die'. Faeti states that the objective of Vamba is to 'update' Italian middle-class, «which should drop its romantic allure, its adherence to conventionality and etiquette, to become bolder, more active and more clever»²². A similar approach had been already defined by Ajello who, though skeptically, had supported the

¹⁷ L. Bertelli, *O patria mia!...*, Firenze, Bemporad, vol. I 1922, vol. II 1923, vol. III 1924.

¹⁸ A copy can be consulted at Ce.S.I.S. (Center of Documentation and Research of the History of School Institutions, of the Schoolbook and of Children's literature of the University of Molise-Campobasso, Italy) in «Andreassi Fund».

¹⁹ A. Gibelli, *La grande guerra degli italiani*, Milano, Sansoni, 1998, pp. 231-232.

²⁰ A. Faeti, *Il Giornalino di Padre Pistelli*, in Id., *Guardare le figure. Gli illustratori dei libri per l'infanzia*, Torino, Einaudi, 1972, pp. 241-264.

²¹ A. Gibelli, *Il popolo bambino. Infanzia e nazione dalla Grande Guerra a Salò*, Torino, Einaudi, 2005, p. 5.

²² Faeti, *Guardare le figure. Gli illustratori dei libri per l'infanzia*, cit., p. 245.

mission of «Il Giornalino» to shape a certain type of Italians. «Il Giornalino» had been interpreted as the reflection of some organizational schemes that would later be used by the fascist regime in the children's militia, especially in its later stage, when, in 1921, it flew into the army of «Il Giornalino»²³ led by Edda Mussolini²⁴.

These historiographical approaches, as later underlined by Anna Ascenzi, tend to confuse the patriotic and irredentist spirit of Vamba, inspired by Mazzini and the Risorgimento, with the glaring pre-fascist nationalism; this misunderstanding was also due, perhaps, to the editorial manipulation that Vamba's writings underwent after his death, by the editor Bemporad and his collaborators (for example, to the 1921 reprint of *I Bimbi d'Italia si chiamano Balilla. I ragazzi italiani del Risorgimento nazionale*, were added forged texts). The difference between Bertelli's journal and the fascist journals had been caught already in 1924 by Antonio Gramsci who, after expressing his appreciation for «Il Giornalino» in a letter to his wife Julka²⁵, would later dedicate more than one line to the Journal in its *Quaderni dal carcere* [Prison notebooks]: «In the field of children's literature, a honorable mention deserves *Il Giornalino della Domenica* directed by Vamba, with its initiatives and organizations [...]»²⁶.

An equally careful look had also been paid by Giovanni Genovesi²⁷, who had seen in «Il Giornalino della Domenica» the occurrence of several trends of the pedagogic and philosophic thought of that time: on the one hand the expression of the remains of a romantic, sentimental and nationalistic thought, typical of the Risorgimento; on the other hand, the reflection of the remainders of the positivism and the dawning of the idealism. The periodical, as Catia Papa would later underline²⁸, was «the defender of a need for a civil and economic process supported by ethical principles such as honesty, diligence, solidarity, in the respect of the individual initiative». According to Papa, these values reflected the advocacy for a solidarity between social classes, which would later represent

²³ From the very first issues of the journal, the editor Scarpelli would start the organization of a «playful army» among the children, giving posts and tasks to everyone. This organization will reach its acme with the *Confederazione Giornalinesca* (Stato Balocco) which Vamba will promote in 1908.

²⁴ N. Ajello, *Un settimanale del primo Novecento: il Giornalino della Domenica di Vamba, «Nord e Sud»*, vol. VI, n. 53, 1959, pp. 77-84.

²⁵ «I will try to send you a journal for children that it was sent to me as an exchange at the O.N., that cannot be compared, though, to the journal of Vamba that I think you met with in Italy: *Il Giornalino della domenica*». See A. Gramsci, *Lettera a Iulca da Vienna del 16 aprile 1924*, in V. Gerratana, *Sei lettere inedite di Antonio Gramsci*, «L'Unità», 19 January 1986, p. 4.

²⁶ A. Gramsci, *Quaderni dal carcere*, Torino, Einaudi, 1975, vol. I, *Quaderno* 3, 1930, p. 381 e vol. III, *Quaderno* 23, 1934, p. 2241.

²⁷ G. Genovesi, *Il «Giornalino della Domenica»*, in Id., *La stampa periodica dei ragazzi. Da Cuore a Charlie Brown*, Torino, Guanda, 1972, p. 34.

²⁸ C. Papa, *La Confederazione giornalinesca di Vamba (1908-1911): una monarchia repubblicana per diritto morale*, «Annali dell'Istituto Gramsci Emilia-Romagna», nn. 4-5, 2000-2001, p. 181.

the republican ideology. Papa highlights, too, the belonging of Bertelli to the democratic-republican culture, which, in the first decade of 1900, revised the tradition of Mazzini in anti-socialistic, first, and nationalist key then, eventually finding its balance in the sacred conception of the patriotic faith. In another contribution, Paola Pallottino states that «the Italian anti-fascist culture was largely represented by the former readers of «*Il Giornalino della Domenica*» among whom the percentage of children coming from Jewish intellectual families was very high. The very call of the Resistance to the unification took its inspiration from Vamba's ancient call to Italian Unification»²⁹.

The trinomial God, Country and Family, always present for the whole life of the Journal, got even stronger by Vamba's Irredentism, which was passed on to his young readers as well. A heartfelt patriotism permeates as a whole the educational proposition of «*Il Giornalino della Domenica*» although it is conjugated according several and sometimes divergent features.

In 1969 Carano underlines, about «*Il Giornalino*» and the invention of the *Confederation*:

With all due reservations, this small state within the state [the *Confederation*] can be defined as a school of democracy. It worked for some, but not for all, apparently. Although, in 1922, many times the 'crickets' had to brawl against the 'blacks' of fascist inspiration, at the same time other older readers were marching on Rome, and among them was Beppino...³⁰

Vamba's youths showed divergent destinies and political positions, and this is also where his educational work and success lie, because of the liberty he had left to each of them to develop their own ideal.

2. A 'manifold, useful, joyful' journal («*Il Giornalino*») for a project of civic education

To better understand the role that «*Il Giornalino della Domenica*» meant to assume, it is worth remembering the statement of 1906 which affirmed that: «It was politics, something you and I do not fully understand – and won't talk about! – that made everything go wrong»³¹, which Vamba clarified even better in 1910:

²⁹ P. Pallottino (ed.), *L'irripetibile stagione de Il Giornalino della Domenica*, Rastignano (BO), Bononia University Press, 2008, p. 20.

³⁰ R. Carano, *I bimbi d'Italia...*, «Linus», vol. 5, n. 53, August 1969, p. 2. The *Confederation* was an invention of Vamba that took shape and life among the pages of GdD: it required the creation of a «toy State» for children: there was a parliament, a government head, prefects, councillors, and so on, all fulfilled by children (also called «crickets») that were like this trained to adulthood and politics. [Beppino is Vamba's eldest].

³¹ La zia Alpina, *Patriottismo e Alpinismo*, GdD, vol. I, n. 12, 6 September 1906, p. 1.

The pages of *Il Giornalino della Domenica* won't suggest any political or social doctrine in spite of the other. But you will have every time a general recommendation that can be applied to any doctrine you wish to follow: Be honest... Be what you want to be, whatever you choose to be in public, be it with faith, strength, will, without bending your ideas to the wind of opportunism³².

It is worth underlining that what Vamba criticized in politics was the attitude to selling off every ideal to private or corporate aims, therefore everything that was against the sacred unification and the mythic social cohesion.

As shown in more recent studies, the endeavor of Vamba was aimed to the creation of a weekly journal that could educate the youths, but with a different style that could be entertaining «educational but not boring, interesting but not exhausting»³³; according to Vamba «it is necessary that 'Il Giornalino della Domenica' satisfies his audience of 7-15 year-old readers and, therefore, it contains tales, fairytales, poems for the children, and the short story, the news article, the scientific parenthesis for the youths»³⁴. «Il Giornalino della Domenica» was born as an educational-cultural project addressed to the middle-class children with the aim to facilitate the construction of a solid national education through the glorification of patriotic ideals and national spirit, along with the «promotion of a new citizenship based on a solid complex of principles and values (the sentiment of justice, moral rigor and intellectual honesty, the respect for laws and the institution, social solidarity and sense of belonging to the civic community)»³⁵.

Luigi Bertelli aimed at shaping younger generations, hoping to give a national education based on the principles and values of the 1800s middle-class. According to Anna Ascenzi, «Il Giornalino della Domenica» can be identified as the «final and more mature expression of that cultural and pedagogic tradition that had fueled, with different outcomes, the first controversial stage of edification of the Unitary State»³⁶ and the construction of a common national sentiment.

The first years of «Il Giornalino della Domenica» coincided with the reprise, within the public opinion, of those nationalist and imperialistic sentiments that, in their most anti-democratic aspects, would later result in the nationalism of fascist origin. The intellectuals (and especially the Futurists) were among the most fervent supporters of these new trends and of the idea of territorial conquest. According to historians such as Emilio Gentile, the origin of these

³² *Il discorso di Vamba*, «Parte politica. Parlamento giornalinesco. Seduta inaugurale della prima legislatura (20 March 1910)», GdD, vol. V, n. 13, 27 March 1910, p. III.

³³ Vamba [L. Bertelli], *Il programma*, GdD, v. I, n. 1, 24 June 1906, p. 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Ascenzi, «Per educare la gioventù della nuova Italia». *Luigi Bertelli giornalista e scrittore per l'infanzia tra eredità risorgimentale e costruzione di una nuova coscienza etico-civile (1860-1920)*, cit., p. 32.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

ideologies lie³⁷ «in the exaggeration of Mazzini and Gioberti's ideas, in Crispi's «megalomania», in Nietzsche and D'Annunzio influences based on the idea of Superman»³⁸. Unlike other European countries, where nationalistic ideas had already been affirmed for some years, in Italy only spread out in the first decade of 1900: at first they were mostly about rhetoric positions, affirming the idea of a «nation as an organic entirety and absolute value dominating over any other political and social ideology, and supporting a policy of outward extension and inner discipline»³⁹. These ideas, initially merely rhetorical, by the end of the first decade materialized into a well-organized political, economic and social conception.

In its first period «Il Giornalino della Domenica» did not seem totally stranger to a reprise of the nationalist spirit, which could be visible in some aspects of the journal's organization, such as the creation of an army of young readers that was at first promoted by Scarpelli in the editorial *Chiacchiere artistiche con i miei lettori* [*Cultural chat with my readers*] and, later, by the very organization of the Confederation army. Even in this occasion, though, the really inspiring principles were the ideals of Mazzini, the love for the Country and the irredentist ideals of Risorgimental origin, rather than the affirmation of the new nationalist antidemocratic and authoritarian ideologies. Scarpelli himself underlined the playful and joyful nature of his army of readers, although inspired to all effects by the military education. The nationalist tones had their repercussions also on the debate on economic policies, especially in 1910, when Vamba stood in favour of a policy of protectionism and defense of Italian production. At this respect it is worth mentioning the article in the editorial *Parte politica* [*Political party*] of the *Corrispondenza* [*Correspondence*], which details the value of Italian production⁴⁰ and where, in particular, was analyzed the case of Italian hats versus the affirmation of English fashion: the editor's aim was to persuade the audience to defend national products. Another phenomenon supported by «Il Giornalino della Domenica», linked to the theme of national education, was the defense of Italian against the abuse of foreign terminology. Such element is more visible during the last years of the periodical, whereas in the first period prevailed a more open attitude towards the acceptance of foreign languages as a means of communication. Another element of contamination towards the new ideals was the support given by Vamba to the war in Libya, whereas, during the first period, he had stood multiple times against the war and the use of

³⁷ E. Gentile, *Le origini dell'Italia contemporanea, l'età giolittiana*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2003.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ «*Italian heads under Italian hats and caps*. It is no doubt that in Italy we have excellent hats factories, first of all Borsalino's, which is the living example of the magnificent individual strength, spirit of initiative and iron will that can be found in Italy – and it is also proof that the man of success is always able to rise up from the modest conditions he lies in, provided that he devotes his energies to doing rather than just talking [...].» GdD, vol. V, n. 33, 14 August 1910, pp. I-III.

weapons⁴¹, maybe even under the influence of the pacifist movements of that time.

The editor never forgot his role of educator, whose style, though, differed from the XIX century's model of the moralist, *ex cathedra* pedagogue, in favour of a more modern figure, careful to the sensitivity of the young readers and supportive of their own spontaneity but, when needed, firm in rebuking them. The novelty of his educational project lied in making the youths an active part of society, by leading them along paths of civic education that were closely connected to real life, without censoring any argument, and banishing language simplifications. «Il Giornalino della Domenica» was highly up-to-date and multidisciplinary, with articles dealing with the new science's discoveries, music, historic personalities, artists. Along with erudite articles, stood novellas, fairytales, comedies, short story for children, to whom an independent section was dedicated. Even these parts were carefully presented, with the proposal of authors and texts that fitted Vamba's educational objectives.

3. The nationalization process and the education to citizenship through the editorial Corrispondenza [Correspondence] and the Confederazione Giornalinesca [Journal's Confederation]: the construction of a civic ethos among the youngest

Besides all the graphic and editorial novelties of «Il Giornalino della Domenica», one of the most significant elements of Vamba's editorship was the direct contact with the readers that was carried out through the *Corrispondenza [Correspondence]* and the creation of the *Confederazione Giornalinesca [Journal's Confederation]*.

At this respect it is worth mentioning the correspondence that Aldo Valori, named Ceralacca, had with the readers from the very first issue until December 1909. From the first issue to the last, in 1911, the correspondence was always present in the journal with an average length of 7 pages⁴². Ever since issue n. 13 of 31 March 1907, the Correspondence pages were pink and detachable.

⁴¹ In front of a request for advice by a child who wanted to make a present for a friend, Vamba replied: «You can choose, don't doubt! There is plenty of beautiful things for children. I would not recommend, though, to buy weapons, although I noticed your inclination for this kind of gifts. When you have weapons, you need to use them, and whom would you shoot, or strike with a sword? Even as games, weapons are hateful. A good ball, an illustrated book, an album for postcards or stamps, these are good things for a child». GdD, vol. I, n. 4, 15 July 1906, p. 19.

⁴² There were also exceptional issues, during summer periods, where the correspondences occupied the entire journal, and therefore took the shape of vacation records, with the publication of pictures sent by the readers, like in the issue n. 35 of 30 August 1908.

Vamba conceived the editorial *Corrispondenza* [Correspondence] with educational purposes: through the letters, the readers talked about themselves, their families, the school, their pastimes, the death, their inner world, and so on, by asking for advice and, in some cases, even help. With time, this brought to a bond of friendship, a mutual participation to each other's life. To reinforce this feeling of belonging and participation, a massive use of tools of introduction was made, like pictures, physical descriptions, reports about each other's interests, or families. When the letters became too many and too rich, a new editorial was created to contain the longest and most articulated works: *Il Passerotto, organo della maturità passata presente e futura*⁴³ [The Sparrow, the journal of the past, present and future maturity], edited by Ermegildo Pistelli.

As the editors pointed out, the children's letters were published either entirely, or in part, or, in some other cases, the editor only commented the issues or questions posed in the writings; sometimes, the letters remained cryptic and only understandable by their young author. In this way the editorial, although public, managed to preserve a private aspect that would be interesting to deepen⁴⁴. This character of intimacy and confidence between the editor and the readers is a connotation of the journal. Often the letters contain references to other letters sent by the same author or by other children. In the years 1908, 1909 and 1910, this game of references got so strong to become understandable only to the most faithful readers.

With time, the *Corrispondenza*'s structure got more and more complex. Only during the first year the trend was children-to-single editor, Ceralacca (if we except a few intrusions by Vamba). In 1906, in the pages of the Correspondence appeared a rascal called Omero Redi (pseudonym of Ermegildo Pistelli); after only three issues, this operation was elevated to independent editorial, named *Pistole di Omero* [Omero's pistols], in consideration of the success received.

The Correspondence later crossed paths with the Confederation, whose communications, from 1908, were given on the very pink pages in the sector called *Comunicazioni ufficiali* [Official communications] and *Parte Politica* [Political party], which were especially dedicated to the *Confederazione Giornalinesca* [Journal's Confederation].

The Confederation was an extremely useful novelty for the ethical-civic purposes it embodied. In the first two years of «*Il Giornalino della Domenica*», Vamba built a family of affections and relationships on the pages of the Correspondence which would result, in 1908, in the

⁴³ Directed by Omero Redi (Ermegildo Pistelli) which had been published from 4 August 1906 to the n. 6 of June 1910 (and later reprised from March 1919 to December 1920).

⁴⁴ For example, the letters preserved in the Vamba fund at the Centre for Documentation and Research on History of Education and Children's Literature, University of Macerata (Italy) and other documents published in the texts Ascenzi, Di Felice, Tumino (edd.), *Santa Giovinezza, lettere di Luigi Bertelli e dei suoi corrispondenti* (1883-1920), cit., and in M.J. Minicucci, *Il Giornalino della Domenica in alcune Carte Vamba*, in *Atti del 7. Congresso nazionale di storia del giornalismo*, Trieste, Coana, 1972. pp. 223-264.

Confederation; besides being an emotional link between the readers, it is also a solid form of pre-political education with a marked playful connotation. A «Stato Balocco» [«Toy State»] was created, where children were ministers, ambassadors, congressmen, mayors, councilors, and where Vamba was the President, sided by Fanciulli as President of the Parliament. The capital of this new State was Florence. An absolute novelty was represented by the absence of discriminations based on age or gender (newborns could also participate), whereas the official regulation in force at that time excluded women or illiterates from the right to vote. Through this game, and with all the other educational elements in the journal, Vamba meant to shape the national conscience of the young Italians, by educating them to the love for the Country, the sense of duty and reliability on the job, along with the generosity and respect for the others.

The rise of a «Journal Parliament» was announced in the pink pages of the issue n. 26 on 28 June 1908⁴⁵. All the readers of the Province of Florence were summoned for Thursday, 18th of June, at 10 at the Hall of the *Istituto Materno*. The curiosity brought together about «half a thousand young people». To their presence, the President opened the first session of the Parliament. The main unifying element was the language – Italian –; therefore, the capital of the Confederation had to be the hometown of Dante.

You know too well that the readers of «Il Giornalino della Domenica» are spread all over Italy included the province of Trieste, now; from Istria, Gorizia, Dalmatia and Trento, because our people knows no political barriers and derives their unity from our beloved language in the sacred name of Dante⁴⁶.

With these tools, Bertelli further developed the educational function of his periodical, based on socializing the future citizens to the forms of the civic life of the «grown-ups».

The policy of the Confederation had to be based on values of ‘honesty and brotherhood’. In his speech, Vamba said:

Il Giornalino, which has always attempted to instill honesty and brotherhood in the heart of its readers, realizes with great satisfaction that its efforts are not in vain, because you write sincere letters to me and, when I call, you gather and fraternize with enthusiasm⁴⁷.

This Parliament-in-bud represented the attempt to teach the children to handle similar situations to those occurring in the adult politics, and to learn the function of the Institutions, although Bertelli had always tried to underline that the children could do better than the grown-ups, and to educate them to

⁴⁵ The pieces of information that follow are drawn from the text *Proclamazione della Confederazione Giornalinesca: La seduta inaugurale - Il Parlamento - Il discorso del Presidente - La relazione sull'esercito Scarpelliano - La formazione del Governo - I primi atti - Elezioni generali - Una prossima informata di Senatori? - Prefecture e Sottoprefecture - Ultime notizie*, GdD, vol. III, n. 26, 28 June 1908, pp. I-V.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

respectful and civic forms of behavior. In fact, during the inaugural session of the Parliament, he said:

Keep calm! And discuss without quarreling, because – as Segrè said – nothing is more useful than the discussion, which enlightens, whereas nothing is more dangerous than the fight, that blinds⁴⁸.

Besides those entrusted to the readers, other important roles are assigned to the editors of the journal: the President of the Assembly is Maestro Sapone, whereas the Confederation army is entrusted to Lieutenant Scarpelli (he had already been the chief of an – imaginary – army, that he had created in the *Cultural Chat with my readers*), that he introduces like this:

I will briefly report on our ground, sea and air forces. The journal people can sleep tight: our forces are growing day by day, in number, as well as in aims and initiatives. Our mobile troop amount to more than 997 units, maybe even too mobile when it comes to studying Latin and math⁴⁹.

The children keep wondering about the value of this army, and it is Scarpelli himself that shift the explanation to the playful side:

Some little soldiers ask: What is your army? ...Bad! Bad! True soldiers never question that to their superiors. Lucky who believes without seeing! Our army says noting, but may generate something that says something else! Does my reasoning look obscure?... Oh well, that's the whole discipline! Follow me and you'll see great things⁵⁰.

The political game went on to the following Sunday, when the Council of Ministers gathered inside Vamba's office, where other celebrities also assembled to assist to this solemnity; «Il Giornalino della Domenica» underlined how «the narrowness of the place did not conflict with the government's program, which was based on embracing great things in their simplest forms and keep them in modest containers»⁵¹. We don't know whether it was by request of the readers, or after the editor's reflections, but the first act of the new Government was the dissolution of the Parliament, as it was the emanation of just a «fraction» of the journal's people, and was therefore not in accordance with the will to gather all Italian children and make them feel as one. Therefore, from the pink pages arose a campaign to recruit candidates for the new Parliament, which had to represent Italy as a whole. All they had to do was sending their candidacy with the saying: «I was born in...and I wish to represent my Province in the Parliament of the Confederation»⁵². It was recommended, though, to give additional personal

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² GdD vol. III, n. 27, 5 luglio 1908, p. I.

details, like the ‘adult candidates’ do. Afterwards, the children can exercise their «greater and most important civic duty: the vote»⁵³.

Although the editorial staff had multiple times stated its will «to stay away from politics», it was nonetheless true that «Il Giornalino della Domenica» contains many references, even disapproving, to the policy of the times, like the polemic against the over-bureaucratization, or the complaints against the slowness of the state interventions in occasion of natural disasters (like the earthquakes of Reggio and Messina in 1908), or against the public money squandering: Bertelli dealt with these elements with the aim of making conscious and aware the future citizens, as well as the future ministers and councilors, in other words, the future ruling class.

A unifying moment among confederates, besides the parties, seminars and trips that were held during the year, and of which we find traces in the *Official Communications*, was represented by the *Festa del Grillo* [*The cricket feast*], organized on the Ascension Day, following an ancient Florentine tradition. The children, ‘crickets’, gathered in the parks of some Italian cities and spent the day together, united by the love for «Il Giornalino della Domenica». The adults who participated were editors, parents, relatives, men of letters, and everybody helped in the organization of the Feast. The Florentine readers gathered at Le Cascine; in Rome the meeting point was the Pincio, and in Turin the Valentino park, and so on; all the related experiences were told and shared on the pink pages.

The other important educational element that the Confederation supported was the cultivation of a collective *ethos* funded on sentiments of nationalism and solidarity, that took into account the regional and local identities. Through the involvement of children coming from different regions, Vamba tried to promote the development of a mentality that would not find its limitation in the regional borders. The children were unified by, for example, the narration of difficulties encountered at school (that resulted to be pretty much the same all over the country), or the description of their regional uses and dialects, so that everybody knew the others’ cultures, or by the description of travels. When the children moved from one place to the other, they were often welcomed by the local readers. This was a peculiarity of the journal: being a landmark for all readers so that they could feel close although living far from one another, including the irredentist territories. To develop this element even further, the editors started to organize field trips, conferences and meetings in different parts of Italy; this responded to the patriotic-inspired educational project that the journal meant to carry out, along with a process of ‘deprovincialization’ within a still very young Country. The biggest number of readers was in those very cities were «Il Giornalino della Domenica» was printed or where the editors had stronger contacts, but, nonetheless, a pretty significant representation

⁵³ *Ibid.*

could be recorded even in other parts of Italy. The *Confederation*, likewise, was represented in the whole Country, including the irredentist areas. Over the years, it was extended also to foreign territories where some of the young readers lived (Egypt, America, even Austria) and where they got organized, in spite of the distance, in accordance with the instructions of the *Confederation*.

But the journal had yet another novelty: the attention towards women. This element was translated into educational proposals addressed to the girls as future mothers, like discussions on dolls' outfits, or even contests on the best doll (to whom all regions participated), as well as the introduction of the editorial *Manine d'oro* [*Golden hands*] to give impulse to female manual works. But the truly innovative element, in this respect, was the proposition of an innovative educational proposal based on a peer relationship between boys and girls as to their roles in the army and in the *Confederation*. It is worth mentioning the space given to the editorial *Impressioni di una Merciaina fiorentina*⁵⁴ [*Impressions of a little Florentine milliner*] or to the reports given by girls holding the charge of 'prefect'. This particular attention resulted in the numerical superiority of the female readers of «Il Giornalino della Domenica».

The construction of a civic *ethos* was fostered by the constant proposal of educational models based on those values that were cultivated within the journal and through the very *Confederation*: personal and group relationships were based on honesty, generosity, mercy, rejection of any form of opportunism, the sense of duty, the cult of life. Many were the writings that glorified such values, in some cases through the pedagogy of the good example, in other cases through the answers given to questions posed by the readers, and in others through the direct expression of the editor's thought. The respect to the elderly was praised, the youths were pushed towards the respect for money, which had to be earned («money gives more satisfaction when earned, rather than given»)⁵⁵, and used for helping people in need when necessary, even in spite of their own interest. Courage and presence of mind were praised, as well: «we can't be all heroes, but we can all remain cool in front of the danger and try to be safe»⁵⁶. The values proposed were based on reality: children were encouraged not to believe in supernatural phenomena, not to hope in fortune (and therefore avoid gambling, for example), but to be loyal and diligent. Vamba underlined that culture is not for «tramping on people's toes» but for serving the community: study is a duty to accomplish without expecting rewards (although Bertelli himself underlined their usefulness to encourage the youths). The editors required the young readers to be loyal even in the smallest things (e.g., not to 'plagiarize' the other when

⁵⁴ Vittoria the milliner was a Florentine little girl who had stood out for her daily life chronicles seen from behind the counter of her parents' sewing shop. She had earned the sympathy of many readers and of the editorial staff and she had written for the GdD: *Impressions of a little Florentine milliner*.

⁵⁵ GdD, vol. I, n. 12, 9 September 1906, p. 22.

⁵⁶ GdD, vol. I, n. 20, 4 November 1906, p. 22.

participating to a contest for the invention of games), and the editors, in their turn, were noting but loyal to their readers (starting from the very attribution of the awards, whose modality were explained with clarity beforehand). Honesty was strongly supported by «Il Giornalino della Domenica» which became, like this, almost a ‘cult of truth’.

Vamba’s people showed their merciful side in many occasions: from the donations organized by means of subscriptions (e.g., for earthquake victims, for Salgari’s orphans, for orphanages or hospitals), to charity events, or by transmitting knowledge and basic skills to illiterate children through the organization of summer schools. The deeds of the *Lega dei Golosi [Gluttons’ League]* are also worth mentioning; composed by sweets-loving children, was very careful to those who could not afford them, and tried, therefore, to organize collections and distributions of goodies for children kept in orphanages. Going further, the *AIDAI Association [Association for learning disabilities]* organized a fund-raising event aimed at sending «Il Giornalino della Domenica» also to rural schools and, therefore, to those children who had not the possibility to read it otherwise.

Many associations were created, like ‘cacciatori’, ‘diabolisti’, ‘aidaini’ [members of the AIDAI Association], ‘asinelli bolognesi’, ‘gianduiotti torinesi’, ‘marinaretti riminesi’, ‘meneghini milanesi’ and so on (youth associations from the cities of Bologna, Turin, Rimini, Milan), that remind another cornerstone of Vamba’s educational project: the support to the development of associations among the readers, as an exercise of democracy and confrontation with others’ ideas. Children often used to report debates within the groups, that resulted in the resignation by some of the associates: these episodes gave Vamba the occasion to investigate on the motives, to stand or not for one or the other, but especially teach to the children how to expose their positions with politeness and composure.

Vamba used to make his educational intent explicit. Besides the suggested reading, the good examples, the images, the Confederation game, a big part of Vamba’s educational value lied in showing clearly to the children the educational path they were walking on together.

Vamba’s opinion was that children had not to be repressed in their enthusiasm or affective impulses, but that had to be guided in the discipline of these impulses, still keeping their childish joyfulness.

Vamba placed the right to hope and have a happy life alongside with the ‘duty’, that for the children had to represent the tool to succeed and progress in the respect of themselves and the others. The main duty, for children, was the school, that had to represent their work, but also the tool for acquiring knowledge, strengthen the intelligence, and refine the feelings.

In his «pedagogy of the concrete», Bertelli used to transform every real life episode in educational opportunity; from strong impact episodes like two murder cases in 1910, perpetrated by school boys to their teachers (one occurred

in Palermo and the other nearly accomplished in Milan), and which Vamba tried to read in an educational key, to daily life elements, like how to behave with younger siblings, etc.. The review also dealt with the aesthetic education of the young readers, by promoting choices that were aimed to educate children to the taste of beautiful. This element was sought through editorial choices aimed at fostering the aesthetic dimension of the review, both with the provision of articles concerning arts, exhibitions, etc., and with the organization of guided visits to museums, cities of art, etc. The column *Chiacchiere artistiche con i miei lettori* [Artistic chats with my readers], directed by Scarpelli ever since January 1907, was at first designed for fulfilling this artistic purpose in the form of a dialogue between the editorial staff and the readers; later on, the column left this particular feature to become a dynamic dialogue on different themes, especially those related to the organization of the army of «Il Giornalino della Domenica».

The strong points of «Il Giornalino della Domenica» are especially related to Vamba's pedagogic intuition that lied on the respect for the children's rights and the involvement in their needs, unusual attitudes for those times. Everybody knew that Bertelli would listen, before judging. Furthermore, the editorial staff would push the dialogue with the young readers to the extent that the ideas and suggestions coming from them would be welcomed and acquired, thus acknowledging their talents and peculiarities. A weak point, instead, was represent by the fact that the review relied on Vamba's personality: once he left, so did his 'creature', together with the enlightened vocation that had sustained the journal at first and that later on had evolved into more nationalistic positions.

Within this extended educational path, a very interesting feature of «Il Giornalino della Domenica» was the active role given to families, who were not only readers, but also acted as co-authors of the journal. Furthermore, the family remained the central element of the stories, the articles and also the pictures portrayed in the journal, which represented frames of middle-class family life of the early XX century. Although the journals' audience was defined around 7-15 year-old readers, the journal was in fact addressed to the entire family.

Life in Bertelli's writings, as underlined by his scholars⁵⁷, was not intended as a rush towards the research of material goods or personal successes, but as the sound enjoyment of values such as family, nature, friendship, the Country. And these were the things worth fighting for, as Bertelli specified, by saying that «life is not and does not have to be a series of pleasures and joys, but it is not even to be considered as a sorrowful road to walk with no hope nor faith»⁵⁸. This very approach brought one of Vamba's colleagues, Giuseppe Fanciulli, to

⁵⁷ See Nissin Rossi, *Vamba (Luigi Bertelli)*, cit., and Fanciulli, *Scrittori e libri per l'infanzia*, cit.

⁵⁸ GdD, vol. V, n. 29, 17 July 1910.

portray his work as a ‘hymn to life’⁵⁹ when he said: «Loving life, to Vamba, did not mean consuming it for the achievement of ephemeral goals, but spending it in the effort to reach eternal ideals, with humbleness. Vamba teaches the love for life with the persuasion of the smile»⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Fanciulli, *Scrittori e libri per l'infanzia*, cit., p. 104.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

The construction of national identity in textbooks for Italian schools abroad: the case of Brazil between the two World Wars

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ABSTRACT: This contribution intends to enlighten the dynamics of the process of ethnic-identitary construction of Italian immigrants and descendants in Brazil in the period between the two World Wars. In the context of the crisis of liberal institutions and of the ascent and consolidation of the Fascist totalitarianism, the construction of national identity represented a primary goal for Italian political and administrative summits. As part of the actions of intervention established for Italian schools abroad, we intend to explore one of the aspects of school cultures that received more attention by the liberal and Fascist ruling elites: the textbooks that would sustain the development of the national identity abroad. Our area of analysis is the large and complex one of Brazil, regarding which a specific attention developed precisely in the first years of the 1920s. Our contribution intends to verify the lines of continuity and discontinuity in terms of the policies adopted by the leaders of the Ministries for the diffusion of textbooks in Italian schools abroad, as well as in terms of the educational models proposed in the textbooks employed in Brazil, always aiming to support the Italian national identity during this significant moment of political transition.

EET-TEE KEYWORDS: History of Education; Brazil; Educational System; Textbooks; XX century.

Introduction

The historical process of national identity construction has been subject to much attention in the field of contemporary historians¹ and scholastic

¹ U. Levra, *Fare gli italiani. Memoria e celebrazione del Risorgimento*, Torino, Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento italiano, 1992; S. Lanaro, *Nazione e lavoro*.

educational historiography over the last few decades². However, one of the most interesting and useful aspects for the verification of the matter in territorial contexts other than the national one has been less investigated³. We are referring to initiatives for the literacy and the education of emigrants⁴ and, particularly, to the reality of Italian schools abroad, initiatives which present a significant outline for the analysis of the intentions and the limitations faced by the ruling groups and of the characteristics acquired by school cultures, especially when they suffered the effects of an inevitable confrontation with those of other countries. Moreover, the historiographical approach already seems well established internationally, starting from the well-known definitions of the French historian D. Julia⁵ and from those of A. Vinão Frago and Agustín Escolano Benito, which both refer to the «empirical school culture»⁶, and aim at focusing the complex processes that follow the evolution of school cultures. These approaches result extremely useful for a better understanding of the cultural dynamics that were developed along the processes of ethnic identity

Saggio sulla cultura borghese in Italia 1870-1925, Venezia, Marsilio, 1980; Id., *L'Italia nuova. Identità e sviluppo 1861-1988*, Torino, Einaudi, 1988; S. Soldani, G. Turi (edd.), *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea. I La nascita dello Stato nazionale*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1993; B. Tobia, *Una patria per gli italiani*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1998; F. Traniello, *Nazione e storia nelle proposte educative degli ambienti laici di fine Ottocento*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999, pp. 61-91; I. Porciani, *La festa della nazione. Rappresentazione dello Stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia unita*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1998.

² See G. Chiosso, *L'educazione nazionale da Giolitti al primo dopoguerra*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1983; Id., *Nazionalità ed educazione degli Italiani nel secondo Ottocento*, «Pedagogia e Vita», vol. 4, 1987, pp. 421-440; M.C. Morandini, *Scuola e nazione. Maestri e istruzione popolare nella costruzione dello Stato unitario (1848-1861)*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2003; A. Ascenzi, *Tra educazione civile e costruzione dell'identità nazionale. L'insegnamento della storia nelle scuole italiane dell'Ottocento*, Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 2004.

³ For example see E. Franzina, «Piccole patrie, piccole Italie»: la costruzione dell'identità nazionale degli emigrati in America Latina (1848-1924), «Memoria e Ricerca», vol. IV, n. 8, 1996, pp. 13-32.

⁴ There are few Italian studies on these topics. Among those, G. Rosoli., *Alfabetizzazione e iniziative educative per gli emigrati tra Otto e Novecento*, in L. Pazzaglia (ed.), *Cattolici, educazione e trasformazioni socio-culturali in Italia tra Otto e Novecento*, Brescia, La Scuola, 1999, pp. 119-144; L. Ambrosoli, *L'istruzione degli emigranti nella lotta contro l'analfabetismo*, in C. Brusa, R. Ghiringhelli (edd.), *Emigrazione e territorio tra bisogno e ideale*, Lativa, Varese, 1995, pp. 63-74; A. Carli, *Piccoli schiavi, orchi e bambini accattoni. Storie di emigrazione e sfruttamento minorile fra Otto e Novecento*, in S. Sani (ed.), *Le nuove frontiere dell'educazione in una società multietnica e multiculturale*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2011, pp. 169-204.

⁵ D. Julia, *Riflessioni sulla recente storiografia dell'educazione in Europa*, «Annali di Storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. 3, n. 1, 1996, pp. 119-147.

⁶ A.B. Escolano, *Escenografías escolares: espacio y actores*, in Sociedad Espanola de Historia de la Educacion (SEDHE), *Etnohistoria de la Escuela. XII Coloquio Nacional de Historia de la Educacion, 18-21 junio 2003*, Burgos, Universidad de Burgos, 2003, pp. 365-376; A. Vinão Frago, *Por una historia de la cultura escolar: cuestiones, enfoques, fuentes*, in *Culturas y civilizaciones. III Congreso de la Asociación de Historia contemporánea*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, pp. 1676-183.

construction in the colonies of Italian immigrants in the Brazilian Federal State during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century. Further studies in the context of Brazilian historiography have confirmed the need for a deeper understanding of the school cultures that guided the formative programs of Italian immigrants in Brazil⁷. At the same time, recent studies produced by Italian historiography have highlighted the heuristic value of various and complex sources such as those represented by the manuals for schools⁸.

Given these assumptions, this contribution aims to provide an initial analysis of the identity-related contents that influenced the production of textbooks intended for Brazil. It also intends to provide an analysis of the educational models introduced and proposed through readings suggested or imposed by Italian authorities, by analyzing some of the textbooks which were used in Brazil.

This contribution intends to take the first steps in a research path that needs a further investigation along with more systematic analysis and more organic reconstructions which would take into account a number of variables. On the one hand, in fact, there is a need for a more organized survey of the production and circulation of manuals for Italian schools abroad in the complex reality of Brazil. On the other hand, there is a need to analyze this kind of production in the context of the more complex evolution of the history of textbooks and of educational publishers that have been important in the histories of Italy and Brazil, as well as in the context of the evolution of the orientations and

⁷ L. Kreutz, T.A. Luchese, *Grupos étnicos, pluralidade cultural e políticas públicas na história da educação no Rio Grande do Sul*, «Rivista Brasileira de História de Educacão», vol. 11, n. 1, 2011, pp. 179-206; T.A. Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileira*, Caxias do Sul, Educs, 2014; L. Kreutz, *Escolas de imigrantes em contexto de formação do Estado/Nação no Brasil* in *Educação escolar em perspectiva histórica*, III Congresso Brasileiro de História da Educação, 2004. <<http://sbhe.org.br/novo/congressos/cbhe3/Documentos/Coord/Eixo6/473.pdf>> (accessed: June 15, 2015); Id., *Identidade étnica e o processo escolar*, in Luchese (ed.), *História da escola dos imigrantes italianos em terras brasileira*, cit., pp. 35-56; T.A. Luchese, *O processo escolar entre imigrantes no RS*, Caxias do Sul, Educs, 2015; C. Otto, *Cultura escolar: prescrevendo regras de bom comportamento*, in *Sociedade, cultura e educação: novas regulações*?, 32 Reunião ANPED 4-7 ottobre 2009, <<http://32reuniao.anped.org.br/arquivos/trabalhos/GT02-5110-Int.pdf>> (accessed: June 15, 2015).

⁸ A. Ascenzi, *La ricerca sulla manualistica scolastica in Italia: nuovi orientamenti storiografici e prospettive per il futuro*, in J. Meda, A.M. Badanelli (edd.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas*, Macerata, eum, 2013, pp. 119-138; G. Chiosso, *La manualistica scolastica in Italia: tematiche, metodologie, orientamenti*, in *ibid.*, pp. 47-59; R. Sani, *La bonifica fascista dei testi scolastici dalla riforma Gentile alla Carta della Scuola di Bottai*, in Id., *Sub specie educationis. Studi e ricerche su istruzione, istituzioni scolastiche e processi culturali e formativi nell'Italia contemporanea*, Macerata, eum, 2011, pp. 409-498; G. Chiosso, *L'editoria scolastica prima e dopo la riforma Gentile*, «Contemporanea», vol. 7, n. 3, 2004, pp. 411-434; P. Bianchini, *Una fonte per la storia dell'istruzione e dell'editoria in Italia: il libro scolastico*, «Contemporanea», vol. 3, n. 1, 2000, pp. 175-182.

guidelines developed by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in terms of textbooks for Italian schools abroad.

1. «*A new watchword: Italianness*». *The role of Italian schools abroad, in Brazil, by the end of the First World War*

Since their establishment, the Italian schools abroad represented a very significant instrument for the Italian diplomacy to expand its sphere of cultural action in the world⁹. To this end, as it is well known, the network of Italian schools was divided between public schools, funded directly by the State and located mostly in the Mediterranean basin, and subsidized schools, i.e., state or private educational institutions maintained through funds provided by the Consulates. All schools in both North and South America fell within this last category¹⁰. During the first decade of the twentieth century, to enhance the cultural action in America after the Libyan war, the Ministry, with the enactment of the «Tittoni Law», authorized higher expenses with subsidized schools, a program that had been suspended with the beginning of the military conflict. The war had affected the school organization abroad, weakening it, but in the wave of the nationalist revival there were demands for a reinstatement of a national identity abroad. A report of the General Directorate of Italian Schools Abroad [henceforward: DGSIE], transmitted to the Sub-Secretary of State to complement the proposal for a committee for the reorganization and surveillance of Italian schools in America, states that «for a new and important victory, the patriotism of our colonies returns[ed] with a more insistent demand of actions reinvigorating our school policies in America»¹¹. In a second document dated February 1923, the General Director stated that the defense and the expansion of the Italian identity among the masses of emigrants in the Americas «impose[d] themselves to the State as fundamental problems». These reasons were at the root for a careful consideration and for the proposal of reviewing the educational institutions in those areas and the institution of a Special Office¹².

⁹ P. Salvetti, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, in P. Bevilacqua, A. De Clementi, E. Franzina (edd.), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana: Arrivi*, Roma, Donzelli, 2002, pp. 535-549; G. Ciampi, *Le scuole italiane all'estero*, in V. Pellegrini (ed.), *Amministrazione centrale e diplomazia italiana (1919-1943). Fonti e problemi*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1998, pp. 115-122.

¹⁰ G. Floriani, *Scuole italiane all'estero. Cento anni di storia*, Roma, Armando, 1974.

¹¹ Report from DGSIE, s.d. [but from 1921], Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri [henceforward ASMAE], Archivio Scuole 1888-1920, b. 437.

¹² Pro-memorandum for His Excellency the Sub-Secretary of State, *La Scuola italiana in America*, February 10th 1923, ASMAE, AS 1923-28, b. 702. With this intention, through specific reports from the consular agents, the presidents of committees, leagues and associations, as well as the principals of schools, were invited to provide accurate data on the educational institutions of their

At the beginning of the decade of 1920, after the war adventures and just before the rising of Fascism, the wish to review this project focused on the promotion of national identity and national cultures, taking shape in the areas characterized by a significant presence of Italian immigrants. The Ministries of Education, of Colonies and of Foreign Affairs had an important role in this promotion, especially through the DGSIE. Among the names that certainly had a significant role was that of Ciro Trabalza, who conducted the DGSIE until 1928¹³. The part played by this philologist and historian of the Italian language, an enthusiast of regional studies, is exemplary and paradigmatic of the broader program that brought together some components of Italian society as exponents of the cultural movement of Neo Idealism. Their aspirations were to perform a large cultural and educational renovation in Italian society through State structures, considered the primary instruments of national pedagogy¹⁴; these instruments were to operate within national borders and abroad, especially in the immigrant communities. Trabalza was the central figure of this project of renovation for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs¹⁵, just as Lombardo Radice was for the Ministry of Education¹⁶. It's not by chance that the two were very much in touch during this period. Under their names a significant change of direction in the structure and management of the entire DGSIE was conducted: by his decision, the DGSIE undertook a study of the various issues at hand and performed a reorganization based on the reports on the progress of schools and on «a systematic radiography of their actual state», concluding that it was necessary to «provide a radical reorganization and an effective system of surveillance of schools in America, despite the vast and varied material has[d] not been thoroughly analyzed yet». Hence the idea to form a committee with the task of better understanding the situation and to propose a bill¹⁷.

From the point of view of DGSIE the problem was threefold: political, financial and technical. The political point of view revealed that

areas of competence, by Circolare n. 33, April 12th 1921 e Circolare n. 67 October 20th 1921. The proposal of installation of a Special Office in Report to S.E. Sub Secretary of State, *Provvedimenti per l'America e l'Egitto*, March 12th, 1923, ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 702.

¹³ M. D'Alessio, *Ciro Trabalza*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.), *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000* [henceforward DBE], Milano, Editrice Bibliografica Italiana, 2013, vol. II, pp. 597.

¹⁴ Sani, *La bonifica fascista dei testi scolastici dalla riforma Gentile alla Carta della Scuola di Bottai*, cit., Chiosso, *L'editoria scolastica prima e dopo la riforma Gentile*, cit.

¹⁵ C. Trabalza, *Scuola e italianità. Problemi della cultura nazionale all'interno e all'estero*, Bologna, Cappelli, 1926.

¹⁶ G. Chiosso, *Il rinnovamento del libro scolastico nelle esperienze di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e dei lombardiani*, «History of Education & Children's Literature», vol. 1, n. 1, 2006, pp. 127-139.

¹⁷ Report from DGSIE, s.d. [but from 1921], Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri [henceforward ASMAE], Archivio Scuole [henceforward AS] 1888-1920, b. 437.

it is necessary to explain with maximum caution the reasons in order not to rise abroad, especially when there is an increasing trend toward the Americanization of immigrants, the impression that we want to operate a penetration policy [, particularly] with nationalist intentions of political expansion; therefore, it will be opportune to explicitly reveal that what we want, in general terms, is to spread the Italian culture, particularly where it is looked for by foreigners and, in this specific case, offering the culture of our compatriots so that they can become great citizens of the American State while preserving the language of their country of origin¹⁸.

The forces that should assist the work of reorganization in the various aforementioned forms should not be «of political or religious faith, and the unique watchword abroad should be: italianness». Based on these premises, the Ministry established on December 14th, 1921 a Committee for the reorganization and surveillance of Italian Schools in the Americas¹⁹.

The Committee assigned the task of outlining possible solutions regarding the United States to Ernesto Schiaparelli, regarding Central America to Adolfo De Bosis, regarding Brazil to Vittore Alemanni, and regarding Argentina to Franzoni. Those of Schiaparelli and Alemanni were defined as tasks of «capital importance»²⁰.

The conclusions of Vittore Alemanni are significant to understand the prevalent guidelines and measures to be undertaken in defense of the Italian identity in the Brazilian State:

1) that the Italian government promotes in the country, and specially in the regions from which the emigration to Brazil was more intense, the education of teachers prepared to work in those lands with a specific cultural program. 2) that, at the same time, a project of primary education for our colonies in Brazil is to be developed, which will give our distant schools efficiency both in the properly didactic field and as in the more dignified field of the conservation of the national soul 3) that among the conditions posed by Italy to assure the Italian identity of those emigrated and about to emigrate in Brazil, there must also be a rational freedom of the expansion of popular culture, integrating or replacing (and never supplanting) the actions of the Brazilian States in this matter. The future work of our teachers in America should be based on culture and civilization, in defense of our feelings and not offending nor neglecting those of others; it should be of reasonable tribute to the country's conditions. The Italian school must be included as a mean of protection and of the

¹⁸ Report from DGSIE, s.d. [but from 1921], ASMAE, AS 1888-1920, b. 437.

¹⁹ It was composed by the sub-secretary for Foreign Affairs, the General Commissioner for Emigration Giuseppe de Michelis, the General Director for Political Affairs, the General Director for Italian Schools abroad, Ciro Trabalza, the Chief Consul of the Directive Office for Italian Schools Abroad, the Central Inspector for secondary schools represented by the MPI, Vittore Alemanni, the representative from the *Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri*, the representative of the Italian Colonial Institute Antoni, the representative of the National Association for the Protection of Italian Missionaries and the Italica Gens, Ernesto Schiaparelli, the representative of the Italian League for the Safeguard of National Interests Adolfo de Bosis, and the secretary of legation Giovanni di Giura. Report from the DGSIE, s.d. [but from 1921], Archivio Scuole 1888-1920, b. 437.

²⁰ Promemoria for the sub secretary of State, *La scuola italiana in America*, February 13th 1923, ASMAE, AS 1923-1928, b. 702.

attentive providence which the fatherland disposes, and not a means of determining currents of thought and hostile emotions towards the host country; instead, it should create more worthy guests. The formation of teaching personnel to Brazilian emigration, and there is a need of more than 2000 of such, while it is still necessary to our new generations within the country, will seem to some people an inopportune anticipation. But we can answer that illiteracy, even worse than the occlusion of the feelings and of the national soul, would be a far greater barrier outside the borders than it would within the country: and that if the State forces considered themselves unable in their efforts of spiritual safeguarding millions of Italians, in the only possible way, because they are not living on our soil, the State should at least help in every way corporations, missions, and any association that could give confidence to the national attempts, especially by appointing Italian religious people to the Italian colonies, while accepting the protection and supervision of the State²¹.

The remarks of Alemanni were echoed in later years, enriched and integrated by those from consular agents or authorities who, between 1921 and 1925, were able to point concerns, limits, difficulties, and initiatives with the goal of enhancing the diffusion of the watchword proposed, once more, by Alemanni: «italianness». The motivation was expressed, among others, by Captain Seghetti, a consular agent of *Italica Gens* who spent two years in many Brazilian states producing very valuable reports²², and by the consuls, like the one based in Porto Alegre who brought out the increasingly alarming problem of the «denationalization of the Italian communities», as in these words:

The process of denationalization is of course much easier in the cities than in the countryside, but the fact is that it is increasing, even in the countryside, with the construction of new highways and roads, with the intensification of trade relations between the colonies and the population centers and, mostly, with the work done by local authorities, who do not look favorably upon foreign schools, no matter how modest they are, and try to close them in every way they can²³.

These documents deserve a much deeper analysis which cannot be developed presently. Their importance is due to being the basis of a further confidential document predisposed by Trabalza to the Ambassador, General Badoglio, on February 1st 1924, when the latter was about to visit Brazil, which summarized the main points for the reorganization and development of the school culture in the South American country²⁴.

²¹ Report Vittore Alemanni, *La Scuola primaria italiana in Brasile*, January 1923, ASMAE, AS, b. 1923-28, b. 702.

²² Report Luigi Seghetti 1923, ASMAE, AS, 1888-1922, b. 437.

²³ Report L. Arduini, September 1925 ASMAE, AS, 1923-28, b. 637.

²⁴ Pro-Memory for His Excellence the Ambassador General Badoglio, *Programma scolastico culturale per gli Stati del Sud America (con specifica attenzione al Brasile)*, February 1st, 1924, in ASMAE, Archivio Scuole 1923-28, b. 598.

2. *Textbooks in Italian schools abroad and in the colonies, between Idealism and Fascism*

The activities of committees dedicated to the evaluation of textbooks took place in this context, with several people already involved in the process of approving textbooks for schools abroad in pre-Fascist times. The initiatives of the Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs, as well as those of the Ministry of Colonies, were employed in order to guarantee the production of books to be used in the schools of the Mediterranean basin, that is, in countries under direct colonial control such as Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, as well as in Italian schools run directly by the government and in the schools maintained across the ocean. The approval of books to be used in the colonies was requested to the special committees; these books, «besides the compliance with the dictates of pedagogical technique, would be written with special attention to the way of thinking of the students of the colonial schools, particularly those born abroad, and would aim at the organic needs of the colonial environment»²⁵. However, the actions of war and those specifically related to the reorganization of school services of the colonies did not allow the operation of this committee until 1921. During this phase the choices made by the institutes, on an individual basis, and by teachers, without any control of management, were tolerated.

At the heart of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a Special Committee was established on January 15th 1921, soon beginning to approve some manuals. A Special Committee for the examination of school manuals for colonies, however, was reconstituted by a Decree of April 10th, 1921²⁶. The first committee had five members, Cesare De Lollis, its header and a professor at the University of Rome, Francesco Piola and Riccardo Truffi, both central inspectors of the Ministry of Education, Roberto Gruppioni, the second didactic director of municipal schools of Rome, and Giovanni Ferro, from the Royal Technical Institute of Rome²⁷. The choice fell on De Lollis because Trabalza had learned about his skills in modern literatures and particularly in French literature, «whose teaching has a special importance in secondary institutes and in Italian elementary schools abroad»²⁸. On February 26th, 1922, when the committee had not yet completed its work, Trabalza sent a confidential note to the various

²⁵ F. Contini, *La questione dei libri di testo nelle Scuole della Libia*, in A. Festa, *La scuola italiana e l'opera di conquista morale della Libia*, Tripoli, Maggi, 1932, p. 148. The colonial school regulation, approved by the Law Decree n. 1809 of October, 17th, 1915, disposed, in articles 115 and following ones, the establishment of a special Permanent Commission for the analysis of textbooks for colonial schools.

²⁶ Contini, *La questione dei libri di testo nelle Scuole della Libia*, cit., p. 149.

²⁷ MAE, *Amministrazione centrale. Ambasciate, legazioni e consolati del Regno d'Italia all'Estero, Ambasciate e legazioni presso il S.M. il Re d'Italia, Agenti consolari degli Stati Esteri in Italia 15 marzo 1922*, Roma, Tipografia del Ministero degli affari esteri, 1922, p. 21.

²⁸ Letter by Trabalza to Gaetano Cogo, central inspector of the Ministry of Public Education, October 18th, 1922, in ASMAE, AS, 1923-28, b. 537.

Consulates, by which he informed the list of approved and non-approved textbooks for elementary schools. The General Director invited the heads of consular agencies to broadcast the note «in confidence» to school managers, only making it public if some teacher insisted on adopting textbooks not approved by the committee²⁹. We do not know the reasons for this choice. After a year and a half of work, De Lollis announced that he could not keep the presidency and resigned³⁰. At first, a second professor of the University of Rome was called to replace him, the italianist Vittorio Rossi, which didn't accept the position³¹. To replace him, Trabalza suggested then Pietro Fedele. The choice had fallen on this professor of modern history not only for his scientific achievements, but also for his «deep patriotism», as indicated in a handwritten note made by Trabalza on the decree³², thus considering both his better credit and legitimacy as well as his easiness to interact with the ministry.

During that period, to request the production of more suitable books for Italian schools abroad, the ministerial authorities, as well as the committees, resorted to specific measures such as public announcements by the Ministry of Education for the production of new textbooks that would be adopted in Italian schools abroad and in colonial territories. The first procedure was a public announcement for the production a book of national history to be adopted in primary schools and free courses abroad³³, followed by a second announcement for a reading book intended for Italian schools abroad³⁴; later, a public announcement to produce manuals for elementary schools in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica was issued³⁵.

The first announcement expected the production of a book which would deal with the provisions of government programs for the teaching of history in primary schools and, at the same time, encouraged nationalistic feelings since

²⁹ The list of textbooks and the Note of Ciro Trabalza, February 26th, 1921, ASMAE, AS, 1923-28, b. 537.

³⁰ The letters of October 6th and 7th, 1922, through which De Lollis informed, respectively officially and informally, Trabalza of his «deep sorrow» for being unable to continue a work that he considered extremely «useful», are transcribed in ASMAE, AS, 1923-28, b. 537.

³¹ The letter through which Vittorio Rossi informed Gaetano Cogo, intermediate to Trabalza, his refusal is dated October 21, 1922, and is transcribed in ASMAE, AS, 1923-1928, b. 537, along with the one written by Cogo to communicate the General Director of the decision.

³² The decree in ASMAE, AS, 1923-1928, b. 537.

³³ *Bando di concorso a premio per un testo di storia patria ad uso delle scuole elementari e popolari italiane all'estero*, «Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione» [henceforward BUMPI], vol. II, n. 25, June 22nd, 1922, pp. 968-969.

³⁴ *Bando di concorso a premio per un libro di lettura ad uso delle scuole elementari italiane all'estero*, BUMPI, vol. II, n. 2, January 12th, 1922, pp. 44-45.

³⁵ Ministerial Decree of August, 20th, 1922 – *Concorsi per libri di testo nelle scuole primarie della Tripolitania e della Cirenaica* (published in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of October 31st, 1922, n. 256), BUMPI, vol. II, n. 45, November 9th, 1922, pp. 2081-2085, now also in A. Barausse, *Il libro per la scuola dall'Unità al fascismo. La normativa sui libri di testo dalla legge Casati alla Riforma Gentile (1861-1922)*, 2 Voll., Macerata, Alfabetica, 2008, vol. II, p. 1331.

childhood. This task was not easy, as stated by the analyst of the committee, who illustrated the reasons for the failure of the resulting volumes. According to the committee members, these failures were results of the vigorous effort needed to summarize “the entire essence of the history of our people, recomposing it in a whole around which the ghost of the greatness of Rome would gravitate; a city which in ancient times unified Italy, conquered the world and imposed the law; a city which in the Middle Ages transferred its very spirit into the catholicity of the Church and into the tradition of the Empire and the Communes; and that, in recent times, had reborn in literature, art, and law, until it gave rise to and expressed itself in the whole movement of the *Risorgimento*”. A patriotic text that could

give an adequate idea of what the world owes to Italy: not a depository of erudition, but a thorough knowledge; not an assortment of names and dates, but safe chronological guidelines; not an accumulation of concepts, but a whole understanding of the multiple and complex elements of historical life; not an emphasis, but a contained passion and faith, capable of stimulating in the tenderest minds of readers the pride of being and feeling Italian³⁶.

The second public announcement, of December 1921, instituted a prize to promote the writing of a reading book to be used in primary education abroad. The resulting work, to be completed in five volumes, should correspond to the programs established for the schools of the Kingdom, but should also adapt itself to the particular local conditions in order to encourage the local students attending Italian schools. Its texts should not only give account of the differences in habits and behaviors between males and females, but they should also consider the different environments, “especially in the case of the Mediterranean region and the Americas”, highlighting above all

the contribution made by our great and humble workers for the development and expansion of civilization in the world, in every subject and every place, so that the feeling of nationalism in the Italian children living in so varied and distant countries would be enhanced and made stronger by a conscious faith in the greatness of the nation

In terms of reading books for the six grades of primary schools in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, however, this second public announcement had criteria indicated by the Ministry which reflected a more moderate nationalism through a pedagogical approach that intended to consider traditions and local cultures. The authors, for example, were asked to avoid «any trait of confessional nature and also to avoid moral judgments or examples that [could] offend the feelings and practices of Jews and Muslims», as well as to avoid «patriotic demonstrations that [would] be ineffective among non-Italian students»; they were also asked to include in their narratives not only Italian children «but also, occasionally, local

³⁶ *Ibid.*

children», fostering in the students a «mutual affection and respect, despite the deep differences of nationality, race, confession, and habits»³⁷.

These actions anticipated the changes in the cultural and educational environments that in the following year led to a new proposal of ministerial initiatives, with the establishment of the committees for reviewing textbooks. The first one, chaired by Lombardo Radice, would begin a brief but intense season that, through the work of subsequent committees chaired by Vidari, Giuliano, Romano, and Melchiori, all similar in their intention of detailing the fascist textbook, would represent a significant change in the scenario of Italian educational publishing³⁸.

3. The new programs of 1924 for Italian schools abroad

The arrangement of the editorial products for Italian schools abroad was also affected by the intervention of the new programs launched by the regulations of October 1st, 1924, designed for an educational program in which schools would be of key importance, as indicated in the words of the instructions for teachers. The teacher was defined as «the guardian of the distant homeland» and his task was to «keep the memory and the cult alive» in contexts marked by specific problems of which the legislator was aware, such as the different languages, the religion, the confusion caused by the presence of original dialects within the Italian communities, the absence of local traditions that would be of support «as living sources of regional culture», and the obligation of a concurrent teaching of other languages³⁹. The teacher's culture should be broad, and it should also be measured by his knowledge about the countries of emigration. Given the specific contexts, the new programs admitted the possibility of a different formulation if it proved necessary, in order to achieve a better adaptation. The teaching of the new language should ensure «the substantial confidence of our linguistic heritage» and, at the same time, it should guarantee the expansion of the use of dialects as a special feature of the Italian national character, avoiding the rhetorical use of language. The textbooks were considered to have a fundamental role and followed very precise instructions, given by the program:

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 1335-1336.

³⁸ A. Ascenzi, R. Sani, *Il libro per la scuola nel ventennio fascista: la normativa sui libri di testo dalla riforma Gentile alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale, 1923-1945*, Macerata, Alfabetica, 2009; Chiosso, *L'editoria scolastica prima e dopo la riforma Gentile*, cit.; M. Gafrè, *Il regime degli editori. Libri, scuola e fascismo*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2005.

³⁹ A. Oriani, *La legislazione fascista sulle scuole italiane all'estero*, Torino, Paravia G.B. e C., 1926, p. 86.

The choice of textbook for schools abroad was a delicate task. The textbook should have ample references to the life of our distant colonies, it should exalt the feelings and the love for the homeland without offending other nationalities, it should teach the beauty, the old and the new monuments, the most magnificent forms of civilization and of activity, presenting the most representative people and recalling the unmeasured efforts made during the recent national war⁴⁰.

Not only the artistic, but also the historical-geographical contents had a significant importance, and for this reason the programs prescribed a substantial part to the teaching of the great war and to «the resolute contribution made by Italy».

Our heroes, our great efforts, the statement of strength and power should be exalted in a dignified way. At every opportunity, the teacher should evoke the vision of the great solidity, in its characteristic phases, in the names of the characters who stood out by civil and military virtues⁴¹.

The invitation to emphasize the great migrations of peoples, the cultural and artistic statements, putting in the first place the history of Ancient Rome, «master and ruler of the world» is also extremely significant. To elicit and captivate the child's fantasy, the use of legends was recommended.

At the same time, the teaching of geography was also essential to support the value of a moderate patriotism:

only they who know something can love it; the most sacred and enduring patriotism is the one that is not about rhetoric exalting words, but about the indestructible basis of knowledge on the great and beautiful homeland. It's also essential to have knowledge about the country where the students live, not only for obvious practical reasons, but to give them a full sense of hospitality duties and to educate them to the most correct and true ways of living together⁴².

4. «*Italians... but sensible*»: the patriotism in reading books for primary schools

The fruit of this first season was the production of books that either were approved by the special committee established in 1921 or that had won the competitions. Among these were books that were used in Brazil, such as the one of Francesco Pasciuti and Giovanni Di Giusto, entitled *Cuore lontano*, published by Mondadori in 1922⁴³; or the one of Alarico Buonaiuti, published

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴³ F. Pasciuti, G. Di Giusto, *Cuore lontano*, 2 Voll., Milano, Mondadori, 1922.

by Bemporad in 1925, entitled *Italia lontana*⁴⁴. The authors were mostly administrative workers or school principals with experience on the issues of Italian schools abroad: Francesco Pasciuti was part of the Superior Council of Italian schools abroad, while Giovanni Di Giusto was the president of the central inspectorate, and Alarico Buonaiuti had been the director of the secondary school established in Constantinople. Buonaiuti's volumes were distributed from the beginning of the second half of the twenties: it took almost three years for the work of the first public announcements to be finished. Only on December 2nd 1925, six months after the delivery of the report by the committee, Mussolini officially announced the results, which were negative for the two announcements for the history book and positive for the two volumes of reading books by Alarico Buonaiuti. In fact, the positive result was the partial approval of the work produced by the teacher and director of the Constantinople schools, which was originally planned in five volumes⁴⁵.

The books produced in this first phase were oriented to encourage the transmission of educational models based on the pride of the Italian cultural traditions and, at the same time, to foster the ability to be good Brazilian citizens. Their usage and distribution were considered essential and fundamental by the consular authorities for the recovery and preservation of the ethnic identity, at a time when the prevailing inclination in Brazil seemed to be that of «denationalization».

Associated with a peculiar narrative structure, very similar to the one of the book *Cuore* by De Amicis, the two volumes developed the storyline of a school year, enriched by the usage of foreign countries, and distinguished themselves by the presence of immigrants and Italian countrymen, as in the model of exploratory trips. Besides the feeling of longing for the distant homeland, the authors wished to follow the ethnic-identity construction:

the love for one's mother, the love for one's home, the love for one's homeland are all felt as strong as the distance⁴⁶.

This feeling should, however, coexist with a respect towards the Brazilian nation, first seen as a host nation and not as a final destination, what it had become for the second generation of students, born in Brazil. «Italians, but sensible», was the title of a section in Buonaiuti's narrative in which a primary school teacher called the attention of a student for surprising him on the street «excessively boasting his italianness»:

⁴⁴ A. Buonaiuti, *Italia lontana*, 2 Voll., Firenze, Bemporad, 1925.

⁴⁵ ASMAE, Relatorio Commissao Boselli, s.d. [but from 1924], ASMAE, Archivio Scuole 1923-1928, b. 69.

⁴⁶ Pasciuti, Di Giusto, *Cuore lontano*, cit., vol. I, p. 138.

To boast one's italianness in front of people of another origin, with no need and with exaggerated modes and words is silly and useless, more than that, it is harmful – it would be like tinkling weapons in front of peaceful and defenseless people. Remember, Fondi [...], that every man has his own country which he loves more than anything else. And every nation, large or small, old or young, is entitled in relation to others, even if these nations are huge and have accumulated all the glories of this world⁴⁷.

These first editorial productions already exhibited the primacy given to the national feeling and to the cult of the birth nation, which was expressed through the pictures of the great educators and patriots and through the exaltation of some myths of the *Risorgimento* – still not completely assimilated into Fascism – as Cavour, Verdi and especially Garibaldi (who was valued for his ability to export Italianness in South America and was «certified» for the existence of a small town in the state of Rio Grande do Sul named after him), just as religious figures like St. Francis or St. Philip Neri, useful in the spreading of the sentiment of charity.

Both texts used places, events and symbols as resources able to evoke feelings of nostalgic fraternity and mobilisation, as in the portraits of cities «of the distant homeland»⁴⁸ and able to stimulate such as the national flag, along with many references to the great war, described in its most important moments and symbols, for example the Altar of the Fatherland, Vittorio Veneto. The books frequently represented the Italy of art and music, with monuments that recalled the beauty of the Ancient Rome civilization or the cult of «Nabucco», but they also recalled moments of co-participation in the construction of the Brazilian identity, as in the date of April 21st, which celebrated both the birth of Rome and the death of the Brazilian patriot Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, known as Tiradentes. They also offered positive images of Brazil as that of a «vast, progressive and flourishing» republic, whose wealth, however, was an opportunity to praise decisive contribution of the work of Italian people⁴⁹.

Besides expressing the concept of a moderate nationalism, these books also explored the values of a social conservatism, reflecting a context strongly focused on class and signaling racial discrimination. The feeling of fraternity generated by the patriotic cult of the flag united students in an almost religious way, erasing differences of status and the presence of different profiles, such as the son of the consul, the director of the Italian-Brazilian bank, the ardent patriot teacher, etc. Elitism gave way to the reinforcement of status differences from the racial point of view, which were only mitigated by pious sentimentalism. The black population occupied the last positions. Black characters sided children protagonists in some narratives and although they were «humble and good», they also seemed to perceive themselves as «worth less than others». The respect

⁴⁷ Buonaiuti, *Italia lontana*, cit., vol. I, p. 187.

⁴⁸ Pasciuti, Di Giusto, *Cuore lontano*, cit., vol. I, pp. 53-55.

⁴⁹ Buonaiuti, *Italia lontana*, cit., vol. I, p. 45.

for the requirements of status (towards the king, towards a representative of the State, towards economic companies, etc.) constituted the guarantee of social stability; followed by the exaltation of the spirit of resignation in the acceptance of one's social status, along with a conviction on the exclusively individual value of «justice is/was of the one who deserved it», rather than on the exerting one's own right to justice. The school paths constituted not only an instrument to endorse the Italian identity, but also a system to ensure the reproduction of the status differences. In one of the narratives, Bobino Franchi was in secondary school, «a future lawyer», sitting next to Naomi who was destined to «write poetry and prose»; Pieri, attending the popular program, would become a «great and skilled worker», just like Ada Della Lena and Rita Rigucci who would be «good housemaids for great ladies»; Barini and Bandini were in technical school and in «this way the division is complete but wherever you are, whatever school you attend, in name of your sacred effort you shall be and remain an Italian children»⁵⁰. There were rare moments of «social realism», expressed by feelings of grief as those dictated by the distance from the mother or as those motivated by the failure of economic activities, the cause of emigration; aspects that, in the case of Buonaiuti's book, did not please the committee⁵¹.

The books did not exclude more pedantic narrative episodes connected to forms of late moralism from the nineteenth century, presenting brief texts that exemplified the cult of values such as honesty, respect, and personal hygiene care, in contrast with indolence, avarice and disorder; or yet texts that proposed the female educational models of the good mother and the good wife, in the form of advice from a mother to her daughter, however expressed through more modern forms of introspection (know thyself).

5. *From the second half of the 1920s to the end of the 1930s*

From the end of the 1920s, it is possible to identify in some areas of Brazil the distribution of textbooks published in Italy with the goal of a closer correspondence to the demands of the national Fascist pedagogy, particularly that of guaranteeing an efficient ideological propaganda and a functional policy for the construction of the «New Italian» abroad⁵². It was a need indicated by many areas of the Fascist cultural and educational reality, clearly expressed in the circular letter issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on October 31st,

⁵⁰ Pasciuti, Di Giusto, *Cuore lontano*, cit., 1922, vol. II, 7-8.

⁵¹ Report Boselli, s.d. [but from 1924], ASMAE, AS 1923-28, b. 697.

⁵² On the new Italian advocated by Fascism see E. Gentile, *Fascismo, Storia e interpretazione*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2002; L. La Rovere, «Rifare gli italiani»: l'esperienza di creazione dell'uomo nuovo nel regime fascista, «Annali di Storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche», vol. 9, 2002, pp. 51-58.

1927 with the announcement of a competition for Italian citizens at home and abroad for the publication of a textbook entitled «The Italian of Mussolini». The initiative was promoted and backed by the General Consul Labia and his wife in memory of the «hateful parricide attack», and its goal was to guarantee the drafting of a textbook that would contribute in «giving and spreading among our people of every class the habits and notions [of] a civil life, as well as humanitarian, religious and patriotic feelings as it would be desired by [the] Duce himself» (telegram dated November 2nd, 1926). On November 10th, 1926 Labia wrote a note expressing his satisfaction for the acceptance by Mussolini of the initiative that would «model our people along the grandiose guidelines of our beloved Duce». In essence, it referred to the drafting of a text that would indicate

the representation of the new creative spirit after the rise of Fascism among the Italian people and that would also be a guide for the youth, to whom it will indicate the way for the formation of the even more complete and perfect Italians of tomorrow. It shall be the book of the spirit, of the ideality and of the Fascist life, and it shall provide Italians of every class with a clear vision of what shall be the new Italian, his characters, his feelings, his destinies⁵³.

The important biography of Mussolini by G. Fanciulli from 1928 could be precisely the outcome of the competition arranged by the Ministry⁵⁴.

The production of these new texts was better suited, as it will be discussed, to the strategy by the Fascist leaders of introducing, in countries with a strong Italian emigration, a massive propaganda intended for the creation of the new Italian advocated by Fascism. At the same time, the conception of schools as tools for supporting the foreign policies of Fascism was consolidated, however with a flexibility of action depending on the country of action, all intended to rally the support of immigrants along with opportunities such as travels and visits of immigrants to Italy, summer camps and paramilitary activities for the youth⁵⁵.

The consequences of these first changes can be found in the three volumes for the complete cycle of primary schooling written by Vera Gaiba, in collaboration with Francesco Lanza, between 1927 and 1928⁵⁶, as well as in the two volumes

⁵³ The telegram from Capetown, on October 14 1927 in ASMAE, AS 1929-1935, b. 1027.

⁵⁴ Cf. G. Fanciulli, *Il duce del popolo italiano*, Roma, Segreteria generale dei fasci all'estero, 1928; this writer of books for children was the author, among other volumes, of texts for the Italian youth that would satisfy the demands of the General Direction for Italians Abroad, such as *I grandi navigatori italiani*, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1931, the anthology *Canzoncine italiane raccolte da Giuseppe Fanciulli e illustrate da Vittoria Morelli*, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1931 and a volume specifically designed for vanguardist residing abroad (*Glorie d'Italia. Libro per la gioventù italiana sotto ogni cielo*, Torino, SEI, 1937, 2^a ed.). Regarding him, we refer to D. Montino, *Le tre Italie di Giuseppe Fanciulli*, Torino, SEI, 2009.

⁵⁵ M. Pretelli, *Il fascismo e gli italiani all'estero*, Bologna, Clueb, 2010, pp. 123-138.

⁵⁶ V. Gaiba, F. Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di letture per le Scuole Elementari all'estero*.

organized by Giuseppe Locatelli and Arturo Mondovì, published in 1928 by Mondadori⁵⁷.

This reforms in editorial production were joined by other significant changes, consequences of the new strategies among the leaders of the administrative policies of Fascism after the new directions for the administration of Italian schools abroad. In 1928, after the extinction of the Commissioner for Emigration, a new General Directorate of Italians and Schools Abroad was instituted and entrusted to Piero Parini. Parini is a paradigmatic name in this change of perspective: he was, as a matter of fact, the secretary of Italian fascists abroad. His nomination was probably motivated by the need to guarantee a stronger support to Mussolini among the ministerial leaders and was followed by a number of decisions that would impact the editorial production. According to what was asserted by Pretelli, through the appointment of Parini and the changes in the administrative structure that had been set up to manage Italian schools at home and abroad, it was now possible to promote «a progressive centralization of the powers for the management of Italian identity abroad»⁵⁸. According to this author, Parini embodied the will of the regime of politicizing the world of emigrants and the schools abroad: his subscription to the nationalist and interventionist ideology of Fascism dated back to 1920⁵⁹. In 1932 his role would be reinforced to include topics of Italian labour abroad with the institution of a new General Direction of Italians Abroad in charge of gathering and coordinating every single service of expatriation and repatriation, safeguard, propaganda, and culture for Italians abroad⁶⁰. In the same year,

Sillabario e prime letture, Torino, G.B. Paravia, 1927; Id., *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di letture per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Terza*, Torino, G.B. Paravia e C., 1927; Id., *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di letture per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Quarta*, Torino, G.B. Paravia e C., 1928; Id., *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di letture per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Quinta*, Torino, G.B. Paravia e C., 1928.

⁵⁷ G. Locatelli, A. Mondovì, *Voci della patria lontana: corso di letture per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quarta classe maschile e femminile*, Milano, Mondadori, 1928; Id., *Voci della patria lontana: corso di letture per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quinta classe maschile e femminile*, Milano, Mondadori, 1928.

⁵⁸ M. Pretelli, *Il fascismo e gli italiani all'estero*, Bologna, Clueb, 2010, p. 33. Regarding the role of Italian Fascism abroad, we refer to E. Franzina, M. Sanfilippo, (edd.), *Il fascismo e gli emigrati. La parabola dei fasci italiani all'estero (1920-1943)*, Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2003; J.F. Bertonha, *Emigrazione e politica estera: la diplomazia sovversiva di Mussolini e la questione degli italiani all'estero 1921-1945*, «Altreitalie», vol. 23, 2001, pp. 39-60; Id., *O fascismo e os imigrantes italianos no Brasil*, Porto Alegre, EdiPUCRS, 2001.

⁵⁹ Regarding Parini, we refer to Pretelli, *Il fascismo e gli italiani all'estero*, cit., p. 34; B.M. Knox, *Parini Piero*, in P.V. Cannistraro, *Historical Dictionary of Fascist Italy*, Westport, Greenwood press, 1982 pp. 393-394.

⁶⁰ Regarding the «new direction», cf. P. Parini, *Gli Italiani nel mondo*, Milano, A. Mondadori, 1935, pp. 35-37; Floriani, *Scuole italiane all'estero. Cento anni di storia*, cit., pp. 76-77; B. Garzarelli, *Fascismo e propaganda all'estero: le origini della Direzione generale per la propaganda (1933-1934)*, «Studi Storici», vol. 43, n. 2, 2002, pp. 481-482.

the Ministry of Colonies issued the decree n. 1698 of June 22nd, 1928, which reorganized the schools in Cirenaica and Tripolitana.

In accordance with a law of January 1929 that introduced the single book of State for primary schools, the Ministry of National Education established a committee that, in few months, was able to produce the texts for the two first grades of primary school. At the same time, another committee was established at the Ministry of Foreign Relations to guarantee the production of new textbooks by entrusting a group of authors selected by the same Ministry. This group was able to perform with «Fascistic speed», as described by its President, and approved a series of reading books for Italian schools abroad and in the colonies. However, the chief of General Direction, in the name of the interests of the nation, decided to unite the two committees, creating a mixed group from the Ministries of National Education and of Foreign Affairs (MEN e MAE) that would complement and adapt the texts for primary schools already used in the Kingdom. It was not a simple task, as

the adaptation would be reasonably easy in terms of sciences *lato sensu* (arithmetic, geometry), but would be more delicate and complex in terms of historical and moral courses [...] These courses have a formative quality and must use texts that are adequate to the special needs and the organization of Italian schools abroad, while considering the environmental conditions where the action is performed, but avoiding to stumble upon the local political and religious sensitivity. It is well known that lately the feelings of nationalism in some countries, particularly in the Mediterranean basin, has exasperated, in such a way that the activity of foreign schools is performed among suspicion and all kinds of difficulties [...] a work of adaptation and, sometimes, of reformulation⁶¹.

In terms of texts for secondary schools, Parini suggested a reconstitution of the committee that had been established in January 15th, 1921, which, however, had not had enough opportunities to meet, only approving a few texts that were now considered outdated, given that Fascism had already ascended. To this end, he suggested the participation of the three central inspectors for secondary schools of the Ministry of National Education⁶².

This was the context in which some of the single State books for reading and writing were developed, intended for the teaching of these courses both at Italian schools abroad and in the Colonies; a process matched by the establishment of the General Direction of Italians and Italian Schools Abroad as a factual publishing house⁶³. The strategy of the new Director General on textbooks was very different from that proposed by the predecessor which, in

⁶¹ Report by P. Parini, June 6th, 1930, ASMAE, AS (1929-1935), b. 1027 *libri di testo*.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ For an introduction to the editorial production for Italian Schools abroad, refer to M. Pretelli, *Direzione generale degli italiani all'estero e delle scuole, editrice* (1929-1946), in G. Chiosso (ed.), *Teseo '900: editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008, pp. 163-165.

the mentioned preparatory document for the visit of the Ambassador drafted a few years earlier had expressed the belief of incurring, on-site production⁶⁴. In the case of some volumes, especially those for reading and the ancillary books, it is easier to identify the authors. Among these are the volumes of *Letture* by Clementina Bagagli⁶⁵, the reading books for the second grade by Giuseppe Fanciulli⁶⁶, which was also the author of *Letture di Religione*⁶⁷, the *Letture* for the third grade by an unknown author⁶⁸ and the reading book for the fourth grade by Paolo Monelli⁶⁹, besides the two readings books for fifth grade⁷⁰. Ancillary volumes intended for the colonies of North Africa, written mostly by the inspectors of the colonial schools, are included in this group. In 1937, a new reading book organized by Milly Dandolo was published⁷¹, along with a

⁶⁴ «IX - Textbooks. Regarding Italian schools and, more than that, the teaching of the Italian language in foreign local schools, a technical problem of utmost importance is the composition and distribution of textbooks that conform with the special character of both types of school, as it is evident that even the best textbooks used in the schools of the Kingdom could hardly meet the conditions of our schools abroad. The ideal aspired by the Ministry, also in consideration of the involved expenditure, is one in which the textbooks adopted for the teaching of the Italian language in schools abroad would be designed locally by skilled people, would employ modern methods, and would also be published locally. In this sense, the Ministry has already made agreements with the general secretary of the Opera di Don Bosco, who will study the proposal and will present a comprehensive plan to be approved by the Ministry. The plan shall include the names of the authors, who will be chosen among the most competent scientific and educational secular experts on their subjects. Meanwhile, it would be of use if the consular agencies gather and forward to the Ministry the best textbooks currently adopted in foreign schools, while presenting opportune proposals for the early fulfillment of the arduous but urgent task initiated by the Ministry. One of the difficulties that has so far prevented an expansion of the teaching of the Italian language, specifically in local schools, has been precisely the absence of efficient textbooks; it can be asserted that the availability of excellent textbooks could even give rise to the demand for teaching». Pro-Memory for His Excellence the Ambassador General Badoglio, *Programma scolastico culturale per gli Stati del Sud America (con specifica attenzione al Brasile)*, February 1st, 1924, in ASMAE, Archivio Scuole 1923-28, b. 598.

⁶⁵ C. Bagagli, *Letture: classe prima*, organized by C. Bagagli and illustrated by A. Della Torre, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1929; Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe seconda*, organized by C. Bagagli and illustrated by A. Della Torre, Milano, Alfieri e Lacroix, 1932; Id., *Letture. Classe terza*, organized by Clementina Bagagli, Milano, Alfieri e Lacroix, 1933. Regarding this last title, we confirmed and obtained an edition of 1941.

⁶⁶ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe seconda*, organized by G. Fanciulli, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1930.

⁶⁷ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture di religione*, Verona, A. Mondadori, 1931.

⁶⁸ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1929; there is also an edition of 1930, illustrated by Moroni Celsi.

⁶⁹ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture classe quarta*, organized by P. Monelli, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1930.

⁷⁰ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture Classe quinta*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1929; Scuole italiane all'estero, *Libro di lettura per la quinta classe compilato da Nazareno Padellaro*, Verona, Mondadori, [s.a.].

⁷¹ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Libro di lettura per la quarta classe*, organized by M. Dandolo, illustrated by C. Testi, Milano, Mondadori, 1937. Regarding this writer from Lombardy, student of Ciro Trabalza and associate to Vamba first and to Fanciulli later, we refer to the article about

new edition of previous reading books, such as a new edition of the volumes by Bagagli (of which we were able to locate one of 1941). The authors of texts for the teaching of others courses, however, are harder to identify⁷²; an exception is a grammar published by the *Direzione Generale Italiani all'Estero* in 1935 and written by the primary teacher Dante Giromini, which in 1930 became president of the *Istituto Magistrale di Carrara*⁷³.

In Brazil, along with the new texts recommended by the Committee to Italian schools, monographs produced for a more specific development of contents of intransigent Fascism were also distributed. One of these⁷⁴ was the text organized by the *Direzione degli Italiani all'Estero* entitled *Quando il mondo*

her in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.

⁷² Scuole italiane all'estero, *Il libro della terza classe elementare storia, geografia aritmetica*, Milano-Verona, A. Mondadori, 1932; Scuole italiane all'estero, *Il libro della quarta classe elementare; Storia, geografia, aritmetica, scienze*, Milano-Verona, A. Mondadori, 1931; Scuole italiane all'estero, *Il libro della quarta classe elementare, aritmetica, scienze*, Milano-Verona, A. Mondadori, 1932 [1933 and 1935]; Scuole italiane all'estero, *Il libro della quarta elementare storia e geografia*, Milano-Verona, A. Mondadori, 1933; Scuole italiane all'estero *Il libro della quinta elementare, storia, geografia, aritmetica, scienze e diritto*, Milano-Verona, A. Mondadori, 1931. The studies on the single book adopted in Italy are few. See M.C. Morandini, *Il libro unico di Stato in epoca fascista: uno sguardo ai sussidiari*, in Ead., *Punti e virgole, pesi e misure. Libri maestri e scolari tra Otto e Novecento*, Macerata, eum, 2008, pp. 91-122; M. Bacigalupi, P. Fossati, *Da plebe a popolo. L'educazione popolare nei libri di scuola dall'Unità d'Italia alla Repubblica*, Scandicci, La Nuova Italia, 1986.

⁷³ D. Giromini, *Grammatica italiana per le scuole italiane all'estero*, Roma, Direzione Generale Italiani all'estero, 1935. Dante Giromini was born in Castelpoggio, in a place named Casa Nova, on January 15th, 1874. He attended the magistral school, obtaining the teacher diploma. He and his wife, Artemisia Morelli, worked as teachers in many communities, before finally settling in Carrara, where he taught for over 50 years. He was the first principal of the *Istituto Magistrale di Carrara* when it was reopened in 1930, as well as general director of primary schools of Massa Carrara. During his entire life, he was able to combine the mission of teaching with his great passion, writing. He published many textbooks and reading books which were used in public schools, which received in 1924 – 1928 by the ministerials committees goods judgments. He continued writing until his last days, when aged 76 died on September 5th, 1950. Ascenzi, Sani, *Il libro per la scuola nel ventennio fascista: la normativa sui libri di testo dalla riforma Gentile alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale*, 1923-1945, cit., *passim*.

⁷⁴ We must also cite other texts such as those of O. Rizzini, *La nostra guerra: una storia breve per gli italiani all'estero* (1931); *Le mie giornate in patria. Diario di un balilla* (1931); F. Savorgnan Di Brazzà, *Da Leonardo a Marconi* (1932); F.S. Grazioli, *I grandi capitali italiani* (1936) and, in cooperation with Società Nazionale Dante Alighieri, *Pagine scelte per gli italiani all'estero* (1940). These volumes were published along with other texts of apology of the fatherland and his past history, as well as the contribution of Italians and the Fascist «martyrdom» abroad. In part, these volumes were edited or organized (while published by third parties, usually Mondadori) by the Segreteria generale dei fasci all'estero and entrusted to scholars and writers somewhat famous: O. Pedrazzi, *I nostri fratelli lontani* (1929); P. Monelli, *La tua patria* (1929); *La gioventù italiana di oltre confine al mare e ai monti della patria* (1929); O. Vergani, *Bella Italia, amate sponde* (1930); *45 Morti, 283 Feriti* (1933); P.M. Bardi, *I figli degli italiani all'estero in patria nell'anno XII* (1934); A. Bresso, *Il lavoro e il pensiero italiano nella Repubblica Argentina* (s.d.); *Campi e colonie estivi in patria dei figli dei lavoratori italiani residenti all'estero* (s.d.).

*era Roma*⁷⁵ such as those illustrated by Paolo Monelli in a volume called *La tua Patria* published by Mondadori, a publishing house close to the regime, and the reading books by Guerriero Bemporad entitled *Piccoli italiani nel mondo*, volumes in which the references to Fascism are even more explicit⁷⁶. Besides the qualities of the new Fascist man in the frame of the nationalistic representation of Italy through the imperialist emphasis of Rome as the bearer of civilization and culture to barbarians, these texts express the insistence on the foreign menace and the functional enemies to the construction of an hypernationalist mentality, always exalting the dictator as a saviour of the nation. At last, this context also allowed the publishing of Gioacchino Volpe's book, commissioned almost a decade before and called *Fatti degli italiani e dell'Italia: letture storiche*⁷⁷. These texts, some years later, would be complemented by an anthology of Latin literature, designed for the secondary school, and organized by Piero Parini himself⁷⁸.

The sources we currently have available confirm that the reviewed textbooks were employed as State textbooks for Italian Schools abroad. Still, it is necessary to investigate if these textbooks were uniformly employed in the Brazilian scenario or if the diverse contexts induced teachers to follow a different and more articulated perspective. Such questions are motivated by investigations conducted on letters still archived at the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs, in which it is frequently possible to identify the reports of specific teachers. From this point of view, an interesting context of experience is the one offered by the schools of Rio de Janeiro and of Porto Alegre in the State of Rio Grande do Sul. The reports of the didactic directors of schools both of Rio de Janeiro and of Porto Alegre reveal how the usage of the textbooks prescribed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was supplemented by that of textbooks more related to the previous setting of production. It is the case, for example, of classes of the fifth grade in which the teacher was using not alone the reading textbook of the State, or by Francesco Savernan di Brazzà published by Direzione generale entitled *Da Leonardo a Marconi* but also the reading textbook by Margherita Fazzini Deisy di Carpenetto (Marga), entitled *Piccolo mondo fascista*, whose first edition had been curated in 1925 by the publishing house of Bemporad; the *Libro Cuore* by De Amicis, the fables by brothers' Grimm or *L'uccellino azzurro* by Maurice Maeterlink. Or the case of classes of the first female grade

⁷⁵ Direzione degli italiani all'estero, *Quando il mondo era Roma. Breve quadro di un più grande passato dedicato ai bimbi italiani che vivono all'estero*, Novara, Istituto geografico De Agostini, 1931.

⁷⁶ P. Monelli, *La tua Patria*, Roma, Segreteria generale dei fasci all'estero, 1929; M. Guerriero Bemporad, *Piccoli italiani nel mondo*, Firenze, Bemporad 1934.

⁷⁷ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Fatti degli italiani e dell'Italia: letture storiche*, Milano-Verona, Mondadori, 1932.

⁷⁸ Scuole italiane all'estero Augusto, *Le più belle pagine della letteratura latina ad uso delle scuole italiane all'estero*, Roma, s.e., 1936.

the fascist reading book was placed side by side from other reading books as *Il primo libro del bambino italiano*, by Erminia Ballabio the *Poesie* by Cuman Pertile, *Bontà, studio e lavoro* by Dante Giromini, *Pinocchio* by Collodi and *Quando il gatto fa le fusa* by Teresah (Corinna Teresa) and Gray Uberti; *Piccolo mondo* by Fanny Romagnoli, *Ancora!* by Lina Scwharz: all reading books produced before the rise of fascism. But also for teaching geography and history of classes of the forth and fifth grade was using the book by Francesco Olmo e Emilio Malesani *L'Italia* or that by Luigi Bertelli *O Patria mia* or still *La Storia dei Mille* and *Da Quarto a Volturro* by Gian Cesare Abba, together to the reading *Il bel paese* by Stoppani, and *Il cuore d'Italia* by Berlotti. The reports of some other schools expose the employment of other readings book, together to fascist books, as Alarico Buonaiuti's *Italia lontana*, which, even though it contained strong elements of identity in nationalistic terms, still did not include specific references to Fascism and to Mussolini⁷⁹.

6. «Living in accordance to the style of the new and the very new Italian»

From 1927 on, we can identify a change of quality in the production of textbooks for the teaching of reading and writing in terms of their expression of the educational models that intended to permeate and define the attributes of the Fascist new man. It is convenient to verify, in the frame of the disciplinary strategies that should be part of the educational path for primary Italian schools abroad, to what extent these textbooks, both in their ideological inclination as well as in the models of culture and formation that they proposed, introduced strong elements of disruption in relation to the previous formulations, or if, on the contrary, they employed models of continuity in their representation of the character of national identity, in accordance to the orientations given by the Fascist totalitarian pedagogy.

The structure of the textbooks is diverse, according to the grades and, therefore, to the age of the students, while sometimes there are different gender approaches too. The books for the two first grades show a rather homogenous articulation in which the support of letters and syllables, a characteristic of the syllabaries of the previous decades, completely disappears, now replaced by words almost invariably associated to images. The words presented are increasingly complex, gradually becoming very short sentences and, at last, short narratives with equally simple syntactic structures, in which some of the suggestions of the activist pedagogy seem to be incorporated. In the syllabary and in the book for reading introduction by Gaiba, as well as in the *Letture* for

⁷⁹ See the different books mentioned on the didactics plans for the elementaries Italian schools of Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre in ASMAE, AS, 1929-1935, b. 785 e b. 786.

the first grade by Bagagli, the narrative context is made of figures of the family, such as the mother, portray a childhood safeguarded by the presence of the parents, by an harmonious nature, by the domestic environment⁸⁰, in which the image of the mother dominates over that of that father – usually portrayed as great worker⁸¹ – which is more recurrent than the grandparents; these are sometimes used to introduce great names of the homeland or are identified with the far away home⁸². The symbols of the national identity are introduced by means of figures such as that of the flag or of king Vittorio Emanuele III and queen Margherita di Savoia⁸³, or by employing short words and sentences such as «I am Italian»⁸⁴, «I love the distant Italy and its king»⁸⁵, and «the ship is sailing, is sailing away to Italy»⁸⁶; or, still, with the picture of a boy who, in a burst of affection, kisses the map of Italy and says «Italy, land of mine, which I love so much! We all love you!»⁸⁷. Even particularly significant episodes for childhood, such as that of the bedtime reading by the grandmother, are used to instill the national dimension through the mention of the «far, far away» king, or even through the explicit reference to Vittorio Emanuele («Long live to the King of Italy! Long live to my King!»)⁸⁸.

The national identity is also explored in the portrait of the distant colony, represented as an extended family whose common house is the consulate; in other occasions, it is expressed through the representation of the daily reading of a newspaper by the father⁸⁹. It is a childhood that experiences the feeling of displacement in a foreign country, but that finds a reassurance in the Italian school, where one can meet the teacher, she «who speaks so well the Italian language»⁹⁰. The identity trait of the new and valiant Italian were adequately introduced in a propaedeutic way through indirect references. For example, the reading texts by Bagagli when asked to describe the things he loved, the boy was invited to remember, along with words such as «flowers» and «animals», also the word «soldiers»; in the same way we find references to the myth of Rome,

⁸⁰ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe seconda*, organized by Clementina Bagagli and illustrated by Angelo Della Torre, cit., pp. 3-14; Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Sillabario e prime letture*, cit., *passim*.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸² An example is when the grandmother guides the dream of the boy with a narrative on a «king living far away» or hen the grandparents are identified with the distant homeland. See Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe prima*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, s.d., pp. 19-20.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 3 and 63.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12. A variant employed in the second edition complemented the expression with a different illustration, showing a somewhat melancholic and sad boy. [in the edition of 1929, on p. 16].

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

⁹⁰ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe seconda*, cit., p. 15

which in the text is used in the caption under the picture of a boy playing with a toy train yelling «To Rome, to Rome»⁹¹. In the textual developments of Bagagli's books for the first two grades, like in those of Fanciulli, it is more common to find references to themes that recall the campaigns promoted by Fascism, such as those of hygiene⁹² and wheat⁹³, and, in particular, references to the process for the recruitment of children of school age are more frequent, such as in the flag salutation through a stronger involvement of child education by means of competition⁹⁴. The best example, however, is probably the identification of the students with the *balilla*, «the little soldier of Italy [...] good, strong, loyal and brave»⁹⁵, and with the *fasces*, the bound bundle of rods which is a symbol for the «disciplined and concordant»⁹⁶ Italians, just as the references to the Duce and his love for the childhood:

All Italian children love Mussolini, the Duce that leads the new Italy and that restlessly works for the benefit of the homeland. The stern face of the Duce is enlightened by sweetness when he sees children. And do the children of Italy know why the Duce loves them so much? He loves them because the children are the best hopes of Italy, because if they will grow up strong, hard-working, and good, Italy itself will be strong, powerful and happy⁹⁷.

In the reading texts for the second grade, Bagagli presents to the children the desire for ruling, starting from the control of one's self and one's will, and associating it, in the subsequent passages, with the celebration of November 4th, of the Unknown Soldier and of the birthday of the soldier king⁹⁸. The reading texts for the second grade by Fanciulli, too, employ identity elements from the model of the soldier child, but they express more clearly the ideological formulations of the conservative and clerical-Fascist catholic culture⁹⁹, with remnants of De Amicis, particularly when the author represents Italy as the

⁹¹ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Lettture. Classe prima*, cit., p. 7.

⁹² Scuole italiane all'estero, *Lettture. Classe seconda*, organized by G. Fanciulli, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1930, p. 19.

⁹³ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Lettture. Classe seconda*, organized by G. Fanciulli, cit., p. 66; Scuole italiane all'estero, *Lettture. Classe seconda*, organized by C. Bagagli, cit., pp. 82-83.

⁹⁴ The children are gathered to salute the flag. The smarter one is the flag-bearer. All children sing the national anthem and then walk straight and salute the flag, thinking of the distant homeland. God protects Italy as in the past. Help me, oh God, to be a good Italian. Scuole italiane all'estero, *Lettture. Classe prima*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, p. 37 [1929], p. 44 [1930].

⁹⁵ [...] in order to be a true *balilla* it is not enough to wear the uniform and march well with the other children. He knows that the *balilla*, even when not wearing his uniform, is a child soldier of Italy and as all soldiers of Italy he must be good, strong, loyal and brave". *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁹⁸ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Lettture. Classe seconda*, organized by C. Bagagli, cit., pp. 17-18.

⁹⁹ The first ten pages are the more significant in conceptual terms, as they introduce the creator (God), the mother and the father (Family) and Italy (the Fatherland). Scuole italiane all'estero, *Lettture. Classe seconda*, organized by Giuseppe Fanciulli, cit., 1930, pp. 1-10.

home of a single, large family¹⁰⁰, resorting to feelings of nostalgia¹⁰¹. These feelings are later used to introduce passages of more explicit ideological and recruitment character, by employing elements such as the call from the national flag, the pride for a sacred good which he associates with the respect of the Roman salute¹⁰², and the cultivation of the apologetic cult of Rome¹⁰³ and of Mussolini as a man guided by Providence. An example is found in these words:

The Duce. God protects Italy. He has always given to this blessed land men of high spirits and intellect. Many times Italy has faced serious dangers, and in those times God has sent one of these great men to save it, to guide it. After the victorious war, when everyone was tired, one of these times arrived; and thus arrived a liberator. His name was Benito Mussolini, he was born among the poor, he had written inflamed pages, he had been amidst the fire of war. He loved Italy with all his soul. Mussolini is the one that leads our homeland to grandeur and glory; that is why he was called Duce. For many years he worked ardently, day after day, for Italy, accomplishing great deeds; his efforts seem to have just begun. Italians love the Duce, the world admires him¹⁰⁴.

The portrait of the Duce is also found in the reading texts for the second grade reviewed by Bagagli:

Benito Mussolini, the Duce that leads Italy towards a safe grandeur, when he was a child like you, lived a humble life in a family of modest workers. In the workshop of his father, a smith, he saw iron being torn and bent in a living flame and learned that life is work and struggle, and that if you want to win you must yearn and suffer. But his good mother taught him that love makes every struggle a good one, and sweetens every pain. He is big and powerful but has not forgotten what he learned when he was young. He still works and struggles every single day to bring Italy more victories. And he wants all Italians to work and struggle with him. You too, little Italians away from home but closer than the other ones to the heart of your father, you must work and struggle every day to become better and grow strong, honest and hardworking: Italians worth of our great homeland¹⁰⁵.

The reading texts for the subsequent grades were structured in a different way and, along with some analogies, also present significant differences of style. While the texts for the two first grades were usually composed of very short sentences, those for the third grade on are not structured in an homogeneous

¹⁰⁰ “Italy. There is very big and beautiful house, one side of it stands on high mountains, the other three stretch into the sea. This big and very beautiful house is called Italy; those who live there are all brothers and are called Italians”. *Ibid.*, p. 8. For the nineteenth century origins of this approach see G. Chiosso, *La formazione del piccolo italiano nei libri di lettura*, in Id., *Libri di scuola e mercato editoriale. Dal primo Ottocento alla Riforma Gentile*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2013, pp. 83-108.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21 and pp. 84-85, when the grandmother brings up the nostalgia for the distant country by remembering songs and the furniture of the house.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁴ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe seconda*, organized by G. Fanciulli, cit., p. 43.

¹⁰⁵ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe seconda*, organized by C. Bagagli, cit., pp. 90-91.

way. Few reading books were centered on narratives: one of them is authored by Paolo Monelli, regularly interspersed by short stories of other authors, folk tales and apologues, poems and songs, which introduced students to the readings while teaching educational models more appropriate to the goals and guidelines called for by the Fascist leaders. The reading books of Gaiba and Lanza, as well as those of Locatelli and Mondovì, don't have a unitary storyline. They are, rather, anthologies that include many excerpts of short stories from different authors, often referring to religion but with one chief theme: the patriotic-nationalist one¹⁰⁶. As we will discuss, the nature of the reading book for the fifth grade *Sole d'Italia* is similarly anthological. The introductions to the many volumes of reading books written by Gaiba and Lanza confirm a structure oriented towards a more aggressive nationalism. In the book for the third grade, the child is urged to feel as a little worker, to imitate the countryman and the workman in the fields and in the factories, going to school in order to learn courage and kindness¹⁰⁷. In the book for the fourth grade, the main character begins to be a «little man» and has the need to know well «this great homeland, because in this way you will love it»¹⁰⁸. The fifth and last book begins by remembering our obligations towards the homeland, the Great Mother, stressing the meaning and the role of the Italian language which united the eight million Italians living abroad; the pride in the defense of the national linguistic heritage had already shown its value in the war against Austria¹⁰⁹. The first volume of Locatelli began by presenting the

¹⁰⁶ The extracts, the portraits, the tales and the poems are by B. Franklin, Giovanni Pascoli, St. Francis of Assisi, the brothers Grimm, Andersen, Enrico Nencioni, G. Prati, Luigi Ambrosini, G. Marradi, E. Tourey, K.R. Kipling, Rosalia Calleri, Giorgio Vasari, Giacomo Zanella, Antonio Stoppani, Oscar Wilde, Giuseppe Chiarini, G. Mazzini, M. Jokal, E. Schurè, Giovanni Marradi, Selma Lagerlof, Guido Mazzoni, Gerolamo Boccardo, Luigi Barzini, Riccardo Pitteri, G. Malagodi, Ada Negri, Giovanni Prati, C. Correnti, Giovanni Bertacchi, Arturo Graf, Gumpert, D. Monet, D. Gnoli, G. Carducci, Fabre, Alfredo Panzini, A.S. Novaro, R.A. D'Albertini, Carlo Chiaves, Ricciotto Civinini, Giuseppe Ricchieri, Mario Bassi, Cordelia, Piero Giacosa, De Amicis, Vittorio Podrecca, Angelo Colombo, Luigi Capuana, F.W. Forster, G.C. Abba, Ada Negri, Costantino Nigra, Francesco Pisarri, Rosa Fumagalli, Giuseppe Chiarini, Gabriele D'Annunzio.

¹⁰⁷ Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di letture per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Terza*, cit., p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ «And Italy is not to be loved by means of words, as a mother is not to be loved by means of vows. Action is needed to love: one must do good, because this is the only way to love; one must have a great will to have a great love. You know that great ones and the humble ones who loved Italy have devoted their lives to it, and many times they have sacrificed themselves for it. Italy does not ask your life: if necessary, you will give it on the battlefield, but in order to be a worthy son you must act as a good Italian day after day, never doing something that might offend your Great Mother». Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di letture per le Scuole Elementari all'estero*, cit., p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ «The language you speak, the language in which these pages are written, is thus a mighty force, which always unites the eight million Italians around the world to the great Fatherland. There is no street or city of the Earth without a compatriot of ours, one with the image of the Fatherland in its heart, one who expresses his thoughts with the language of our common Mother. Be proud, son, of this beautiful language, learn it with love, strive to know the history and the life of the land that you may have never seen and may never see, the land of your parents, the

poem in honor of the homeland by the teacher and writer E. Pesce Gorini, followed by the salute to Italy by De Amicis; the second book began with an excerpt from the *Italia! Italia!* by Panzini, followed by a second excerpt, this time from Petrarcha¹¹⁰.

Together with the traditional moral education developed through fairytales, folktales and stories oriented to the transmission of the values of family, land, study and work, with a remembrance of humble but honored professions, all with traits of self-help¹¹¹, these texts gave even more relevance to the patriotic theme.

The anthologies are interrupted, from time to time, by some traditional themes and motifs such as the adventures of the child as a main character in the *Letture* of Gaiba (Mimmino becoming Mimmo) or of his relatives, such as in the journey to Italy of uncle Dodo, maimed at war and a pilgrim to the sacred locations of the conflict; or by some episodes of the school life, such as the compilation of the school diary, useful in introducing and developing patriotic and nationalistic themes. We also find a more traditional, but still expressive, celebration of the homeland when recalling famous names (the great ones), be it artists, poets, explorers, politicians, writers, or Italians of the new Italy. This reverence is expressed in the same way the religious dimension is explored, remembering some of its central events – like Christmas, but never Easter – or the «national» saints and heroes of charity, starting with St. Francis. However, the references in historical narratives to the imperial character of Rome and its mastery of the continents¹¹², which allowed the establishment of myths of equal greatness, are used in a context of a patriotism on the edge of nationalism¹¹³. These texts allowed the authors not only to describe the historical and artistic beauties of the Italian cities¹¹⁴, but also to praise some aspects of the Italian

generous land which waits you, protected and defended by the heart of its sons, under the shadow of the bright tricolor flag». Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero*. Classe Quinta, cit., pp. 1-3.

¹¹⁰ G. Locatelli, A. Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quarta classe maschile e femminile*, Milano, A. Mondadori, 1928, pp. 1-3; Id., *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quinta classe maschile e femminile*, Milano, A. Mondadori, 1928, pp. 5-6.

¹¹¹ Locatelli, Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quarta classe maschile e femminile*, cit., p. 4.

¹¹² Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Quarta*, cit., p. 13; Id., *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe quinta*, cit., pp. 149-150; Locatelli, Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quinta classe maschile e femminile*, cit., pp. 1-2.

¹¹³ Regarding the use of history, cf. M. Pretelli, *Il ruolo della storia nei libri di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero durante il fascismo*, «Storia e problemi contemporanei», vol. 40, 2005, pp. 37-56; P.G. Zunino, *L'ideologia del fascismo. Miti, credenze e valori nella stabilizzazione del regime*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1985.

¹¹⁴ Locatelli, Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quinta classe maschile e femminile*, cit., pp. 59 and 70-71.

military power, such as the role of its navy in preaching «the civilization of Italy and its power in the Mediterranean» while remarking the size of the Italian Navy¹¹⁵; the role of the companies «that honor Italy»¹¹⁶ and of associations of nationalistic leanings such as the Touring club¹¹⁷. These texts also address common themes in the establishment of the process of sacralization of the idea of nation, such as the First World War – with its male and female heroes¹¹⁸ (the «more obscure», the ones killed in action and deserving golden medals¹¹⁹, the maimed ones) as well as the sacred locations, starting with the Unknown Soldier¹²⁰ – also presenting the narrative of the glorious episodes of the air war¹²¹ or of the fundamental episodes of the conflict, from the declaration of war and the «maggio radioso» [«splendid May»] to the battle of the Piave, the march of the Unknown Soldier and the bulletin of victory that closes the book of Gaiba¹²². In the book of Locatelli, these are strengthened by the war diary of Mussolini¹²³. In both textbooks there is no shortage, however, of direct references to Mussolini and to Fascism (which inaugurated the time of «restoration of peace [...] now that Italy works, peaceful and calm, under the leadership of the great Duce»¹²⁴, developing themes such as the Fascist youth associations like «Opera Nazionale Balilla»¹²⁵ and the March on Rome¹²⁶ or references to the campaigns of the Regime like the «wheat' battle»¹²⁷ or that for the hygiene and the fisic wellness¹²⁸) and of direct quoting of speeches by Mussolini. In these texts, the Italians are portrayed as a people with an instinct of migration and conquer, as heir to the ancient Romans¹²⁹ and, therefore, as

¹¹⁵ Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Quinta*, cit., p. 8; Locatelli, Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quarta classe maschile e femminile*, cit., pp. 141-146.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-96.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-77; pp. 88-89.

¹²⁰ For example, the treatment of war cemeteries in *ibid.*, p. 22.

¹²¹ Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Quinta*, cit., pp. 82-83.

¹²² *Ibid.*, pp. 214-247. We also refer to Locatelli, Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quarta classe maschile e femminile*, cit. pp. 24-26.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-148.

¹²⁴ Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Quinta*, cit., p. 104.

¹²⁵ Locatelli, Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quarta classe maschile e femminile*, cit., p. 32.

¹²⁶ *Idib.*, p. 19.

¹²⁷ Locatelli, Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quinta classe maschile e femminile*, cit. p. 261.

¹²⁸ Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Quarta*, cit., pp. 14-16; Locatelli, Mondovì, *Voci dalla Patria lontana. Corso di lettura per le scuole italiane all'estero. Volume per la quarta classe maschile e femminile*, cit. p. 133.

¹²⁹ «After all, Italians have much restlessness in their blood, they have a need of moving,

source of civilization, progress and wealth, while reproducing «little homelands» and societies such as the Dante Alighieri for promoting the defense of the Italian language:

How much have the Italians done for the world! They have worked, they have sweated, they were the pioneers of the European civilization. They have redeemed the sterile Tunisia, they have opened the Suez Canal, they have constructed bridges, built roads, erected palaces and monuments, made fertile vast unproductive lands, in other words they gave their contribution to the progress of civilization. We must be proud. What an example of wonderful industry! All praises to them, praises to these wonderful compatriots of ours, that maintain the good name of Italy, who are proud of their origin, proud of the tricolor flag, who work and produce wealth and civilization. Italy follows them with love, remembers them, blesses them¹³⁰.

In the *Letture* organized by an author still not identified and published in the first years of the decade of 1930, there is no constant storyline, but the volume is organized around short stories that alternate between episodes of child school life and episodes of daily life starring two boys, Mario and Giannino, the first one a *balilla*, along with other short stories with more clear identity goals. The reading books compiled by Clementina Bagagli for the third grade are structured in a much lighter way, with shorter sentences and a more emotionally engaging language, besides the constant support, almost at every page, of the illustrations by Della Torre, decidedly more modern and attractive than the scanty ones found in her volumes from the previous decade or in the volume of the unknown author of the 1930s. Since their first pages, both volumes explicitly refer to the identity traits of the nation, even though with different approaches. In the *Letture* from 1930, the element of national identity is the main theme to which the reader is immediately thrown into: in fact, *Italiano* is the title of its first short story, expressly stating the national identity of a school class composed of many elements among which the little regional homelands stand out; the story is followed by a poem of religious background, in the style of Manzoni¹³¹. The book of Bagagli equally presents the national identity traits by the joint call of religious and natural aspects (the sun and God) in the context of a school (the classmates). However, the national identity traits are also expressed by referring to geography and to elements of nature specific of Italy, such as in the distinction between the urban and the rural landscape and between the mountains and the sea, as in the case of the Alps¹³² and the three seas of a boot-shaped land which, «to become strong

of finding new lands, of making a new life elsewhere, of seeing unknown countries, and also of conquering. Italians are the heirs to the ancient Romans», Gaiba, Lanza, *Spighe d'Italia. Corso di lettura per le Scuole Elementari all'estero. Classe Quinta*, cit., p. 142.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹³¹ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1930, p. 5.

¹³² Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, organized by C. Bagagli, cit., p. 99.

and respected, first needed to obtain its unity»¹³³. In the same way, the texts explore natural characteristics and floral components («Italy, the country of flowers»)¹³⁴, the sun (that casts its rays into the dark attics of the cities of emigration, warming the hearts)¹³⁵ or, in the texts of Bagagli, the plants of the Mediterranean area, the woods, the vulcanos, the lakes. A nature that can be somewhat threatening, but which is always generous and rewarding for those who work, as illustrated by the stories on wheat and precious metals¹³⁶.

For its part, the text published in 1930 develops the sense of belonging by employing once more the theme of nostalgia, exploring the literary formula of the journey with the return home of a relative, usually the grandfather¹³⁷, allowing an exaltation of the beauty and greatness of the nation. However, in order to arouse the attachment to the nation, the author employed the strategy of exalting the competitive spirit, using narratives such as the participation in a contest to be chosen as one of the *balilla* that would travel to Italy¹³⁸.

Some narratives are associated with the education hygiene and moral formation. Besides personal hygiene¹³⁹, they express the value of obedience, the respect of determination¹⁴⁰, the possibility of helping others¹⁴¹, and patience¹⁴²; these goals are entrusted to short stories that portray the school environment or to fables with animals (ants) as protagonists. This kind of narrative is associated to the presentation of childhood lives of characters from the *Risorgimento*, such as Garibaldi, Mazzini, Mameli and Vittorio Emanuele II¹⁴³, from the religious universe, such as don Bosco, or the one of the gifted Italian explorer Cristoforo Colombo¹⁴⁴.

By referring to nature, however, Bagagli illustrated the traits of character that should support the development of the new Italian, «of the very new [Italian], actually». That is how, for example, the «italic» pine tree recalls the pride of its people¹⁴⁵, or how the chestnut and the oak trees recall the values of endurance, strength and hard struggle¹⁴⁶. In general, the life of all plants is described as a «life of hard work and continuous struggle»¹⁴⁷. The values of strength and

¹³³ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, cit., p. 37.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87; Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, organized by C. Bagagli, cit., p. 129.

¹³⁵ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, cit. pp. 145-146.

¹³⁶ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, cit., 1933, pp. 59-61.

¹³⁷ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, cit., pp. 52-54.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-158.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 89 and 96.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁴⁵ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture. Classe terza*, organized by C. Bagagli, cit., p. 39.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

wisdom are also represented and recalled in short stories in which – such as in the case of a mountain hike – the references to nature are associated to the open air movement, a sport activity whose importance is duly sanctioned by the words of Mussolini himself, used in a didactic function¹⁴⁸.

In this framework of reading books for the third grade, but more pronouncedly in those for the subsequent grades, the elements of childhood recruitment become more explicit. In the *Letture* by Bagagli they are first introduced by the image of the soldier king, along with remarks by Mussolini that recall the leading role of the king if «the great time arrived». The children are presented to the warrior as an educational model introduced by means of multiple references and recalls to the First World War, which «saw everyone as brothers and sisters», such as the short stories of the «altopiano» and of May 24th, and the profiles of common soldiers that had received the golden medal¹⁴⁹; discussions on the supplementary role in the fields were intended for the girls¹⁵⁰. In a crescendo the book continues with the description of the Italian empire¹⁵¹, the value of homeland and the words from the Duce appealing to youth¹⁵².

When I grow up, when I will finally be a soldier, like my father I will fight for the homeland and will win; I will take flags and prisoners from the enemy, and I will be awarded so many medals of honor! This is the dream of all Italian children, this is your dream, kid. But, fortunately, wars and battles are not part of everyday life and Italy is a country that loves living its life of intense and fruitful work at peace; if no enemy threatens your land, you certainly won't be called to defend it. If, however, you won't be granted the honor of fighting for your homeland, you will still be able to show your love: you, little Italian who lives abroad, more and better than your brothers.

Being at peace allowed to honor and serve the homeland when abroad, obtaining esteem and respect and practicing loyalty, industry, and honesty. Failing at these duties was effectively equivalent to a betrayal.

Do you want to be a traitorous soldier in this beautiful battle in defense of the good name and the honor of Italy? To fight such a battle you are not asked to be a hero, but only to be an honorable boy¹⁵³.

The goal of the *Letture* is summarized in the final gloss of the book for the third grade, where, by using the words of Mussolini and many of the indications given by Parini, the guidelines that must be followed by Fascists abroad are explained.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Fascists abroad shall be obsequious of the laws of the country that hosts them. Day after day, they must be an example of this deference to the law and, if necessary, be such an example to the citizens themselves. Be an example of public and private probity. Respect the representatives of Italy abroad. Defend the Italianness of the past and of the present. Assist Italians who are in need. Perform your duties in the small and big opportunities of life, with utmost determination, with absolute simplicity! This is the law that should always guide you! You must start living according to style of the new and the very new Italian! Which style is this? Above all, work, then discipline, and finally unselfishness, probity in life, loyalty, straightforwardness, courage¹⁵⁴.

The good Fascist is thus also a great worker and the narratives of the *Letture* stress the importance of manual labour by employing religious references, especially to the profession of Jesus «a manual worker and the adoptive son of a manual worker»¹⁵⁵ and to feminine housework¹⁵⁶. The ethics of work is among the most frequent values in the short narratives of the *Letture* of Bagagli, with short stories that focus on tools like the hoe, on the fruit of the work such as bread, or on textile sources such as the silk and the genista¹⁵⁷.

But the texts written during this time of construction of national identity traits refer with more emphasis to modernity, particularly in its urban dimension and in the introduction of new technologies. The texts employ images that present a modern Italy, shown as evolving by referring to ships, airplanes, cars¹⁵⁸, forms of socialization by sports such as association football¹⁵⁹, and to air races¹⁶⁰, because, while the roads are used by «rapid and heavy trucks, and silent and lightning fast cars», it was a time when it seemed important to achieve «the speed, the maximum speed»¹⁶¹.

In the *Letture* of the fourth grade organized by Monelli, the storyline is essentially structured on two central episodes, supplemented by short narratives from other authors: tales and apologetics that introduce the students to themes useful in conveying educational models better suited to the goals and guidelines given by the Fascist leaders. At first, the storyline follows the Christmas holidays of the grandparents, who are joined by their sons and grandsons, some of which have emigrated to the United States or to the African colonies. It then unfolds with the narrative of an awarded travel that leads three of the kids and an uncle from Venice to Rome. Once more, the journey is a path that, on the one hand, allows to experience the beauties and the qualities of Italy while stressing the role of the Italians «honestly and diligently» displaced in the world and that,

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 117.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15, 79-80.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

on the other hand, allows to live again the Fascist experience of the arrival to Rome, this time as a proper religious experience.

The main characters of episodes and narratives emerge from this description of the environment. Among them are Giuseppe and Maria, a brother and a sister who enliven the narrative; the author of the *Letture* expects the students to identify with them¹⁶². The boy is a *balilla* and the girl is a member of the *Piccole Italiane*. The childhood described in these *Letture* departs from the rigid one that served as an ideal model for the children of the late nineteenth century. Giuseppe is presented as a tenacious and keen young boy, of which Monelli describes in detail the curiosity and the temperament. A *balilla* with a «will of steel»¹⁶³. The most striking episode takes places precisely on Christmas Eve, when the autonomous boy decides to disobey his parents and to take a reckless and positive action (helping a rescue mission of the Alpini, the Italian mountain corps)¹⁶⁴. Maria is described as a rather curious girl, a bit wicked and a bit lazy, but «a good little housewife and with such a big heart»; but she is also an enterprising girl, such as when she decides to help her uncle, who is driving, by giving him directions from a map.

The educational models proposed by the *Letture* are intended to sustain the Fascist man, with some qualities that were not found in the past. When valuing courage, for example, the idea of indiscipline combined to recklessness itself was expressed through frequent comparisons to Mussolini and to the formation of a myth that began with some episodes that anticipated the behaviour of the Duce. One example is when the young Benito refuses to abandon a friend who was injured while trying to accomplish a reckless action, the stealing of an apple from a tree¹⁶⁵.

The sense of a deep belonging and of dedication to the nation shows itself in the profile of the various members of the family. The grandfather Pietro fought in Eritrea, on the Red Sea, against the Abyssinians, his sons were involved in the

¹⁶² Monelli himself asserts this when he writes: «Maria is indeed a modern little Italian girl. She plays with her doll because she does not pretend to be a grownup woman when she is not; she knows how to put a pot on fire and to patch clothes. she is lively but not mindless, and even though she is a bit lazy, she doesn't lack courage. And after all, who has no defects? Only children from reading books are without them, but Maria and Giuseppe are not children from reading books, and you have noticed it. They actually are your classmates; I gave them these names, but their true names are different; and if you carefully look among your friends I am sure you will find the real Giuseppe and the real Maria». Scuole Italiane all'estero, *Letture classe quarta*, organized by P. Monelli, cit., p. 244.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

¹⁶⁴ Giuseppe the *balilla*, who, between indiscipline and recklessness, chooses, unbeknownst to parents and grandparents, to leave home to help a group of Alpini involved in a rescue mission. The author is able to keep a wise balance by assigning to the grandfather the task of establishing an «amnesty» in order to save the boy from a punishment for his act of insubordination, even though moved by a fair cause.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

Great War and some of them even in the Lybian one. Everyone can be identified with profiles of the Italian middle class, the true backbone of Fascism:

A family of soldiers? No, on the contrary, it is a family, above all, of peaceful bourgeois. They all have peaceful professions; countryman, factory manager, hotel keeper, teacher. But today it is not like ancient times anymore, when the profession of arms was reserved to those who had a vocation, a mercenary and wandering profession. Today, everyone must serve the homeland bearing arms, when necessary¹⁶⁶.

In the *Lettura* of Monelli, too, the sense of belonging to the nation is expressed, in most pages, by frequently referring to the Great War. In the beginning of the book, the episode of a family socializing on Christmas is portrayed in a very «realistic» scene, an opportunity to the adults to narrate and remember the events of the First World War in which everyone was involved, including the death of one of the grandfather's sons and the mutilation of a second one. Men talk and sing war songs while women are hanging sheets on the line. But in these texts the grandmother has the task of introducing and explaining the role of women during wartime to a somewhat angry and demanding granddaughter who complains about the marginalization of women¹⁶⁷:

The courage of women is that of not crying when they see men leaving, of overcoming the disgust when the sick and injured must be attended, of praying and encouraging other people when they are in despair. If only you knew the courage your grandmother had, and we can almost say that she endured the war of her five sons, suffering anxieties and fears for all of them, crying for the sorrows of the five of them! But when they were on leave she ran to and fro, so that they had all the comforts of the world, with a serene and confident expression¹⁶⁸.

The lessons of the grandmother are followed by the memory of some female profiles, of heroines dedicated to civil support. Women, as the grandmother points out, could now learn to fly, drive a car, shoot «just like and even better than men», but their true mission was a different one, it was that of «being a good daughter, a good sister, a good mother. And it is harder to be good than to be reckless», she comments.

Some pages excerpted from classical Italian literature from the fourteenth century have the same preparatory and instrumental role in the formation of the soldier child. Short narratives such as those on the adventurous *geste* from the *Orlando Furioso* and from the *Don Quixote* are instrumental in introducing the actions of soldiers and sailors who are protagonist of «even greater adventures, even more heroic deeds»¹⁶⁹; in the same way, the miraculous actions are

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁶⁷ «They teach boys to be strong and bold [...] and us, girls, to hold the sewing needle and the ladle», *ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁶⁸ Scuole Italiane all'estero, *Lettura classe quarta*, organized by P. Monelli, cit., p. 80.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

propaedeutic to the new dimension of the wonderful and of the astonishment of modernity, of which Italians were mentioned among the main characters as inventors of electric light and radio, as the surgeons of Bologna that made paralytics injured at war able to walk again, along with the Americans that had introduced, through electricity, new technologies and systems to fight and treat deafness; or even the irrigation systems established in Emilia-Romagna through «canals every now and then interrupted by locks, which used powerful machinery and pumps [...] a miracle still without equivalents in the world»¹⁷⁰.

The *Lettura* by Monelli also recall and develop the theme of the value of Italians, exalting the role of the «Italians in the world» as a source of civility:

They build streets in the desert, they deforest virgin woods, they restore the marshes, they irrigate the sterile lowlands, they cultivate abandoned fields, they construct bridges, cut isthmuses, form lakes and galleries. We can say that there is no great and new work in the world in which the arms or the intellect of our race has not predominated¹⁷¹.

The awarded travel is actually the literary motif to initiate a sort of pilgrimage to the essential episodes of the Italian history such as the *Risorgimento*, be it to return to the events and the sacred places of the First World War along the Piave, considered a sacred river, and the Monte Grappa or to establish a connection to the battles and the names of the *Risorgimento*, before introducing the myth of Rome¹⁷². The arrival at the capital has a different value because one «does not enter [in Rome] as in any other city. One must enter in this city as one enters a church; with a humble heart and moved. Because Rome means the entire faith of the world, the entire human civilization, the entire value of our culture. *Roma caput mundi*»¹⁷³.

The process of sacralization of the places cherished by Fascism is well described in a passage of the text that portrayed the change, the definitive conversion of the boy:

In Rome, Giuseppe understood what it really meant to be an Italian and a *balilla*. Until then, he felt an Italian and a *balilla* by means of enthusiasm; after then, by means of faith¹⁷⁴.

The pilgrimage to the sacred city naturally implied the visit to places that Fascism held as sacred, starting with the Altar of the Fatherland, which first allowed to exalt the king Vittorio Emanuele II, the soldier king, and, then, the Unknown Soldier. It was an opportunity to kneel in front of the Pope and to watch the salutation to the King, who overlooked from the balcony of his

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 150, 165, 231.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

palace; it allowed, finally, to enter the parade of the Black Shirts and to rally in the square where children could see Mussolini:

and then a cry arose from the multitude, as the roar of a thousand avalanches combined. And one could listen to a straordinay dialogue, from the Man up there that made questions, and the crowd below that each time answered with a voice of thunder; he couldn't understand well what the Duce was asking the people, but his heart could feel in a bewildered way that it was the confirmation of a pact of love and alliance for the power of Italy, for the glory of Italy, for the future of Italy; even his young will and his little heart beat in agreement with the will and the heart of everyone else. And the words he heard, the teachings, the spectacles, became faith in him¹⁷⁵.

In fact, the *Letture* are closed with the speech on the Power of the Nation in which Mussolini had addressed the youth.

The *Letture* for the fifth grade of the primary school were an anthology. Literature was offered to the young Italians abroad as «a duty, a joy, a pride», an opportunity to channel the feelings of sadness and nostalgia into a more solid spirit of homeland, as Pietro Parini explained in his introduction¹⁷⁶. The tradition of Italian literature, «immortal and everlasting masterpiece of the Italian people», was presented as the only example of a civilization able to compete with the Greek one. While «in other places they were only starting to stutter», from the thirteenth to the twentieth century this literature had offered the examples of Italy, a country of perfection and virility. In the nineteenth century, like many emigrants, this country had made its way of the cross in order to rebuild a home and a family, in order to defend its habits and language and to assert itself as «a great Nation, respected and feared for its peerage [...]】 This is a time of victory, in which all borders, those of land as those of spirit, are safe and sound. From away and from above the Duce watches over all Italians and nobody is as close to him as you who seem to be so far way»¹⁷⁷.

The tribute to the regime was payed since the first pages, dedicated to the speeches of Mussolini on the youth as «the true strength of the Nation»; a youth guaranteeing to Italy a “bright future” and to Rome the task of being the center of civilization and «the ruler of the Mediterranean, a beacon of light to all nations»¹⁷⁸. But this tribute was also payed through the words of Augusto Turati, as reported in an excerpt of his *Libro e moschetto*, in which the new generations were remembered of their need to combine study, now deeper than in the previous generations (too much absorbed by the events of war), and arms¹⁷⁹. Moreover, the elements of national identity in the book for the fifth

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

¹⁷⁶ Scuole italiane all'estero, *Letture Classe Quinta. Sole d'Itália*, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1929, p. IV.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. VI.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

grade were also firmly structured on recurrent references to episodes of the *Risorgimento*, of the war and of the ascent of Fascism. While alternating brief literary and poetic works by authors esteemed by the *Risorgimento*, such as Pellico, Foscolo, Leopardi, Manzoni, Carducci, and Pascoli, as well as those of minor contemporary writers, the volume also introduced the profiles of heroes such as Garibaldi and Mazzini, with purposes of emulation, and narratives intended to emphasize and recall the Italian military strength – sometimes of the army, sometimes of the navy – as well as historical documents linked to events that the Fascist imaginary considered essential, for example the declarations of war and of victory, the March on Rome and the Fascist dismantle that followed it. Additional narratives completed the frame of identity and ethic attributes, while educating on the usage of money, in the pursue of sincerity and honesty.

Afterword

Beyond doubt, the textbooks from the first years of Fascism here examined were intended to convey in Italian schools in Brazil a moderate nationalism, built on a strong sense of pride based on the feeling of belonging to a powerful nation, one of rich culture, and in the model of a citizen that could be a source of wealth and civility also in the host country. A sense of greatness from which, in few years, a new sense of belonging to a powerful and brave nation in full expansion would develop. In this way, it might seem possible to identify, in the reading books produced from the late 1920s, some significative suggestions of the new educational model that was introduced from that moment to the first years of the following decade. However, rather than representing an actual disruption of previous approaches in terms of ideology and the cultural and formative models proposed, they seem to develop and express a sort of natural evolution in the representation of the national identity character. This evolution is based on the idea of national primacy, enriched by new motifs and contents more suited to the demands of the regime, in accordance with the direction given by the Fascist totalitarian pedagogy.

«Our Schools»*. The work of the Association of Southern Italy against illiteracy in Basilicata (1921-1928)

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ABSTRACT: Following the suggestions of my former contribution on school regionalism in the editorial tool of the School Board of Basilicata, and of the previous study on regional education books introduced after Gentile's reform, towards the strengthening of a national idea of education, an in-depth analysis of the schooling processes that interested Southern Italy around the 1920s is hereby proposed. By drawing upon material from new archival sources, such as the correspondence of the Regional Director of the Association against Illiteracy in Basilicata, Domiziano Viola, this contribution wants to offer a renewed consideration of the role played by non-classified schools and teaching practises that were diffused by the National Association for the Interests of Southern Italy (1910-1928), with «admirable and fruitful work», in spite of the gap between urban and rural Italy. In that very period, indeed, «[...] associations and state initiatives succeeded in finding a meeting point to face unwaveringly» (Scotellaro) the issue of education in Southern Italy.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: History of education; Delegated organizations against illiteracy; Southern Education in Italy; National Education Policy; Scholastic administration.

* ANIMI (Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia), *Le nostre scuole. L'opera contro l'analfabetismo in Basilicata, Calabria, Sardegna e Sicilia (1923-24)*, Roma, Tip. Editrice laziale A. Marchesi, 1926.

Introduction

Following suggestions arising from a former contribution on the experience of school regionalism (administrative and didactic) found in the editorial bulletin of the School Board of Basilicata¹ and a more recent study on regional education books introduced with the Gentile school reform² and rapidly substituted with the single text in 1929, what is being suggested here is a detailed study on a topic, so far only partially investigated by historical education scholars, relative to the schooling processes that invested Southern Italy towards the 1920s, with particular attention on the events which took place in Basilicata.

The initial focus on newsletters published between 1923 and 1927 (during a period that coincided with the idea of regional decentralization and enhancement of individual cultural heritages in elementary school classrooms)³ has actually provided some interesting cognitive opportunities. These mainly lie in the possibility of investigating the issues and the problems involved in the different local realities – to which Basilicata is a true example – and especially in the South, where didactic innovation was introduced by the Lombardiani

¹ With reference to the administrative and editorial experience of the bulletin of the School Board of Basilicata «Bollettino del R. Provveditorato agli studi della Basilicata» see M. D'Alessio, *Tra regione e nazione: la scuola lucana nell'organo editoriale del Provveditorato agli studi della Basilicata (1923-'27)*, in H.A. Cavallera (ed.), *La ricerca storico-educativa oggi. Un confronto di metodi, modelli programmi di ricerca*, 2 Voll., Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2013, vol. I, pp. 273-286. The Lucanian editorial bulletin was published monthly with the title of «Bollettino del R. Provveditorato agli studi di Potenza», periodically from December 1923 to August 1925: the first year included nine numbers from n. 1 December 1923 to nn. 9-10 August-September 1924; the second year six numbers from October 1924 to July-August 1925. It continued to be published changing significantly the title in «Lucania. Bollettino del R. Provveditorato di Basilicata» as of October of the same year, 1925 to the month of June 1927: in the third year seven numbers were published from October 1925 to July-August 1926, while in the fourth year four double numbers were published from October-November 1926 to May-June 1927 for a totale of twenty-six numbers in more than three years of publication.

² See M. D'Alessio, *A scuola fra casa e patria. Dialetto e cultura regionale nei libri di testo durante il fascismo*, Lecce, Pensa Multimedia, 2013.

³ These periodic newsletters are characterized in particular, as they appear between 1923 and 1925 as official publications of the Regional school administration: the actual title of «Bulletins» refers to the work of dissemination of official documents, inspection circulars, ranking lists of national competitions and respond to the need to «record attempts, experiences and initiatives and to diffuse information regarding laws and regulations from the center to the many local realities». In the following two years, from 1925 to 1927, they are defined primarily as newsletters of the school's local life: in these years even the title of these newsletters change and no longer refer to their official status – namely the Superintendency of the regional capital – but it refers to the regional school life. The same tendency is followed by the Bulletin of the School Board of Potenza that from the third year takes the title of «Lucania. Bollettino del R. Provveditorato agli studi della Basilicata», continuously until the last number of 1927. From official bulletins they change into real journals with topics regarding educational policy and educational-didactic bodies, they turn to be a sounding box of the history of the local school, and according to the same words of Lombardo Radice, the could be called «regional journals of the school» and then gradually real Guides to educational services.

programs with the aim to enhance local traditions, according to an idea of national education⁴. However, in addition to the cultural and educational contents of value of the regional folkloristic heritage, this publishing source leads to further investigation. Bulletins, in fact, allow to recall the purposes of education policy which they refer to, by allowing to better grasp functions and dynamics which up to now have not been sufficiently probed. They can be considered connectors between the Ministry of Education and regional education institutions, as well as among all the people operating in schools, they facilitate a broader consideration of the relation that there was and which operated, by means of parallel activities in the field of education and schools, between public school administration and private enterprise, exemplarily represented by the conjunction between the school boards and philanthropic and cultural associations. Finally, the investigations of the following research have allowed to reconstruct the situation of the local school management, within the ranks of school inspectors and principals, in consideration of the school culture expressed by the protagonists of the Lucanian territory in the 1920s.

Hence, the contribution differs only in part from the initial attention towards periodical publications of school boards⁵, to evaluate the pivotal role that they played by keeping the same distance between the state apparatus and private entities. From this observation it was possible to explore the ways in which, through government and private action, illiteracy was fought and also the educational and schooling delay and social development of the South, that was due to the slowness with which in that part of the country the «new national spirit» appeared which was instead rapidly spreading in other parts of Italy: as it was addressed to after fifty years from unification at a pedagogical and social level from politics and culture in the early 1900s.

⁴ The publications abandon their original official character to become a more markedly cultural journal, accepting with some regularity critical studies and informative by columnists. They function thus as «tools of general and regional culture» with major contributions on culture, dialect and folklore, with their «village page». In their final phase of publication, they become a tool in the hands of the fascism policy that will precisely in 1927 issue a ministerial provision to ban the publication of the bulletins of School Boards, delivering the legacy of these publications to the more famous magazines «La scuola fascista» for elementary schools and «La cultura fascista» for the secondary schools. It is a common feature only partially rebuilt and reported by scholars in the past and which, thanks primarily to the work of the repertory which at least until a few decades ago there was a shortage of in Italy and on the results of investigation carried out at the historic archive of the National Association for the Interests of Southern Italy, it was possible to better delineate.

⁵ Examining the periodicals issued by the Regional School Boards immediately after the Gentile reform has allowed to assess the editorial and journalistic aspects, on the one hand, as well as, to detect the incidence exercised not only on the technical scholastic level but also more specifically on the educational-didactic level.

1. *The action of ANIMI in education in Basilicata*

An interesting approach, therefore, specific of schools in the South, with regard in particular to the region of Basilicata and to the extraordinary experience of the Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia [National Association for the Interests of Southern Italy/ANIMI] (1910-1928)⁶ allows to retrace the processes of schooling in Southern Italy, in the broader context of the development of a national idea of education⁷. In particular, the focus of this investigation considers an important point that has not always been adequately considered: if in fact the same journal «Nord e Sud» in the 1950s proposed Scotellaro's major investigation regarding the conditions of schools in

⁶ With reference to the foundation in 1910 and all the events that affected the 25 years of the «long period of organizational genius» (Isnardi) of ANIMI focused on assistance and education, on economic recovery, on the cultural development and assistance of the people of Southern Italy, see *L'Associazione nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia nei primi cinquant'anni di vita*, Roma, Collezione Meridionale Editrice, 1960 (in particular the first part by Umberto Zanotti Bianco on the life of ANIMI, pp. 3-137 and the third on the *Attività educativa-scolastica dell'Associazione*, by G. Isnardi, pp. 195-297); *Per una storia dell'Associazione nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia (1910-2000). I Presidenti*, Manduria, Lacaita, 2000. One hundred years after the earthquake in Messina in 1908, see in particular S. Misiani, *L'attività educativa scolastica dell'ANIMI, in 1908-2008. Centenario del terremoto di Reggio Calabria e di Messina*, <<http://www.centenarioterremoto.animi.it>> (accessed: June 15, 2015), the initiatives carried out in 1908 in Sicily by the assistance committees of ANIMI anticipate the commitment subsequently attributed to associations, for their competence and experience, against adult illiteracy. In this context, what emerged were stimuli and solicitations that brought ANIMI to participate to the «reform of the Italian school system due to the problems of the slower areas». A more recent reconstruction of the activities carried out by ANIMI, over a century of history, with regard to the political life and the culture of Southern Italy and in defense of the South, has been successfully offered by the collective work edited by G. Pescosolido (ed.), *Cento anni di attività dell'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia e la questione meridionale oggi*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbettino, 2011. A resurgence of interest on the «significant contribution of the fight against illiteracy and [...] in favor of promoting socio-economic in South» carried out by the Association was recently promoted through the study by F. Mattei, *ANIMI. Il contributo dell'Associazione Nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia alla storia dell'educazione (1910-1945)*, Roma, Anicia, 2012. With reference to the main actions aimed at improving the health and hygienic conditions in the South and scholastic, see G. Alatri, *Le scuole e l'azione culturale e sociale della Associazione nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia dalla fondazione alla caduta del Fascismo*, «I problemi della pedagogia», vol. XXVI, n. 6, novembre-dicembre 1990, pp. 561-582.

⁷ «What is included among the key factors in the proposal of new teaching methods is the specificity attributed to new schools and the assessment of the living and cultural conditions of the southern world, with the resulting search for new ways of teaching and practical models that would take into account the attention for local culture, the need to disseminate hygienic, diagnostic and preventive education, as well as agricultural experiments. In such work of «teaching differentiation» that is assigned to the places where it is possible to do school, to the central figures of schoolmasters and rural schoolmistresses, in addition to special manuals given to the press, lies much of the educational effectiveness promoted by delegated associations»: D'Alessio, *A scuola fra casa e patria. Dialetto e cultura regionale nei libri di testo durante il fascismo*, cit., p. 57.

Basilicata⁸ which proved a persistent gap between the two parts of the country investigated in terms of their two different speeds of development, and in some ways also intellectual and cultural – among people sensitive to the tragedy of «intensive care» required both in hygiene and education –, the greatest contrast is not so much between two different «Italies» on a geo-social level, namely two different national territories, but in terms of the «strongest divergence» already denounced by Lombardo Radice, between an urban Italy and a rural Italy, which was then effectively defined as the «the chasm between two types of societies, Italy with its rural schools and Italy with its city schools»⁹.

Such awareness leads to reflect on the role and on the importance covered by non-classified rural schools and by the didactic experiments practiced in the region of Basilicata thanks to «the really admirable and successful hard work in the field of education»¹⁰ of the ANIMI, because «at that time what happened was [...] that associations' initiatives and state action finally found a meeting point to strongly face the problem of education in Southern Italy»¹¹ in terms of: fighting illiteracy; the customs of agricultural labor and the resistance and lukewarm acceptance of teachers in the countryside; overcoming the condition of ignorance and disease, malaria and superstition, prejudice and anemia that had brought the most scattered Lucanian villages to poverty and illiteracy.

In order to give an account of the development of these issues from the initial working hypothesis, it is necessary to start from the discovery of all the regional bulletins printed by the School Boards retrieved in the historic Archive

⁸ R. Scotellaro, *Scuole di Basilicata I*, «Nord e Sud», vol. 1, 1954, pp. 67-95 e Id., *Scuole di Basilicata II*, *ibid.*, n. 2, 1955, pp. 73-101. In the investigation on the position of education that appeared posthumously, the Lucanian writer retraces with insight the causes of inferiority of the southern regions. On the historiographical background refer to: U. Zanotti Bianco, *La Basilicata. Inchiesta sulle condizioni dell'infanzia in Italia promossa dall'Unione Italiana Assistenza all'Infanzia*, Roma, Collezione Meridionale, 1926, poi in Id., *La Basilicata. Storia di una regione del Mezzogiorno dal 1861 ai primi decenni del 1900*, Venosa, Edizioni Osanna, 1989, who provides a detailed picture of the conditions of children and school contructions; G. Stolfi, *La Basilicata senza scuole*, Torino, Piero Gobetti Editore, 1922 (especially pp. 80-85 for the interview entitled *Conversando col cav. Piacentini*, on the positive initial activities of the Organization), that focuses on the unsuccessful advancement of education and of the effort to fight illiteracy promoted by law Daneo-Credaro presenting the trends since unification: 1861-92%; 1871-88%; 1881-85%; 1901-75%; 1911-65%; 1921-52%; 1931-46% (-6%); the fundamental studies of A. Arcomano, *Scuola e società nel Mezzogiorno*, Roma, Editori Riuniti, 1965 e Id., *Scuola e istruzione durante il fascismo in Basilicata*, in N. Calice (ed.), *Campagne e fascismo in Basilicata e nel Mezzogiorno*, Manduria, Lacaita, 1981, pp. 337-359; references and recovered documents of interest more recently addressed by T. Russo, *Istruzione e sociabilità in Basilicata 1900-1921*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 2004 (especially pp. 85-107); for some surveys in the archival records also see R. Labriola, *Le radici del consenso: scuola, lingua e stampa nella Lucania fascista*, Potenza, Consiglio Regionale della Basilicata, 2010.

⁹ S. Soldani, M. Raicich, *Storie di scuola di un'Italia lontana*, Roma, Archivio Guido Izzi, 2005, p. 69.

¹⁰ D. Viola, *L'opera dell'Associazione per il Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, «Bollettino del R. Provveditorato agli studi di Potenza», n. 4, marzo 1924, p. 10.

¹¹ Scotellaro, *Scuole di Basilicata I*, cit., p. 72.

of ANIMI. Their presence there has in fact produced not only the need for a more systematic examination of the material, but has ended up promoting a new focus on the impressive educational activity conducted by ANIMI in those regions, for which it had been given power of attorney to fight against illiteracy and to manage schools: namely Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily and Sardinia¹².

On this work perspective, the historic archive of ANIMI preserved in the Biblioteca di Studi Meridionali (Library of Southern Studies) «Giustino Fortunato», as stated in various circumstances, has been a precious source and its value is being emphasized even in this occasion. School historians and publishers have only partially approached the archive¹³, which contains printed documentary materials and manuscripts of singular interest, valuable sources for precise news and information regarding the educational and school activities conducted by the Association in the southern regions. The attention does not only regard the best known intervention to rescue school buildings in the depressed southern areas, but draws abundantly on the activities of correspondence between headquarters and regional offices to document the spread of popular libraries and the management of night schools, Sunday schools and then also day schools (when the «poorly performing» ones were passed on to the association, with the legislative decree of 31 October 1923).

During the investigation, having found, in particular, the Lucanian bulletin not so much at its registered address, but at the offices of the main association to which its publications were addressed – together with those of all the other Italian regions – has necessarily prompted to move the investigation from the administrative, editorial and cultural experience of the bulletin wanted by Lombardo Radice at a ministerial level to the continuous and fruitful relationship that was established between the administrative offices of the schools and ANIMI in the years around the Gentile reform. In this sense, the articles belonging mainly to the two years following the first publications underline all the enthusiasm, the fervor and the atmosphere of active involvement and cooperation among all the «people in the school system». It is an important opening that sees in this significant moment the centrality and the encouragement «from a distance» that Lombardo Radice conducted as the

¹² *The Action against illiteracy* was established by the Minister Mario Orso Corbino by Decree-Law of 28 August 1921 n. 1371, considering a division of the areas and the share to be appointed to each association in consideration of the of 6 million allocated in the budget, with the task to ensure the education of adults. See *L'Associazione nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia nei primi cinquant'anni di vita*, cit.

¹³ A first contribution in the studies of school publishing came from L. Cantatore, *Associazione nazionale per gli interessi morali ed economici del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, poi *Associazione nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (A.N.I.M.I.), in G. Chiosso (ed.), *Teseo '900: editori scolastico-educativi del primo Novecento*, Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2008, pp. 38-42, that documents the book publishing policy pursued by ANIMI through a rich series of publications, published or promoted by the Organization, to support and to offer adequate tools of educational progress conducted among the southern populations.

director of elementary education; tireless promoter and determined about the action that ANIMI took in favor of the deplorable condition of nursery schools and for illiterate adults in southern Italy; editorial director of a prestigious and influential newspaper, «L'Educazione nazionale» («National Education»); central pivot of a scholastic and educational activity that he personally conducted both for the public administration and for private associations, in a singular and hardly revived harmony and disinterested joint action between the state's educational activities and the associations' initiatives. Isnardi wrote:

The Superintendants – in 1921-22 although still provincial offices – were always very welcoming and they openly demonstrated the will to understand and cooperate¹⁴.

What helps to confirm the validity of this consideration, is the file that was found at the actual archive of the ANIMI, that included the correspondence exchanged in those years between the Association with the superintendants of School Boards, in particular the correspondence with the Local Education Superintendent of Potenza¹⁵. The first documents of 1924 regard mainly the transmission of regional Bulletins to the central office and the request of sums for subscriptions to the bulletins, as evidenced for example by the following communication:

Potenza, February 4, 1924

The Committee against Illiteracy based in Rome owes the sum of 400 Italian liras to the Administration of Local Education Superintendance of Potenza for 50 annual subscriptions to the above mentioned Bulletin.

The R. Superintendant Albano

Of greater interest appear to be the letters that follow, which show the interaction between Superintendants of Local School Boards with ANIMI, on the practical steps or/and the transfers from state schools to non-classified schools and on the payment for the substitution hours of schoolmasters who have passed, as the Superintendent Albano writes, «from schools administered by the Regional School Board that are now under the administration of the National Association for the Interests of Southern Italy, which will support the burden of the costs for the substitution hours» (Resolution no. 6924 of November 7, 1924).

¹⁴ Isnardi, *L'azione educativa-scolastica dell'Associazione*, cit., p. 217.

¹⁵ Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia, Ufficio di Roma, Pratiche e corrispondenze (sez. A), Scuole, Corrispondenza con i Provveditori agli studi, f. UA50, «Provveditorato agli studi di Potenza», 1924-1957. The correspondence relating mainly to the period of activity of ANIMI as a delegate for the Opera against illiteracy, includes about 42 subfiles in which some different types of documents are preserved, ranging from handwritten letters, typewritten letters and circulars, registered mail, telegrams, postcards all sent out by the Superintendent of the School Board in Potenza between February 4, 1924 and September 15, 1956.

Particularly significant are the letters received by the Superintendents, which were timely reports on the performance of temporary day schools, proof of a form of continuous and fruitful cooperation. To this respect look at the following excerpts of letters dating back to 1927, from which can be drawn, moreover, an effective evidence of the environmental difficulties such as the distance and the presence of rivers along the route, encountered by pupils from rural areas to get to school, causing poor school attendance:

In the last two years about fifteen pupils have enrolled in the non-classified school, Piano dei Peri (Trecchina), some of which have also attended irregularly. The reasons for the low rate of attendance is that there is another non-classified school, Parrutta, only a few km distant from the first one, and also because there is no bridge over the stream Noce, that must be crossed at the ford by many pupils in order for them to get to school and this represents a real danger in the winter when the river is bloated and insecure.

But also because of the little interest on behalf of families:

In this two-year period more than 15 pupils were enrolled at the non-classified school in Camporeale (Marsiconuovo), but only few actually have attended, a little because of the population's poor involvement, much more because of the considerable distance between the school and several farms used as a dwelling by families of settlers and farmers, and also a little for the uncomfortable roads in winter, and in the current year the numbers have dropped to just 12 pupils, who also cannot be considered as truly determined to attend school. School attendance has not increased although both teachers and local authorities have exhorted students to do so.

The reduction of the number of pupils attending to only 15 is motivated in the following way:

The school of Convento-Pantano (Viggianello) established many years ago by the School Administration has recently reduced in terms of attendance, with only about ten pupils attending regularly. Recommendations and threats by the Authority of Viggianello, along with the teacher's and Director Principi's exhortations have failed to induce the population living in that area to have greater respect for compulsory education. [...] a sort of disinterest of the population towards the school, although having profusely benefited from it over the years of operation.

2. The Director of the Regional Office of ANIMI for Basilicata: Domiziano Viola

When cross-checking these data with the interest for associations' cultural experiences and welfare which arose in the first decades of the twentieth century, the tendency of the study has developed, as already mentioned, a greater interest for the school activities of the National Association for the

Interests of Southern Italy in Basilicata, traced through the contribution and the writings of its Regional Director, Domiziano Viola. It is therefore worth illustrating first of all the outcomes of the archival and editorial knowledge that are now emerging, to outline thoroughly the activities carried out by this profound person who was strongly involved first in the world of teaching associations, then in the ranks of the administrative management, immediately after in the field of school organization and culture among schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, throughout a period of thirty years, holding an active role to help «improve education» in the region of Basilicata.

The solicitation which derives from these new sources of inquiry lead, therefore, to emphasize the role of Viola, whose profile deserves to be certainly recalled in a sharper way¹⁶, in order to return him in a complete and detailed manner to the internal network of schools in the South, of which he was an expression. Thus, the most significant contribution in this direction is the rich dossier of Viola's correspondence also preserved in the historic archive of the ANIMI. Drawing from this unpublished correspondence, but not of secondary importance, it is believed that it will be possible in this occasion and due to the space allowed to present, not only in terms of a descriptive documentary, the most relevant aspects of the correspondence between the branch office and the headquarters, but above all to try to penetrate into his working office and into the organizational mechanisms that were managed by the Regional office of the Organization: with regard not only to the schools for adults but also to the non-classified schools opened in the region of Basilicata, in that dazzling effort of about 15 years carried out in that area.

It is of some interest to retrace the main stages of the biography and the career of «this man belonging to school» and, then more properly, the institutional role of Domiziano Viola. He was from Brindisi di Montagna in the province of Potenza¹⁷, and initially worked as a primary school teacher after graduating in 1902; after resigning from a position at the Scuola Pedagogica (Teacher's School) at the University of Naples, in 1912 he became deputy school inspector and the following year he moved to Rossano Calabro and afterwards to Melfi, due to a promotion: in these years he showed to possess the ability to analyse the educational processes within the region¹⁸. Leading figure of the Lucanian

¹⁶ In particular see the profile presented in the recent national biographical dictionary of educators: M. D'Alessio, *ad vocem*, in G. Chiosso, R. Sani (edd.) *Dizionario Biografico dell'Educazione 1800-2000*, 2 Voll., Milano, Editrice Bibliografica, 2013, vol. I, pp. 654-655.

¹⁷ Miziano, Francesco, Giuseppe (known as Domiziano) Viola was born on January 31, 1880 in Brindisi di Montagna (Pz) where he died on May 11, 1961. An accurate painting on *Domiziano Viola the man, the school inspector* has recently appeared in the opening of *Uscendo dal festino (Ascenne ra 'u festine)*, with an introduction, a translation and notes by Donato Allegretti and Giovanni Caserta, published for the 50th death anniversary of Domiziano Viola, Anzi, Erreci, stampa 2013.

¹⁸ D. Viola, *Relazione statistica sulla scuola serale per adulti analfabeti diretta dall'insegnante Domiziano Viola nell'anno scolastico 1907-08*, in the township of Brindisi di Montagna: references

teachers' associations (from 1902 to 1925), he was among the socialist and radical teachers that instigated initiatives leading to detect and to fight the historical and social causes of illiteracy locally: in particular, he was a speaker at the first Lucanian provincial congress against illiteracy, held in Potenza in 1912¹⁹. His organizational and teaching commitment, aimed at improving the destiny of the Lucanian school system, led Viola to hold the important position of Regional Director of non-classified institutions managed by delegated organizations to fight illiteracy, at the service of the work carried out by the ANIMI. Viola was an inspector in Potenza for many years, until his retirement, and he also received a silver medal from the Ministry of National Education «for having carried out uncommon performances in favor of primary school and child education»²⁰.

The intention of this paper is to move quickly from the information on Viola, to accentuate the role he played as Regional Director of the ANIMI. During the years in which he held this position, from October 1922 to August 1928, he wrote some detailed reports on the material conditions of education in Basilicata and the actions that were taken as well as direct reports on how Lucanian schoolteachers welcomed the new didactic requirements introduced by the educational programs of Lombardo Radice, after 1923. In particular, among the documents relevant to the history of education in Basilicata – in addition to the best-known report written by Umberto Zanotti Bianco in 1926 containing an account on childhood conditions²¹ – in this paper what is being presented is wider attention for both Emilio Rocca's report, who was the first director for ANIMI of the regional office in Basilicata until 1922²², and for the less known report by Viola²³, on the Organization's course of

to the teaching and association career of Viola in Russo *Istruzione e sociabilità in Basilicata, 1900-1921*, cit., pp. 49, 68-69, 73-75.

¹⁹ Report by D. Viola and A. Dionigi, *On the causes of illiteracy in Basilicata*, at the first Lucanian Teachers' Congress on illiteracy, Potenza, 29-30 september 1912, consult «La squilla lucana» of 23 ottobre 1912.

²⁰ The papers and the materials concerning the activity of the Lucanian school inspector are missing. At the Central State Archive can be found the file of Domiziano Viola, Fondo Ispettori scolastici, b. 237. Some reports are stored among the various papers of the documentation of the Public Education in the Archive of the township of Brindisi di Montagna. Also see A. Barausse, *L'Unione Magistrale Nazionale. Dalle origini al fascismo. 1901-1925*, Brescia, La Scuola, 2002, pp. 38-41 and D'Alessio, *A scuola fra casa e patria. Dialetto e cultura regionale nei libri di testo durante il fascismo*, cit., especially pp. 66-70.

²¹ Zanotti Bianco, *La Basilicata*, cit.

²² Emilio La Rocca was pedagogy teacher at the Normal School in Lucania. On the appointment of La Rocca and on the definition of Inspector Viola as being «the best knowledgeable person of the region's primary school system», indeed «[...] a very good choice in all respects», refer to the reconstruction of the beginnings of the Opera by Isnardi, *L'Attività educativa-scolastica dell'Associazione*, cit., p. 212, pp. 219-220. La Rocca's report has been recently presented again in the appendix of the work by Russo, *Istruzione e sociabilità in Basilicata*, cit., pp. 109-125.

²³ D. Viola, Regional Director for Basilicata, *Relazione*, in National Association for the Interests of Southern Italy Delegated by the Committee against Illiteracy, *L'Opera contro*

action in education in Basilicata, between 1923 and 1924. Viola managed to collect information from La Rocca's experience as Director of the Regional Committee of the project to fight illiteracy and then also from the experience he gained at the Regional Office of the ANIMI, during the most intense and fruitful period of joint activity with government action that continued up until 1928. This is, in fact, the year when – before ANIMI decided to give up the management of schools that were then passed on to the control of the «Opera Nazionale Balilla» [Italian Fascist youth organization] because of a gradually more pronounced fascist interference – the activity was passed on to the Ente Nazionale di Cultura Popolare della Puglia [National Organization of Popular Culture in Apulia]²⁴.

3. «Books, notebooks and quinine»²⁵: correspondence preserved in the historic archive of ANIMI

The file containing the correspondence of Domiziano Viola, Director of the Regional Office of ANIMI in Basilicata²⁶, documents in a precise way through a rich source of unpublished news the principal moments and especially the peculiarities of the way in which the regional office operated, in the zeal of the initiatives that were launched in order to increase assistance to education for children in the region of Basilicata between 1921 and 1928. The presentation of the correspondence allows to place special emphasis on the anti-bureaucratic attitude that allowed – despite the criticism and the skepticism which would have resulted in a possible «work competition» between the State and the Organizations²⁷ – to reconcile a pleasant encounter between individual

l'analfabetismo in Basilicata 1923-24, Roma, Tip. Ed. Laz. A. Marchesi, 1925. Some of the first references to its contents, mainly on the practice the translation exercises from the dialect to the official language, can be found in D'Alessio, *A scuola fra casa e patria. Dialetto e cultura regionale nei libri di testo durante il fascismo*, cit.

²⁴ See, in the end of this contribution, a first bibliography of articles, publications for schools and other writings by Viola that will be examined in a more in-depth analyses in a future work on his role as an educator, not sufficiently investigated.

²⁵ A. Nencini, *La lotta contro l'analfabetismo e le sue fasi*, p. 3, typescript paper tracked in Viola's correspondence file, then published by the Secretary from 1920 of the ANIMI in Ministry of Education, Central Committee for Popular Education (ed.), *Manuale di educazione popolare: guida per l'insegnante della Scuola popolare e delle Scuole speciali per adulti*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1950.

²⁶ Archivio storico dell'Associazione nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia (Animi), Ufficio di Roma, Pratiche e corrispondenze (sez. A), f. U.A.2, Corrispondenza e pratiche con gli uffici regionali, Potenza, «Ufficio di Potenza. Corrispondenza prof. Viola», 1927-1932.

²⁷ Some criticism has been moved around the role of «replacement, but also innovative laboratory of school methods» carried out by local delegates for basic and popular education and in particular with regard to the areas of the South: see G. Bianco, *Introduzione in Per una storia*

initiative and public spirit. The intention is to actually evaluate significantly the profitable outcome, not only in terms of pedagogy, but more broadly in social ones that the policy of intervention of ANIMI represented in the South, and more specifically in Basilicata.

Hence moving away, at least in part, from the critical judgments that emerged not only among the parliamentary benches, before and during the changes brought to the Organization against illiteracy (1919), which later became the Committee against illiteracy, regarding the State's risks in renouncing – almost considered as a sort of retreat compared to the net acceptance of financial management responsibilities that had arisen with the law Daneo-Credaro of 1911 – to ensure the popular «educational function» of adults and the feared possibility that adults belonging to the farming and working class would «skive» state schools even more in the presence of schools opened by private organizations.

The correspondence consists of 225 letters, 4 telegrams and 4 postcards.

It occurs over a time span that starts from December 29, 1926, when sending the list of day schools to be opened, and it runs throughout the year 1927, and covers some months of 1928, continuing with a certain continuity up until 1932, with the change to Organization of Popular Culture of Apulia. Viola, agile and skillful writer, transmits through direct letters, the notes, the drafts and the telegrams of the considerable daily work carried out by the Regional Director.

With regard to the agreements with the Superintendents and the administrations of the municipalities, Viola reports on the opening and functioning of temporary day schools, as well as on the relationships established with the school directors and the teachers for the opening of evening schools, Sunday schools and supplementary ones. He gives the association news about the opening of schools and about the appointed teachers, as well as sending monthly reports on the performance of temporary day schools under his direct dependence. What he regularly documented with details and sent almost daily was the organization of schools, letters of employment, transfers, payments of teachers' salaries, payments of daily allowances and lessons, thus giving an immediate account of the great passion that Viola had in implementing the work plan for the improvement of the region, following a precise decision that intended to «accommodate and encourage those initiatives considered to be the most suitable for the resurgence and the welfare of Lucanian people»²⁸.

Viola made proposals and took measures for the proper functioning of the schools, he constantly followed, with dedication and professionalism, all the activities that took place in the schools: from furniture, to rental fees, school

dell'Associazione nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia (1910-2000). I Presidenti, cit., p. 15.

²⁸ Viola, *L'opera dell'Associazione per il Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, cit., p. 13.

furnishings, registers for exams. In particular, he took care of sending teaching materials:

Potenza, February 14, 1927

Esteemed Nencini, in order to complete the supply of material to some day schools, which cannot hope to receive it from the municipalities, I would need you to deliver a dozen maps of Italy, 8 pictures of the Redeemer, 30 pictures of our King and 18 of our Queen. The maps of Italy may be 180 cm high and 150 cm wide; the much larger ones you sent me last year cannot be mailed by post and it is difficult to ship them by rail. [...] I will settle the account with the carpenter Gioioso and I will speak to the City Commissioner about the payment of the first installment of contribution for the four schools we manage.

Requests for notebooks, along with blackboards and hygiene boxes are recurrent:

Potenza, November 21, 1927

Esteemed Nencini, in response to the request for notebooks for the first and second classes sent to you by Brindisi some days ago, to which – as results from your letter dated November 19 and to which followed our response of the 10th – I would like to inform you that we therefore need you to send 6000 notebooks to our warehouse for the fourth classes and for the complementary evening courses. With this supply, the requirement for materials for all schools in Basilicata is complete. Next Thursday [...] will be here and also Liguori to concretize their work: we will check together how many plates, blackboards and hygiene boxes will need to be commissioned and I will indicate the train station where the goods have to be sent and the teacher's name and address. Of course, it is important that teachers of the new transferred schools are appointed in order to give them the above mentioned information.

Attentive concern for the supply of textbooks and stoves for the heating of small rural schools is addressed:

Potenza, November 14, 1927

When requesting textbooks, I considered the 91 schools already managed by us, plus the 12 that will be transferred to us. Of course to those among the latter that are already equipped with new books, it is not convenient to send other ones, both for educational and for economic reasons. When requesting books, I have considered the average between the number of pupils divided by classes, already enrolled in many schools, of which we already have the lists. As soon as I get the quote by the company Florio for the stoves on sale there [...] I will let you know and you will tell me if it is convenient to buy them here. The fuel will be provided by the municipalities or by the community, like last year for the few schools that were equipped with stoves.

Some typewritten lists report the number and the needs of books in storage:

Classroom books and school books in storage

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| Classroom books day schools | n. 220 |
| School books day schools | n. 146 |
| School books night schools | n. 253 |
| School books Sunday schools | n. 20 |

School books supplementary courses n. 16

The above mentioned material is sufficient for the school year 1927-29: you can send to this office only 5 textbooks for supplementary courses.

In a timely manner what was also recorded were accounts of the expenses incurred for school supplies; delivery costs of school supplies; travel and daily allowances; postage; stationery supplies, expenses which were almost always paid in advance by the Director²⁹. Of particular interest is the typewritten report dated the first of October 1927 from which one can find out about the rules given to the technical secretaries in charge of the visits to the schools to be monitored.

As can be seen from the few examples of documents belonging to Viola's correspondence, and on which only incidentally here there is a call for the need of future work of transcription and overall arrangement, ANIMI held through its regional directors continual assistance and encouragement to municipalities and to people for the improvement of school premises, furniture and furnishings, exercising a leading role in stressing the «continuous action of the State as regard to the implementation of the laws in favor of the South»³⁰. A significant step and not sufficiently investigated in this regard is represented by the transfer from the school administration to ANIMI of those schools considered with «poor performance» that not only took, but also increased and improved the functioning and reorganization, proving encouraging results also in attendance and final exams (after 180 lessons). The dissemination of culture, therefore, together with the increase of educational work for «the redemption of people in the South»³¹ passing through a tight connection to the life and the interests of the rural South and environment conditions, thanks to the better experience given by honorable men such as Lombardo Radice, Zanotti-Bianco, Saraz, Marcucci and many more:

with these men, and with this experience the School for illiterate adults had at the beginning of its operation brilliant success and was able to allow thousands of adults to become literate³².

Another role, not to be considered of secondary importance, along with such duties, was to be actually assigned to the school Inspector Viola who, while

²⁹ See ANIMI, *Norme regolamentari per gli uffici regionali*, Roma, Tip. Editrice Laziale A. Marchesi, 1925, in which the exact observance and the regularity of sending the requested documentation to the Central Office is recommended. The complex organizational machine, which had to deal with the problems of logistics and regarding the postal service of the time, will make Isnardi speak about «truly miraculous results» in which a large part was due to «the organizational skills even more secure than the entire endeavour» of Gaetano Piacentini: see Isnardi, *L'attività educativa-scolastica dell'Associazione*, cit., p. 216.

³⁰ Viola, *L'opera dell'Associazione per il Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, cit., p. 10.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Nencini, *La lotta contro l'analfabetismo e le sue fasi*, cit., p. 8.

still within the administrative leadership, was appointed, not only General Director of the Committee against illiteracy, but also Director of the archive of the popular and scholastic library for Basilicata and Apulia³³. Even in this case, a person who had gained experience both at an institutional level and privately, his commitment led to a unique activity that connects the two areas (both knowledge and the studies of the Lucanian environment), and gave important encouragement as well as an incisive account in the achieved outcomes. Through the work and the thorough reconstruction of the intense, daily commitment to the destiny of education which emerges immediately from the drafts, the letters, the reports, the statements stored in the rich correspondence between the Lucanian (Viola) with the President's office of the ANIMI, it is possible to follow, as I have tried to show, step by step the opening of kindergartens, of schools running during the day, the evening, and during festivities, the way teachers were recruited, the functioning of school libraries, the organization and implementation of culture courses aimed at preparing teachers³⁴, in an extraordinary commitment to hygiene, education, agriculture, and economics immediately spent by the Organization for the dissemination of culture through the use of books and the increase in educational works and hygiene³⁵.

4. *The school of literacy and rural schoolteachers*

The content of the correspondence of the Regional Director of Basilicata with the Central Office, which I have been able to give only a few short

³³ «The efforts of the pedagogues, educators and government» try to improve the destiny of the elementary and popular schools' making them more intensely educational and better suited to the complex and real needs of life [...] in order to arise the desire to read and to form the habit of reading [...]. Hence the necessity of school libraries [...] with selected and suitable books» at half the cover price: D. Viola, *Biblioteche scolastiche e popolari*, «Bollettino del Provveditorato agli studi di Potenza», nn. 9-10, ago-sett. 1924, pp. 10-14.

³⁴ Among the activities of the Regional Office it is worthwhile mentioning the organization directed by Piacentini and even Viola regarding a culture course for rural teachers of Basilicata in 1924: see *Cronaca della Scuola in Basilicata, Maratea: Corso di cultura per le maestre*, «Bollettino del Provveditorato agli studi di Potenza», *ibid.*, p. 49, announcing the course to be held in September of that year at the Institute De Pino-Matrone of Maratea, with lectures and conferences infant and school hygiene, as well as didactics, agriculture and on the application of new programs for elementary and popular schools.

³⁵ I have outlined some indications on welfare and cultural initiatives carried out by the Organization in the speech «*Near to teachers*». *The Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia during the first XX Century* («*Accanto ai maestri*». *L'opera dell'Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia (ANIMI) nel Novecento*), in the 15th International Symposium on School Life and School History Museums & Collections, *Creating links in education. Teacher's and their associations as promoters of pedagogic development (historical and museum aspects*, Book of Abstracts Symposium 2013, Ljubljana (Slovenia), 26-29 giugno 2013, pp. 33-34.

examples, documents concretely the organizational commitment of the office in the outskirts, with the wide range of lines of approach for the opening and the management of rural schools. It records mainly the attention given for the selection of teachers, that surely represented one of the key success factors in the work of «educational propaganda and hygiene» to them assigned. The preference given to schoolmistresses, who were welcomed with trust and esteem by peasants' families, and were more willing to reside near or even often inside the classroom of the little rural school³⁶ demonstrates the closeness to masters, chosen personally by the Director and of that «intimate spiritual contact» he had with them through the letters, the councils, the discussions, which contributed to weave a web of relationships fundamental for the «encouraging results» that were obtained especially until 1925. The regular and fruitful functioning in Basilicata of approximately 900 day schools, with an enrollment of 38,246 students, of which 24,965 did exams and 18,278 passed, represents a significant datum of the overall framework of the schools opened by ANIMI, with over 8,000 schools and more than 168,000 students approved in the four regions, between October and September 1928³⁷. The arrangement of flexible hours, the free distribution of teaching materials, the supervision carried out by technical Secretaries, the care for the teaching progress, the correspondence and the relationships with teachers are the main routes which favored that «wave of enthusiasm that traveled throughout southern Italy», in response to the active propaganda of the Organizations, especially up until 1925

The fundamental merit of this feverish work was to be able to promote «education awareness [...] in our rural population» allowing the school to be «the center of civic life» in smaller towns, in the villages and even more in the small groupings of farmhouses.

Conclusions

The proposed contribution, which will be followed by a necessary in-depth analysis of the contents, adds some useful elements to show the paths along which moved, in a joint spirit that connected cultural and voluntary associations with the state, the literacy and emancipation program of the South, in despite

³⁶ An important role is attributed to the figure of the rural teacher, neglected for a long time by sociopolitical Italian historians, and presented in the interesting paper written by Raicich, *La maestra di campagna*, cit., pp. 29-79.

³⁷ See the overall data presented by the statistics of schools for illiterate adults and the single mixed rural schools managed by ANIMI in the four southern regions, in the Appendix Part III, in *L'Associazione nazionale per gli interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia nei primi cinquant'anni di vita*, cit., pp. 17-19.

of a rapid and momentary period of time of more than twenty years³⁸. The support policies conducted by the delegated organizations aimed to reduce the gap between the different areas of the country in terms of education and therefore of culture. Promoting the feeling of belonging to the nation brought through this civil and pedagogical action to the struggle for universal suffrage and the advancement of women's rights.

In this sense this non negligible page in our social history crosses a crucial turning point of the processes of instruction and popular education experienced by our country: a page that proves, despite the undeniable limits which occurred with the emergence of fascism in totalitarian sense, the willingness to intervene which should not be underestimated for the autonomous and democratic development of the South as part of the unified life of the nation, which however awaits a more defined study.

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³⁸ Despite the fact that even Nencini detects that the Corbino law was a real revolution in the field of education («to many members this abdication of the State seemed excessive and humiliating and also the investiture given to private organizations, a delicate issue, such as the one regarding schooling, which the state not many years before had taken on») so much to make him claim that «no innovation was more fortunate», but argues however that «night school for literacy is destined to fall». In fact, the school for adults «has a limited task and a temporary duration» an experience that must be completed, and not transformed instead into a permanent institution, harmful to young farmers aged between 12 and 14 who attend school because they are so busy working in fields during daytime, and often regularly desert school. See Nencini, *La lotta contro l'analfabetismo e le sue fasi*, cit., p. 9.

Gli asili infantili in Basilicata, «Lucania. Bollettino del R. Provveditorato agli Studi di Basilicata», maggio-giugno 1927, pp. 150-157.

Associazione Nazionale per gli Interessi del Mezzogiorno d'Italia, *L'opera contro l'analfabetismo in Basilicata*. 1923-24, Roma, Tip. Ed. Laz. A. Marchesi, 1925.

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*International
Bibliography*

Bibliografia
Internazionale

International Bibliography of History of Education and Children's Literature (2014)*

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Introduction

The present overview *International Bibliography of the history of education and children's literature* about the year 2014 is the third of a serie, which has been published in 2012 and 2013 on the international journal «History of Education & Children's Literature» and concerned the four years period 2010-2012 and 2013; it was followed by the publication of two volumes about the same period. This specialised bibliographical overview includes researches and studies about the history of education edited around the world (articles published in journals, monographs, collections of essays, proceedings and textbooks).

In order to build the present work tool, addressed in particular to the scholars of history of education and of children's literature, it was necessary to go systematically through an outstanding quantity of national and international specialized publishers' catalogues (historical studies, social and human sciences,

* The introduction has been redacted by both authors, Dorena Caroli and Luigiaurelio Pomante. Dorena Caroli has collected the first part of the titles about scientific Journals; Luigiaurelio Pomante has collected the second part of the titles about Monographs and Miscellaneous.

educational sciences), as well as through the catalogues of almost 400 high specialized scientific reviews published in different countries of the world.

This research is necessarily a *work in progress*, because of the difficulties, which are sometimes insurmountable, and intervening to every legitimate will of completeness and exhaustiveness in the searching of data retrieval. Notwithstanding the growing boost produced by *internet* and by *social media* to the globalization process, indeed, not always the *web sites* of publishers and of the scientific reviews (such as of those of the Universities and of the public and private research Centres) provide updated and exhaustive information (catalogues, bibliographical report, tables of contents of the issues etc.). It's because of the difficulties encountered during the acquisition of precise data and sure information about the scientific production of this field concerning some particular countries and, consequently, the real necessity to have a broad net of collaborators in loco, that is a net of researches and scholars specialized in this field, who are available to offer a systematic information to «History of Education & Children's Literature» of the most recent and relevant publications edited in their countries and, if necessary, to complete the information, sometime fragmentary, thanks to a distance research through *internet*.

To the building and to the enhancement of a similar net of collaborators, we are willing, to consecrate our energies in the next years, pointing at the possibility to make of this bibliographical overview a reliable tool, constantly updated, exploitable by all the scholars, and most of all capable to present in his complexity and variety the wide-ranging investigation of the international scientific production in the field of the history of education and children's literature.

To the building of this *International Bibliography* concerning the year 2014, a number of other experts and researchers from all over the world have given their valuable contribution, in addition to colleagues of the scientific board of the Journal «History of Education & Children's Literature».

In this regard, the editors would like to sincerely thank for their collaboration: Vitaly G. Bezrogov (Russian Academy of Education, Moscow, Russia), Ariane Calderari (Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Pestalozzi d'Yverdon, France), Craig Campbell (University of Sydney, Australia), Peter Carrier (redaction of the review «Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society», Germany), Jonathan Doney (University of Exeter, United Kingdom), Antonio Castillo Gómez (Universidad de Alcalá, Spain), Anne-Marie Chartier and Renaud D'Enfert (INRP – Service d'Histoire de l'Éducation, France), Maria Elena Del Valle de Villalba (Universidad Metropolitana, Caracas Venezuela), Inés Dussel (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Argentina), Agustín Escolano Benito (Universidad de Valladolid, Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar, Spain), Aslam Fataar (Stellenbosch University, South Africa), Décio Gatti (Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, Brazil), Hui Haifeng (Huazhong University of Science and Technology,

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACEX = «Academic Exploration» (China)
ACTAB = «Acta Baltica Historiae et Philosophiae Scientiarum» (Latvia)
ACTAC = «Acta Academiae Beregsasiensis» (Hungary)
ADAE = «Adam i Eva» (Russia)
ADIF = «Annali online della didattica e della formazione docente» (Italy)
AE = «Academic Exploration» (China)
AEHJ = «American Educational History Journal» (USA)
AHEA = «Historia de la Educación Argentina. Anuario» (Argentina)
AJER = «American Journal of Educational Research» (USA)
AK = «Makarenko» (Russia)
ALMAM = «Alma Mater. Vestnik vysshej shkoly» (Russia)

ANASTO = «Annali on line di Storia dell'educazione e Politica scolastica» (Italy)

ANDO = «Anthology of Dongyue» (China)

ANLI = «Anhui Literature» (China)

ANSO = «Análise Social» (Portugal)

ANYPED = «Anyanyelv-pedagógia» (Hungary)

AOB = «Administrator Obrazovanya» (Russia)

APMA = Appreciation of Masterpieces» (China)

APOP = «Aktual'nye Problemy Obshego i Professional'nogo Obrazovanya» (Russia)

ASE = «Annali di Storia dell'Educazione e delle Istituzioni scolastiche» (Italy)

ASESOA = «Assessment of Southeastern Asia» (China)

ASNSP = «Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia» (Italy)

ASUI = «Annali di Storia delle Università Italiane» (Italy)

AURP = «Aula. Revista de Pedagogía de la Universidad de Salamanca» (Spain)

BALSPI = «Balgarsko spisanie za obrazovanie» (Bulgaria)

BASMC = «Bollettino dell'Archivio per la storia del movimento sociale cattolico in Italia» (Italy)

BCP = «Le Bulletin du Centre de documentation et de recherche Pestalozzi» (Switzerland)

BERJ = «British Educational Research Journal» (United Kingdom)

BHR = «Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance» (France)

BIS = «Biologya v Shkole» (Russia)

BJES = «Baltic Journal of European Studies» (Latvia)

BJPS = «British Journal of Political Science» (Great Britain)

BORP = «Bordón. Revista de Pedagogía» (Spain)

BPHM = «Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission» (Germany)

BS = «Brixia Sacra» (Italy)

BSSE = «Buletini Shkencor. Shkencat e Edukimit» (Albania)

BSSV = «Bollettino della Società degli Studi Valdesi» (Italy)

BSZO = «Bulgarsko spisanie za obrazovanie» (Bulgaria)

CAE = «Carrefours de l'Éducation» (France)

CAE = «Chinese Adult Education» (China)

CBMH = «Canadian Bulletin of Medical History» (Canada)

CBR = «China Book Review» (China)

CCL = «China Comparative Literature» (China)

CEIS = «Cennostii. Smysli» (Russia)

CES = «Cultura Escrita & Sociedad» (Spain)

CHE = «Cadernos de História da Educação» (Brazil)

CHEBRO = «Chelovek i obrazovanie» (Russia)

CHIBO = «China Book Review» (China)

CHINPI = «China Newspaper Industry» (China)

CHIPRE = «China Press» (China)
CHIPU = «China Publishing» (China)
CHIT = «Chinese Teaching» (China)
CHR = «The Catholic Historical Review» (USA)
CHSCC = «Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture» (UK)
CIAN = «CIAN. Revista de Historia de las Universidades» (Spain)
CJES = «Cypriot Journal of Educational Sciences» (Cyprus)
CLR = «Chinese Literature Research» (China)
CMLRS = «Chinese Modern Literature Research Series» (China)
COED = «Contemporary Education Dialogue» (India)
CON = «Contemporanea. Rivista di Storia dell'800 e del '900» (Italy)
CONCHI = «Construction of Chinese Course» (China)
CONFOLI = «Contemporary Foreign Literature» (China)
CP = «Cuestiones Pedagógicas. Revista de Ciencias de la educación» (Spain)
CT = «Chinese Teaching» (China)
CUACHI = «Cuadernos Chilenos de Historia de la Educación» (Chile)
DEBA = «Debates in Arts» (China)
DEF = «Defektologya» (Russia)
DL = «DorLedor. Studies in the History of Jewish Education in Israel and the Diaspora» (Israel)
DNV = «Dukhovno-Nravstvennoe Vospitanie» (Russia)
DO = «Docencia» (Chile)
DOS = «Doshkolnik» (Russia)
DOSBRAV = «Doshkol'noe obrazovanie i vospitanie» (Russia)
DOV = «Doshkolnoe Vospitanie» (Russia)
DPRS = «Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica» (Italy)
DRL = «Drama Literature» (China)
DSA = «Detsky Sad ot A do Ya» (Russia)
DSS = «Direktor Sel'skoj Shkoly» (Russia)
EASF = «Eastern Forum» (China)
ECOPOL = «Economic and Political Weekly» (India)
ED = «Educación XXI» (Spain)
EDC = «Educatio» (Hungary)
EDI = «Educazione interculturale» (Italy)
EDSCI = «Education Science» (Greece)
EDU = «Educação» (Brazil)
EDUPE = «Educação e pesquisa: Revista da Universidade de São Paulo» (Brazil)
EDUR = «Educar em Revista» (Brazil)
EERE = «Elementary Education Research» (China)
EERJ = «European Educational Research Journal» (United Kingdom)
EF = «Editor's Friends» (China)
EFIL = «Educação e Filosofia» (Brazil)
EFP = «El Futuro del Pasado» (Spain)

EH = «Educació i Història. Revista d'Història de l'Educació» (Spain)
EI = «Education Inquiry» (Sweden)
EJ = «Editor's Journal» (China)
EJE = «European Journal of Education» (USA)
EKO = «Ekologicheskoe Obrazovanie: do Shkoly, v Shkole, vne Shkoly» (Russia)
EKS = «Ekonomika v Shkole» (Russia)
EMSTT = «Elementary and Middle School Teacher Training» (China)
ENCONTE = «Encounters in Theory and History of Education» (Canada)
EOZ = «Evrazyskoe Ozherel'e» (Russia)
ES = «Educational Studies. A Journal of the American Educational Studies Association» (United Kingdom)
ESAF = «Eastern and Southern Asian Forum» (China)
ESE = «ESE. Estudios Sobre Educación» (Spain)
ESTHU = «Estudios Humanisticos. História» (Spain)
ESXX = «Estudos do Século XX» (Portugal)
ETE = «Espacio, Tiempo y Educacion» (Spain)
EUROBUL = «EUROCLIO Bulletin» (Greece)
EVEOK = «Neveléstudomány: oktatás – kutatás – innovació» (Hungary)
EXE = «Exedra. Revista Científica (on line)» (Portugal)
EXPL = «Exploration» (China)
EYD = «Eydos. Al'manakh teorii ta istorii istorichnoy nauki» (UKraine)
FE = «Foro de Educación» (Spain)
FEMSE = «Foreign Elementary and Middle School Education» (China)
FILOBRA = «Filosofya obrazovanya» (Russia)
FIOL = «Filologos» (Greece)
FIS = «Fizika v Shkole» (Russia)
FKVT = «Fizicheskaya Kul'tura: Vospitanie, Obrazovanie, Trenirovka» (Russia)
FL = «Film Literature» (China)
FLP = «CQIA Rivista – Formazione, Lavoro, Persona» (Italy)
FLT = «Foreign Literature Trends» (China)
FOB = «Filosofya Obrazovanya» (Russia)
FOLFOLT = «Foreign Language and Foreign Language Teaching» (China)
FOLRE = «Foreign Language Research» (China)
FOLST = «Foreign Language Studies» (China)
FORDUL = «Fordulópont» (Hungary)
FOREC = «Forum of Education and Culture» (China)
FORER = «Forum of Education and Research» (China)
FORET = «Forum of Education and Teaching» (China)
FORME = «Forum of Modern Education» (China)
FORT = «Forum of Teaching» (China)
FORWOC = «Forum of World Chinese Literature» (China)
GEES = «Geografya i Ekologya v Shkole XXI Veka» (Russia)
GEMR = «Guizhou Ethnic Minority Research» (China)

GEN = «Genesis. Rivista della società italiana delle storiche» (Italy)

GES = «Geografy a Shkole» (Russia)

GLOCAL = «Glocal. Rivista molisana di storia e di scienze sociali» (Italy)

GODUZ = «Godishnik na Universitet “Prof. Dr. Asen Zlatarov”» (Bulgaria)

GSS = «Guangxi Social Science» (China)

GSU = «Godishnik na Sofijski Universitet “St. Kliment Ohridski”» (Bulgaria)

GUISS = «Guizhou Social Science» (China)

GWU = «Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht» (Germany)

GYER = «Gyermeknevelés» (Hungary)

HE = «Histoire de l’Éducation» (France)

HECL = «History of Education & Children’s Literature» (Italy)

HEILED = «Heilongjiang Education» (China)

HEILSCI = «Heilongjiang Sci-Tech Info» (China)

HEJ = «History of Education. Journal of the History of Education Society» (United Kingdom)

HEQ = «History of Education Quarterly» (USA)

HER = «History of Education Review. The official Journal of the Australian & New Zealand History of Education Society» (Australia)

HERE = «History of Education Researcher» (United Kingdom)

HERI = «Historia de la Educación. Revista Interuniversitaria» (Spain)

HES = «Higher Education Studies» (Canada)

HF = «The History of the Family. An International Quarterly» (Ireland)

HIQDE = «História: Questões & Debates», Curitiba (Brazil)

HISTCA = «Historia Caribe» (Colombia)

HISTI = «History of education issues» (Greece)

HISTOJ = «História Hoje. Revista eletrônica de História e Ensino. O Ensino de História e o Tempo Presente» (Brazil)

HME = «Historia y memoria de la educación» (Spain)

HP = «History of Psychiatry» (California-Usa)

HSE = «Historical Studies in Education/Revue d’Histoire de l’Éducation» (Canada)

HU = «History of Universities» (United Kingdom)

IC = «Italia Contemporanea» (Italy)

IJED = «International Journal of Educational Development» (Hong Kong, China)

IJHE = «Bildungsgeschichte. International Journal for the Historiography of Education» (Switzerland)

IJHME = «International Journal for the History of Mathematics Education» (USA)

IN = «Infanzia» (Italy)

INJS = «Inostrannyе Yazyki v Shkole» (Russia)

INNOB = «Innovacii v obrazovanii» (Russia)

INT = «Intellect» (China)

INTEP = «International and European Politics» (Greece)

INTER = «Interacções» (Portugal)

IOL = «Innovacci v Obrazovanii i Lingvistike» (Russia)

IPAV= «Istoriko-Pedagogichesky Almanakh VLADI» (Russia)

IPZ = «Istoriko-Pedagogichesky Zhurnal» (Russia)

IRAO = «Izvestya Rossyskoj Akademii Obrazovanya» (Russia)

IRCL = «International Research in Children's Literature» (Canada)

IRGPU = «Izvestya Rossyskogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Universiteta im. A.I. Gercena» (Russia)

IRHED = «International Review of History Education» (Greece)

ISBRA = «Iskusstvo i obrazovanie» (Russia)

ISK = «Iskolakultura Könyvek» (Hungary)

ISPESE = «Istoriya pedagogiki segodnya» (Russia)

ISSRA = «Issledovatel'skaya rabota shkol'nikov» (Russia)

ISTOBA = «Istoricheskoe badeshte» (Bulgaria)

ISTPAM = Istoriya i istoricheskaya pamiat (Russia)

ISTPPE = «Istoriko-pedagogichesky Ezhegodnik» (Russia)

IZYUFED = «Izvestya Yuzhnogo Federal'nogo universiteta: Pedagogicheskie nauki» (Russia)

JCOU = «Journal of Chinese Oceanic University (Social Science Edition)» (China)

JEAH = «Journal of Educational Administration & History» (United Kingdom)

JEMMS = «Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society» (Germany)

JFH = «Journal of Family History. Studies in Family, Kinship, Gender, and Demography» (Canada)

JHB = «Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung» (Germany)

JHCY = «Journal of the History of Children and Youth» (USA)

JHE = «The Journal of Higher Education» (USA)

JIANER = «Jiangsu Education Research» (China)

JIANSS = «Jiangxi Social Science» (China)

JOAUT = «Journal of Anhui University of Technology» (China)

JOCHIMU = «Journal of China Marine University» (China)

JOCHU = «Journal of Chengdu University» (China)

JOCHUD = «Journal of China Education» (China)

JOCUT = «Journal of Changchun University of Technology» (China)

JOED = «Journal of Editing» (China)

JOEDU = «Journal of Education (China)

JOGUCOT = «Journal of Guangdong College of Technology» (China)

JOGUNOS = «Journal of Guilin Normal School» (China)

JOGUPS = «Journal of Guilin Professional School» (China)

JOHABS = «Journal of Hainan Broadcast School» (China)

JOHEUT = «Journal of Henan University of Technology» (China)

JOHUCOT = «Journal of Hunan College of Technology» (China)

JOHUSENS = «Journal of Hubei Second Normal School» (China)

JOINMONU = «Journal of Inner Mongolia Normal University» (China)
JOJCE = «Journal of Jilin College of Education» (China)
JOJUN = «Journal of Jimei University» (China)
JOKUC = «Journal of Kunming College» (China)
JOLACE = «Journal of Lanzhou College of Education» (China)
JOLINS = «Journal of Liuzhou Normal School» (China)
JOLINU = «Journal of Liaoning Normal University» (China)
JOLUNS = «Journal of Luoyang Normal School» (China)
JOMU = «Journal of Mudanjiang University» (China)
JONNU = «Journal of Nanjing Normal University» (China)
JOPLA = «Journal of PLA Foreign Language School» (China)
JOSE = «Journal of Scientific Education» (China)
JOSHANU = «Journal of Shanxi Normal University» (China)
JOSIPROS = «Journal of Sichuan Professional School» (China)
JOUBENU = «Journal of Hebei Normal University» (China)
JOUCS = «Journal of Curriculum Studies» (Greece)
JOUHUFINS = «Journal of Hunan First Normal School» (China)
JOUJICOT = «Journal of Jinchu College of Technology» (China)
JOUSHASU = «Journal of Shanghai International Studies University» (China)
JOWU = «Journal of Wuhan University» (China)
JOXIBRU = «Journal of Xiamen Broadcast University» (China)
JOXIPS = «Journal of Xiangfan Professional School» (China)
JOYU = «Journal of Yangtze University» (China)
JOZUNS = «Journal of Zunyi Normal School» (China)
JPFLS = «Journal of PLA Foreign Languages School» (China)
JPH = «Journal of Pacific History» (UK)
JPHE = «Journal of Philosophy & History of Education» (USA)
JSCNU = «Journal of Southern China Normal University» (China)
JSE = «The Journal of Special Education» (United Kingdom)
JSSE = «Journal of Social Science Education» (Germany)
JU = «Jahrbuch für Universitätsgeschichte» (Germany)
JZNU = «Journal of Zhejiang Normal University (Social Science Edition)» (China)
KAF = «Kafedra» (Russia)
KAINN = «Kachestvo. Innovacii. Obrazovanie» (Russia)
KATPED = «Katalikus pedagógia» (Hungary)
KEK = «Kultúra és közösségek» (Hungary)
KEPGYA = «Képzés és gyakorlat/Training & Practice» (Hungary)
KLIO = «Klio. Zhurnal dlya uchenykh» (Russia)
KONNEV = «Könyv és nevelés» (Hungary)
KOR = «Korrekcionnaya Pedagogika» (Russia)
KSOP = «Kachestvo Sovremennogo Obrazovanya: Problemy i Putyakh Resheniya» (Russia)

KULT = «Kultúrne dejiny» (Slovakia)

KUOBRA = «Kul'tura, Obrazovanie, Nauka» (Russia)

LBL = «L.I.B.E.R. Libri per Bambini e Ragazzi» (Italy)

LIB-LIB = «Libri & Liberi: časopis za istraživanje dječje književnosti i kulture» (Croazia)

LIBS = «Library Science» (China)

LITC = «Literary Circle» (China)

LITED = «Literary Education» (China)

LITS = «Literatura v Shkole» (Russia)

LRE = «London Review of Education» (United Kingdom)

LURA = «Latvijas Universitātes Raksti» (Lettland)

LURAPE = «Latvijas Universitātes Raksti. Pedagoģija un skolotāju izglītība» (Lettland)

LZAV = «Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis. A daļa. Sociālās un humanitārās zinātnes» (Latvia)

MAS = «Matematika v Shkole» (Russia)

MDS = «Il mestiere di Storico» (Italy)

MEDIAOB = «Mediaobrazovanie» (Russia)

MEDS = «Modern Education Science» (China)

MEKADO = «Menedzhement kachestva doshkol'nogo obrazovanya: istoriya i sovremennost'» (Russia)

MEME = Modern Elementary and Middle School Education» (China)

MEMSE = «Modern Elementary and Middle School Education» (China)

MES = «Medicina e Storia» (Italy)

MESU = «Mësuesi» (Albania)

METEP = «Modern Education: Theory and Practice» (China)

MFB = «Mitteilungsblatt des Förderkreises der Bibliothek für Bildungsgeschichtliche Forschung» (Germany)

MIROB = «Mir obrazovanya – Obrazovanie v mire» (Russia)

MMP = «Matematika i Metodika ee Prepodavanya» (Russia)

MNIM = «Mnimon» (Greece)

MNS = «Medicina nei Secoli» (Italy)

MOOM = «Mir Obrazovanya – Obrazovanie v Mire» (Russia)

MOR = «Modern Reading» (China)

MP = «Magyar Pedagógia» (Hungary)

MT = «Magyar Tudomány» (Hungary)

MVDS = «Muttersprache. Vierteljahresschrift für Deutsche Sprache» (Germany)

NAC = «Nachalnoe Obrazovanie» (Russia)

NACS = «Nachalnaya Shkola» (Russia)

NAER = «Journal of New Approaches in Educational Research» (Spain)

NAR = «Narodnoe Obrazovanie» (Russia)

NAS = «Nauka i Shkola» (Russia)

NASP = «Nachalnaya Shkola Plyus Do i Posle» (Russia)

NASS = «Nanjing Social Science» (China)
NE = «Neveléstörténet» (Hungary)
NEWPA = «New paideia» (Greece)
NINSS = «Ningxia Social Science» (China)
NISO = «Nauchnye Issledovanya v Obrazovanii. Pedagogika. Psichologiya. Ekonomika» (Russia)
NJHS = «Nuncius. Journal of the History of Science» (Italy)
NLOBO = «Novoe Literaturnoe obozrenie» (Russia)
NOJEH = «The Nordic Journal of Educational History» (Norway)
NOLIT = «Northern Literature» (China)
NOVPETE = «Novye pedagogicheskie tekhnologii» (Russia)
NPPI = «Novoe v Psikhologo-Pedagogicheskikh Issledovanyakh» (Russia)
NR = «Nauka i Religya» (Russia)
NS = «Neskuchnyj Sad» (Russia)
NSE = «Nuova Secondaria» (Italy)
NSR = «Nuova Secondaria Ricerca» (Italy)
NSS = «Ningxia Social Science» (China)
OBED = «Observation of Education» (China)
OBRA = «Obrazovanie» (Bulgaria)
OBRAN = «Obrazovanie i nauka» (Russia)
OBRAS = «Obrazovanie v sovremennoj shkole» (Russia)
OBRO = «Obrazovanie i Obshestvo» (Russia)
OBUCH = «Obuchenie» (Russia)
ODOSHDE = «O doshkol'nom detstve» (Russia)
ODP = «Obrazovanie XXI Veka» (Russia)
ONDE = «O Novo despertar» (Portugal)
ORE = «Oxford Review of Education» (United Kingdom)
OSS = «Obrazovanie v Sovremennoj Shkole» (Russia)
OTECH = «Obrazovanie i tekhnologii. Godishno nauchno-metodicheskoe spisanie» (Bulgaria)
OTS = «Otkrytaya Shkola» (Russia)
OUP = «Obrazovanie v uslovyakh Perekhodana Novye Standarty» (Russia)
OZP = «Otechestvennaya i Zarubezhnaya Pedagogika» (Russia)
PDV = «Prepodavatel XXI Vek» (Russia)
PE = «People's Education» (China)
PED = «Pedagogika» (Bulgaria)
PEDG = «Pedagogika» (Russia)
PEDISK = «Pedagogika iskusstva» (Russia)
PEDIZ = «Pedagogicheskie izmerenya» (Russia)
PEED = «People's Education» (China)
PENSE = «Pensar Enfermagem» (Portugal)
PER = «Perspectiva. Revista do Centro de Ciências da Educação» (Brazil)
PER = Preschool Education Research» (China)

PH = «Paedagogica Historica» (Netherlands)

PHHE = «Perspectives on the History of Higher Education» (USA)

PNPR = «Pedagogicheskaya Nauka i Praktika – Regionu» (Russia)

PO = «Pedagogia Oggi» (Italy)

POBN = «Pedagogicheskoe Obrazovanie i Nauka» (Russia)

PP = «Pro-Posições» (Brazil)

PPP = «Psikhologo-Pedagogichesky Poisk» (Russia)

PPR = «Pedagogika i Psikhologya v Rossii: Vchera, Segodnya, Zavtra» (Russia)

PRER = «Preschool Education Research» (China)

PRESS = «PRESS» (China)

PRIMEF = «Primary Education Florina» (Greece)

PRIS = «Prepodavanie Istorii v Shkole» (Russia)

PRISO = «Prepodavanie Istorii Obshestvoznanya v Shkole» (Russia)

PRO = «Pravo i Obrazovanie» (Russia)

PROBRA = «Professional'noe obrazovanie: teorya i praktika» (Russia)

PROPO = «Problemy pedagogicheskogo obrazovanya: istoriya i sovremennost'» (Russia)

PROS = «Profilnaya Shkola» (Russia)

PSIKHOL = «Psikhologya i shkola» (Russia)

PSM = «Pedagogika v Sovremennom Mire» (Russia)

PSO = «Problemy Sovremennogo Obrazovanya» (Russia)

PST = «Portuguese Studies» (England)

PTE IGYK = «PTE-Igyk» (Hungary)

PZB = «Pedagocheskyj Zhurnal Bashkortostana» (Russia)

QB = «Quaderni della Brianza» (Italy)

QFIAB = «Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotethiken» (Germany)

QS = «Quaderni Storici» (Italy)

QSUP = «Quaderni per la Storia dell'Università di Padova» (Italy)

RALO = «Revista de Administração Local» (Portugal)

RBHE = «Revista Brasileira de História de Educação» (Brazil)

RCE = «Revista de Ciencias de la Educación» (Spain)

RDO = «Rozprawy z Dziejow Oswiaty» (Poland)

RECEU = «Revue d'études comparatives Est-Ouest» (France)

RECOED = «Revista Contemporânea de Educação» (Brazil)

REDU = «REDU – Revista de Docencia Universitaria» (Spain)

REDUQ = «Revista Educacão em Questão» (Brazil)

REE = «Revista de Educação» (Brazil)

REED = «Research of Elementary Education» (China)

RELUE = «Revista Lusófona de Educação» (Portugal)

REMOCL = «Research of Modern Chinese Literature» (China)

REOSET = «Research of Education and Teaching» (China)

REPD = «Revista Profissão Docente» (Brazil)

REPMA = «Research of Press Marketing» (China)
RESCIMO = «Research of Chinese Modern Literature» (China)
REVT = «Revista Transversos» (Brazil)
RFP = «Revue Française de Pédagogie» (France)
RH = «Revista HISTEDBR-On Line» (Brazil)
RHC = «Revista Historia Caribe» (Colombia)
RHE = «Revista História da Educação» (Brazil)
RHEC = «Revista Historia de la Educación Colombiana» (Colombia)
RHEI = «Revue d'Histoire de l'Enfance Irrégulière. Le Temps de l'Histoire» (France)
RHEL = «Revista Historia de la Educación Latinoamericana» (Colombia)
RHR = «Revista de História Regional y Local» (Colombia)
RI = «Revista Interações» (Brazil)
RIPEDI = «Ricerche di pedagogia e didattica» (Italy)
RMHE = «Revista Mexicana de Historia de la Educación» (Mexico)
RN = «Revue du Nord» (France)
RPED = «Revista Portuguesa de Educação» (Portugal)
RPH = «Revista Procesos Históricos» (Venezuela)
RPI = «Reading Primers International – Newsletter» (Germany)
RPM = «Research of Publishing and Marketing» (China)
RS = «Rousseau Studies» (Switzerland)
RSEDU = «Rivista di storia dell'educazione. Periodico del Centro Italiano per la Ricerca Storico-Educativa»; until 2013: NBC = «Nuovo Bollettino del Centro Italiano per la Ricerca Storico-Educativa» (Italy)
RSHKE = «Revista e Shkencave Shoqerore» (Albania)
RSI = «Rivista Storica Italiana» (Italy)
RSR = «Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento» (Italy)
RSUT = «Rivista di Storia dell'Università di Torino»; until 2012: QSUT = «Quaderni di Storia dell'Università di Torino» (Italy)
RTUZI = RTU zinātniskie raksti. Humanitārās un sociālās zinātnes (Lettland)
RUSJA = «Russky yazyk v shkole» (Russia)
RUSREC = «Russkaya rech'» (Russia)
SA = «Studime Albanalogjike» (Albania)
SAGHE = «Sarmiento. Anuario Galego de Historia da Educación» (Spain)
SARE = «Southern African Review of Education» (South Africa)
SCIRS = «Social Compass. International Review of Sociology of Religion» (United Kingdom)
SCI-TE = «Sci-Tech Info» (China)
SD = «Scuola e Didattica» (Italy)
SE = «Studium Educationis» (Italy)
SEH = «Social and Education History» (Spain).
SELSH = «Sel'skaya shkola» (Russia)
SFLT = «Shandong Foreign Language Teaching» (China)

SHB = «Shkol'naya Biblioteka» (Russia)
SIBUCH = «Sibirskij uchitel» (Russia)
SISP = «Sovremennye issledovanya social'nykh problem (elektronnyj nauchnyj zhurnal» (Russia)
SL = «Southern Literature» (China)
SOB = «Sociologya Obrazovanya» (Russia)
SOCIOBRA = «Sociologya obrazovanya» (Russia)
SONP = «Strategiina Obrazovatelnata i Nauchnata Politika» (Bulgaria)
SOTLI = «Southern Literature» (China)
SOVRO = «Sovremennaya shkola Rossii. Voprosy modernizacii» (Russia)
SP = «Sodobna Pedagogika. Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies» (Slovenia)
SPR = «Social'naya Pedagogika v Rossii» (Russia)
SREPRO = «Srednee professional'noe obrazovanie» (Russia)
SS = «Social Scientist» (China)
SS = «Studi Storici» (Italy)
SSR = «Social Science Research» (China)
SSS = Shandong Social Science» (China)
STE = «Shkol'nye Tekhnologii» (Russia)
STIP = «Stranicy Istorii Pedagogiki» (Russia)
SUAN = «Sumadijski anali» (Latvia)
TAC = «Theory of Art and Criticism» (China)
TAG = «Tagad» (Hungary)
TaM = «Teaching and Management» (China)
TEAMA = «Teaching and Management» (China)
TEOPRA = «Teorya i praktika obuchenya i vospitanya» (Russia)
THEC = «Theory and Creation» (China)
THEMAT = «Teemata Istorias tis» (Grece)
TIAFOR = «The International Academic Forum. Journal of Education» (Japan)
TILT = «Tiltai» (Latvia)
TLJA = «Theodor-Litt-Jahrbuch» (Germany)
TM = «Theory Monthly» (China)
TRR = «The Russian Review» (Usa)
TRUS = «Truth Seeking» (China)
TT = «Teachers and Teaching» (United Kingdom)
TUDAS = «Tudásmenedzsment» (Hungary)
UCHIT = «Uchitel?» (Russia)
UDD = «Uddannelseshistorie (Danemark)
UDOU = «Upravlenie Doshkol'nym Obrazovatel'nym Uchrezhdeniem» (Russia)
UNICH = «Universitetskie Chteny» (Russia)
UPED = «Új pedagógiai szemle» (Hungary)
UPRAOB = «Upravlenie i obrazovanie» (Bulgaria)
UPRASO = «Upravlenie sovremennoj shkoly» (Russia)

US-CHI = «US-China Education Review» (United States)

UZKU = «Uchenye Zapiski Kazanskogo Universiteta. Serya Gumanitarnyj Nauki» (Russia)

VDOU = «Vospitatel' Dosholnogo Obrazovatel'nogo Uchrezhdenya» (Russia)

VESAP = «Vestnik Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta kultury i iskusstva» (Russia)

VESGE = «Vestnik Gercenovskogo universiteta» (Russia)

VESTU = «Vestnik Universiteta Rossijskoj akademii obrazovanya» (Russia)

VKTU = «Vestnik Kazanskogo tekhnologicheskogo universiteta» (Russia)

VMGGU = «Vestnik Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Gumanitarnogo Universiteta im. M.A. Sholokhova» (Russia)

VMGPU = «Vestnik Moskovskogo Gorodskogo Pedagogicheskogo Universiteta. Serya Pedagogika i Psikhologija» (Russia)

VMUPO = «Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta. Pedagogicheskoe Obrazovanie» (Russia)

VNES = «Vneshkol'nik» (Russia)

VOB = «Voprosy Obrazovanya» (Russia)

VOF = «Voprosy filosofii» (Russia)

VOGPU = «Vestnik Orenburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Universiteta» (Russia)

VOR = «Vysshe Obrazovanie v Rossii» (Russia)

VORS = «Vysshee obrazovanie segodnya» (Russia)

VOSPIMLA = «Vospitanie i obuchenie detej mladshego vozrasta» (Russia)

VOSRAS = «Vospitatel'naya rabota v shkole» (Russia)

VOSS = «Vospitanie v Shkole» (Russia)

VOSSHKO = «Vospitanie shkolnikov» (Russia)

VROGU = «Vestnik Rossyskogo gumanitarnogo nauchnogo fonda» (Russia)

VSO = «Voprosy sovremennoj obrazovanya» (Russia)

VVS = «Vestnik Vysshei Shkoly» (Russia)

WC = «Writing and Criticism» (China)

WCLF = «World Chinese Literature Forum» (China)

YD = «Yearbook. International Society for History Didactics» (Germany)

YIL = «Yilin» (China)

ZHP = «Zeitschrift für Heilpädagogik» (Germany)

ZNS = «Zavuch Nachal'noj Shkoly» (Russia)

ZP = «Zeitschrift für Pädagogik» (Germany)

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